REINCARNATION AND BIOLOGY

A Contribution to the Etiology of Birthmarks and Birth Defects

VOLUME 2: BIRTH DEFECTS AND OTHER ANOMALIES

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Preface

It is now more than 30 years since I first began to appreciate the importance of birthmarks and birth defects in relation to reincarnation. As I became more convinced of the importance of the cases whose subjects have these features, I formed the idea of concentrating reports of them in a single work. With this intention, I held back from publication reports of some cases with birthmarks and birth defects that I had already drafted. For more than 20 years I published reports only of cases that had no birth defects and also either no birthmarks or ones of only marginal importance.

My plan for a single work devoted exclusively to the cases with birthmarks and birth defects envisaged more than the greater impact on readers that a large group of cases, compared with reports of single cases, might have. I hoped also from the large series to learn enough to make at least some crude inferences about the processes leading to the occurrence of some birthmarks and congenital malformations.

The number of cases of this type soon became considerable, and I could have stopped adding cases to it 10 years ago, as some of my advisors thought I should. However, two reasons suggested expanding the collection of cases further. First, the section of cases with birth defects seemed top-heavy with instances of murder in Burma, and I thought that diligent searching would turn up cases with birth defects in other countries and related to deaths not occurring homicidally. This expectation proved correct, and, although I did not in later years neglect Burmese cases involving murder, I am now able to show that a wide variety of deaths in different countries may figure in birth defects related to previous lives. Second, I had earlier some unusual types of cases with only one or two examples of each type: birthmarks related to earring holes, for example. Expanding the collection of cases would, I thought, increase the number of examples in the subgroups and thereby perhaps provide glimmerings of understanding about them. Other persons must judge whether the results have justified this additional effort, but I am glad I made it.

Some readers may hope that the series of cases is now large enough to warrant my making bold statements about the processes involved in the occurrence of birthmarks and birth defects. If hopes must be dashed, it is better for me to do so now than later. I will say, therefore, that, despite the hopes I had, readers should expect few answers to their questions about processes that are even provisionally acceptable, and much less any final understanding. Still, from a frank display of what we do not know, we may define more clearly the little that we do.

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Acknowledgments

Anyone who takes 20 years to write a book accumulates many debts for assistance from other persons, and mine seem almost innumerable.

Readers of this book will encounter often the names of four persons who for many years assisted me in the investigation of cases in their countries. In the later years of our working together they conducted preliminary investigations of cases for me with such competence that I sometimes felt that I was assisting them, or was even unnecessary. I could not have written this book without them. They are the late U Win Maung (Burma), Dr. Satwant Pasricha (India), Godwin Samararatne (Sri Lanka), and the late Reşat Bayer (Turkey). The first three mentioned read drafts of most of the reports of cases on which we worked together. Unfortunately, Reşat Bayer died (in 1977) before this work got well under way; and U Win Maung died, also too soon, in 1989.

I have also received much assistance during field trips from many other persons, including Dr. Chien Siriyanand, Nasib Sirorasa, the late Francis Story, the late Tem Suvikrom, and the late Dr. Kloom Vajropala (Thailand); Majd Mu'akkasah Dean (Lebanon); Tissa Jayawardene (Sri Lanka); the late U Tin Tut (later the Ven. U Dhammadara), U Nu, the late Daw Hnin Aye, Sujata Soni, the late Dr. R. L. Soni, and Maung Aye Kyaw (Burma); Dr. Bernard Kalu, Eddie Etunwoke, the late Patrick Onyekelu, and Nicholas Ibekwe (Nigeria); Dr. Jamuna Prasad, Dr. L. P. Mehrotra, the late K. S. Yadav, Chandra Prakash, and K. S. Rawat (India); Josephine Ndour (Senegal); Selim Koç (Turkey).

Several other assistants, associates, and colleagues have conducted interviews or otherwise provided information that I have included in the case reports, and for this I thank: Dr. Stuart Edelstein (Nigeria and Senegal); Dr. David Barker and Dr. Antonia Mills (British Columbia); Issam Abul-Hisn, Dr. Emily Williams Cook, and Dr. Sami Makarem (Lebanon); Champe Ransom, Roxanne Turner, and Betty Hulbert (Alaska); Tosio Kasahara and Dr. Tadao Ogura (Japan); Dr. Nicholas McClean-Rice, Parmeshwar Dayal, the late Professor P. Pal, Dr. Kirti Rawat, G. S. Gaur, Dr. Poonam Mittal, and Manjula Kamal (India); Ertan Kura, Dr. Can Polat, and Dr. Jürgen Keil (Turkey); Hernani Guimarães Andrade and Waldomiro Lorenz (Brazil); Dr. Erlendur Haraldsson, Dr. Nandadasa Kodagoda, and Hector Samararatne (Sri Lanka).

I can easily explain the poor quality of some of the photographs: I took most of the photographs of the birthmarks and birth defects myself. In my early days of studying birthmarks and congenital malformations, I brought the subjects to professional photographers in nearby towns, or took the photographers out to the subjects' villages. The results were often disappointing and sometimes appalling. Eventually

a friend, expert in photography, told me that my defects as a photographer were remediable and that with some lessons and adequate equipment I could take better photographs than most of the professional photographers working in the rather remote areas where we find many of these cases. He was right, and consequently I am less diffident about most of the photographs presented with the reports of cases investigated during the past 20 years. Even so, some of the better photographs have been contributed by my associates who needed less instruction than I did, or none at all. I have used photographs taken by U Win Maung, Dr. Polat, Tissa Jayawardene, Tosio Kasahara, Dr. McClean-Rice, Reşat Bayer, Dr. Edelstein, and Dr. Pasricha.

With the exception of the Tlingit spear (the photograph of which I obtained from the Sheldon Jackson Museum in Sitka, Alaska), all the bladed weapons illustrated belong to my own collection and were photographed at the University of Virginia. I obtained some pellets from shotshells included in one figure from J. Manton of Eley, I.M.I., Birmingham, England.

No one could regret more than I do that for reasons of expense colored photographs could not be printed for this work. The deficiency is particularly unfortunate in the depiction of some birthmarks, such as port-wine stains, that differ markedly in color from surrounding skin. It is also deplorable for the cases of Chapter 22 in which the subjects showed unusual pigmentation of skin, hair, and irides.

Several scientific journals have permitted me to reproduce figures originally published elsewhere. For such permission I am grateful to the editors and publishers of *The Lancet, Deutsche Medizinische Wochenschrift, Revue Métapsychique,* the *Journal of Scientific Exploration,* and the *Medical Journal of Australia.*

Dr. Elizabeth Turner kindly gave permission for the reproduction of the photographs of the x-rays of the baby who was the subject of the remarkable case of cursing that she reported in the *Medical Journal of Australia.*

Parts of Chapter 3 have been previously published in the *Journal of Scientific Exploration* and revised for inclusion in the present work.

The following authors, publishers, and copyright owners have given permission to reproduce photographs: W. B. Saunders Company for two photographs in *Surgery of the Ear* by George E. Shambaugh, Jr.; the Alaska Northwest Publishing Company for the photograph of a person figuring in a case report; Harper and Row Publishers for an illustration published in 1948 in *Modern Trends in Psychological Medicine,* edited by Noel G. Harris; Syndication International (IPC Services Ltd.) and London Weekend Television for photographs of Jennifer and Gillian Pollock; Dr. David Warrell for a photograph of a Russell's viper; and Georg Thieme Verlag, Stuttgart, Germany, for two photographs showing sudden loss of pigmentation.

Several museums have given permission to reproduce photographs of weapons, pictures, or other exhibits. These include: the Sheldon Jackson Museum, Sitka, Alaska; the Museum of Northern British Columbia, Prince Rupert, British Columbia; and the Royal British Columbia Museum, Victoria, British Columbia.

Dr. David Wiecking, former Chief Medical Examiner of Virginia, generously let me select from his immense collection of photographs of the bodies of mur-

dered persons some that show postmortem appearances of wounds similar to those that caused some of the deaths figuring in the cases I am reporting. I owe to him all but four of the illustrations of such wounds. Professor G. A. Gresham, University of Cambridge, and William K. Brinkhous, Office of the Chief Medical Examiner of North Carolina, kindly furnished the other four photographs of murdered persons. Dr. Wiecking also read and commented on several of the case reports involving deaths from gunshot and shotgun wounds.

Other persons not already mentioned assisted in the search for appropriate photographs, and for this help I thank Betty Hulbert, George Hall, Orfeo Fiocchi, Jagdish Chandra, and Grant Keddie.

Several persons have drawn my attention to cases or reports of cases bearing on the subject of this work, and for this I am grateful to Dr. Alan Gauld, the late George Zorab, Carlos Alvarado, Dr. Bernadette Chauvin, Prasit Karoonyavanich, Arya Bhushan, James Matlock, Dr. J. P. Pandarakalam, and Dr. Mills.

The late Dr. T. M. Ling, the late Dr. P. H. Henning, and Professor Lewis Hurst sent me personal communications about patients who developed localized physical changes when reliving traumatic experiences.

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I am not an expert in many branches of science on which the cases here reported impinge, and I have sought and obtained much helpful advice from the following colleagues: Dr. David Wiecking (forensic pathology); Dr. Adrian Flatt, Dr. Raymond Morgan, and Dr. D. H. M. Woollam (birth defects); Dr. Richard Strohman (genetics); and Dr. Kenneth Greer (dermatology). Dr. Greer examined many of the photographs of the birthmarks, and I have generally followed the terminology he suggested in my descriptions of them.

I owe much to several friends who have allowed me to share with them some of my conjectures about processes. Their conversation, correspondence, and writings have enriched and corrected some of my ideas. In this connection I thank: John Beloff, Stuart Edelstein, Alan Gauld, Brian Goodwin, Rupert Sheldrake, and John Smythies.

Errors that remain despite the generous and abundant assistance I have received are my responsibility.

A glance at the references cited in this work will enable a reader to appreciate my indebtedness to the staffs of libraries, and for their assistance I particularly wish to thank the librarians of the Health Sciences Library and Alderman Library of the University of Virginia, the British Library, the University Library of Cambridge University, the Staatsbibliothek in Munich, the University Library of

Albert-Ludwigs-Universität, Freiburg i. Br., the Library, Institut für Grenzgebiete der Psychologie und Psychohygiene, Freiburg i. Br., the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the Biblioteca Bozzano-DeBoni in Bologna, and the National Library of Medicine in Bethesda, Maryland.

I was able to write most of the early drafts and revise much of the work during several leaves spent at the University of Cambridge, where the Master and Fellows of Darwin College always provided me with exactly the situation that I needed.

Dr. Emily Williams Cook read the entire work, all of it twice and some of it more often. Her comments have greatly improved the clarity of my exposition; and her vigilance about the smallest details—while never losing sight of the larger themes—has helped me to remove many mistakes.

I am also grateful to Dr. T. N. E. Greville for valuable comments from his reading of the text as well as for advice and assistance with statistical analyses. Dr. Paul Wender made some helpful suggestions after reading some parts of the text.

Patricia Estes deserves special thanks for having typed and transcribed the entire work through many revisions—always with a rare combination of patience and accuracy. After that, she surpassed us all in the exactitude of her proofreading; she did not allow a single Turkish dotless ı to be incorrectly dotted.

James Matlock came to the University of Virginia to compile the Indexes. I can praise their excellence because I had so little to do with them. Mr. Matlock has earned my readers' gratitude as well as mine.

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Dr. Lynn Flint, at Praeger Publishers, first realized the value of publishing all the details that this monograph includes and, after that, helped in many ways to implement its publication.

Financial support for the research reported in this work came mainly from the donations and bequest to the University of Virginia of the late Chester Carlson to whom I remain forever grateful. I have also received some additional assistance from the Fetzer Foundation, the James S. McDonnell Foundation, the Bernstein Brothers Parapsychology and Health Foundation, the Parapsychology Foundation, the Nagamasa Azuma Fund, and several anonymous donors.

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Dolly Ware played an important part in helping the project toward completion, and if I should not say here how she did this I can nevertheless give her my thanks.

These acknowledgments would remain shamefully incomplete without my thanks to the subjects of the cases here reported and to the other informants for them. I never counted them, but they number several thousand at least. For their patience in answering all my questions—which they may often have thought interminable—and for much gracious hospitality I am deeply indebted.

If Walker Cowen, the late Director of the University Press of Virginia, had lived, he would certainly have been the publisher of this work. He fostered it from its earliest inception and eagerly looked forward to its completion and publication. He had endorsed and published my earlier works on the same subject, sometimes admitting that they "are for the future." In gratitude for his friendship and support I dedicate the work to his memory.

There is one more person to whom I wish to express my thanks: my wife, Margaret. Her support has been particularly precious because, while devotedly encouraging this work, she has also—with the greatest gentleness—expressed skepticism about the conclusions to which it has led me.

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Volume 2

Birth Defects and Other Anomalies

Part III

Birth Defects

16

Introduction to Cases with Birth Defects

In the first volume of this work I described some birthmarks that I could without exaggeration have labelled birth defects. We could say this of the pits and sometimes holes fully penetrating the ears of subjects who remembered the lives of persons who wore earrings (or were identified as having been such persons in a previous life). The birthmark at the upper end of Sunita Singh's sternum (Figures 6-11 and 6-12) was in fact an area where the skin was depressed about 2 millimeters below the surrounding skin. We can also say that the scarlike distortion of Ma Thoung's left ear and neck (Figure 14-3) was a birth defect; and so was Daw Aye Than's asymmetrical right breast (Figure 5-20). Nevertheless, these birth defects—if we call them such—were all minor compared with those that I describe in this volume. Our concern is now with such gross birth defects as absence of digits and parts of arms, legs, ears, or other organs. Apart from the gravity of these conditions, they are less easily attributed to an acausal coincidence than are birthmarks. In discussing the interpretation of birthmarks I acknowledged that birthmarks of one kind or another are common, almost universal; and it was necessary for me to show that the birthmarks on the subjects described in the cases of this work were different from those found on nearly everyone. In doing this I emphasized:

a) The unusual size, shape, and appearance, and sometimes the unusual location of most of the birthmarks;

b) The frequent occurrence of two or more birthmarks on the same subject;

c) Particular details in the birthmark having a close correspondence to details in a wound or mark on a deceased person.

Nevertheless, I recognized the need—when trying to find the best interpretation of these cases—to take seriously the possibility of acausal coincidence. No such need exists with most major birth defects. Compared with birthmarks, most of them are rare or extremely rare; accordingly, the correspondence between a

major birth defect and a wound on a deceased person does not often lend itself to dismissal as "just a coincidence." (I return to this topic at the end of the chapter.)

This reflection leads me to review and supplement (in the next section of this chapter) the data that I gave in Chapter 1 bearing on the incidence of birth defects. In this review I shall draw attention to the high percentage of birth defects for which no known cause—in medical terms—has been identified. I shall follow this with a discussion of several of the known causes of birth defects and cite data showing that none of these is alone a sufficient cause of a birth defect. Finally, I shall briefly describe a particular type of birth defect—constriction ring syndrome—about which I think my readers should have some information before they study the cases of several subjects in this work who had this defect.

INCIDENCE OF BIRTH DEFECTS WITH AND WITHOUT KNOWN CAUSE

Warkany and Kalter (1961) reviewed 16 reports (of the 20th century) of the incidence of congenital malformations. The incidence ranged between 0.74% and 3.30% of births.

Data derived from birth registration records tended to show a lower incidence of birth defects than did those obtained from hospital records. The incidence in different series derived from birth registration records in nine different series ranged between 0.74% and 1.98%. In contrast, the incidence reported from seven different series based on hospital records ranged between 1.43% and 3.30%. The variations derive from different criteria for including a particular malformation in a count, from different thoroughness in the examination of babies after birth, and from variations in the actual frequency of malformations at different times and places. Also, some authors reported the incidence in all births of a series, whereas others reported the incidence in live births only.

Even hospital records may lead to underestimation of the real incidence of birth defects. They obviously vary with the thoroughness of the examinations on which they are based. Also, even the most exhaustive examination may fail to detect some birth defects the presence of which does not manifest until some time after birth. Furthermore, hospital records inevitably fail to record birth defects occurring in infants born outside hospitals who may or may not have a different incidence of birth defects compared with those born in hospitals. Kennedy (1967) found that the incidence of birth defects based on hospital records was 1.26%, whereas that derived from special examinations of infants was 4.5%. His vast survey of reports covering more than 20 million births yielded an average incidence of 1.08%, but Kennedy believed that the real incidence "must be at least 2%" (p. 4).

In Table 16-1 I have listed data for the incidence of birth defects in several series. I have also included in this table estimates made by several qualified investigators, such as Kalter and Warkany (1983), who reviewed the data bearing on incidence 20 years after their earlier paper of 1961 and estimated an incidence of 3.0%.

Table 16-1 **Incidence of Birth Defects in Different Series with Percentage of Cases Assigned to Category of "Unknown Cause"**

	Incidence of Birth Defects in Human Babies	*Percent Assigned to "Unknown Cause"*	*Comments*
1. Wilde, W. R. (1843, p. 240)	0.3%	——	Data from records of the Lying-in Hospital in Vienna surveying 23,413 births between 1832-1840; only major malformations counted.
2. Malpas, P. (1937, p. 435)	2.1%	——	Data from records of 13,964 consecutive births at Liverpool Maternity Hospital.
3. Stevenson, A. C., and Collaborators (1966, p. 16)	1.27%	——	Data from reports of 416,695 births observed in 24 hospitals of different countries; the same recording method was used in each hospital.
4. Kennedy, W. P. (1967, p. 14)	1.08%	——	Data from 238 published reports surveying more than 20,000,000 births. The reports showed widely differing criteria for registering abnormalities. The series reported by A. C. Stevenson et al. (1966) and by Malpas (1937) were included.
5. Stewart, A. L., Keay, A. J., and Smith, P. G. (1969, p. 355)	7.4%	——	The unusually high incidence of birth defects in this series may be due to the deliberate searching for abnormalities when the babies were examined, which would yield a higher incidence than routine postnatal examination. The high incidence may also reflect a real greater frequency of birth defects in southeastern Scotland than exists elsewhere. The results of this survey were obtained in a comparatively small sample (2,500 live births) in a single hospital.

Table 16-1 *(continued)*

	Incidence of Birth Defects in Human Babies	*Percent Assigned to "Unknown Cause"*	*Comments*
6. Wilson, J. G. (1973, p. 49)	——	65-70%	Estimate only.
7. Fraser, F. C. (1977, p. 75)	3-7%	60%	Estimates only.
8. Kalter, H. and Warkany, J. (1983, p. 425, pp. 495-496)	3%	61.5%	Estimates only.
9. Nelson, K. and Holmes, L. B. (1989, p. 20)	2.2%	43.2%	Data from surveillance of 69,277 births.

When authors have given data or estimates concerning the percentage of birth defects with "unknown cause," I have included this information in Table 16-1. In several of the larger series the investigators did not enter into the question of etiology, and so for these series we have no data of the incidence of cases with "unknown cause."

Comment

The large percentage of birth defects for which no cause has so far been identified offers no support to the etiological factor of previous lives that I am proposing in this work. It should, however, open the minds of students of birth defects to causes not previously considered. Kalter and Warkany (1983) after mentioning that birth defects account for over 21% of infant mortality stated: "Any meaningful attempt to reduce this mortality rate further will have to address the still-unresolved causes of congenital malformations" (p. 496).

KNOWN CAUSES OF BIRTH DEFECTS

The principal recognized causes of birth defects are: a) genetic factors, under which we may subsume chromosomal abnormalities; b) teratogens, such as certain infectious diseases and certain drugs and other toxins; and c) uterine conditions, such as the crowding during multiple pregnancies.

Even the known causes, in medical terms, are not always sufficient to produce a defect without the additional action of other components. Repeated observations of the insufficiency of single causes have given rise to the concept of multifactorial etiology (Evans, 1993; Fraser, 1976, 1977; McKeown, 1988).

Multifactorial Etiology of Birth Defects

Although as many as 3% of birth defects may be due to single mutant genes (Nelson and Holmes, 1989), a much larger proportion of them are polygenic (Smith and Aase, 1970)[1]. Even more appear to require a combination of genetic and environmental factors for their occurrence. The insufficiency of environmental factors combined even with an assumption of polygenic factors has led to the recourse of supposing that chance contributes to the occurrence of birth defects, exemplified by ventricular septal defects (Kurnit, Layton, and Matthysse, 1987; T. B. Newman, 1985). An important theme of this work, as I said in Chapter 1, is that chance may influence the occurrence of birthmarks and birth defects, but at a more remote level than most students of birth defects now assume.

[1]Weatherall (1991) provided a helpful table of estimates of the incidence of diseases having a significant genetic component. He suggested that the incidence in the general population of such diseases (including chromosome abnormalities) lies between 3.7% and 5.3%.

I think it will be helpful for me to show the importance of multiple factors in the causation of birth defects with brief discussions of cleft lip and palate, Marfan syndrome, polydactyly, and the birth defects attributable to two well-known teratogens: rubella and thalidomide. (I could have chosen other diseases as examples [Steel, 1993], but these will suffice.) In these reviews I do not intend to diminish the importance of known genetic factors or that of teratogens; I wish, however, to emphasize that they alone are not sufficient causes of the birth defects that follow their presence.

Cleft Lip and Palate. The relatives of persons with cleft lip and palate show a markedly higher incidence of the condition than is found in the general population. Moreover, the frequency of the condition decreases with decreasing closeness of relationship to a proband. The data from the recurrence rate in relatives conform to the hypothesis of a polygenic heritability (Fraser, 1970).

Yet genes alone are not responsible for the condition; this is strongly suggested by the range of abnormalities that may occur. "All degrees occur, from a slight 'nick' in the lip to cases where the harelip is complete and there are in addition notches of varying depth in the alveolar margin" (A. C. Stevenson et al., 1966, p. 47). Even stronger evidence of an environmental factor or factors comes from twin studies. In dizygotic twins, if one twin has the condition, the other will have it in 8% of cases. In monozygotic twins, however, if one twin has the condition, the other will have it in 38% of cases (Fraser, 1970). The significant point here is that in 62% of cases fetuses with the same genetic composition and the same or nearly the same uterine environment[2] are discordant for cleft lip and palate. Cases have been reported of conjoined twins discordant for cleft lip (Robertson and McKenzie, 1964; Sangvichien, 1937).

These observations raise the question of the nature of the environmental factor which, given a genetic component (or components), suffices to delay the normal closing of the lip and palate and produce the observable birth defect. Strean and Peer (1956) reported that emotional stress undergone by a pregnant mother was a significant factor in inducing cleft lip and palate in families genetically predisposed to the condition. (Fraser [1959], however, did not find evidence for a contribution from stress to the pregnant mother in his series.)

W. T. Taylor (1876) attributed a psychological component (maternal impression) to a series of cleft palates occurring in five children of the same parents. Five of their children had a degree of cleft palate, but in each successive child:

> the deformity was less than [in] the preceding one, the fifth child having only a split in the uvula. The first born was very seriously deformed and the mother much worried in consequence; but during her second pregnancy the opera-

[2]This is an oversimplification. Monozygotic twins sometimes have markedly different uterine environments. They may have different gestational membranes; and they may share unequally in the circulatory and other uterine resources (Bracha et al., 1991; Phillips, 1993; B. Price, 1950; Spellacy, 1988).

> tion and healing process had so closed the cleft that the maternal impression was not so vivid or shocking, and with each succeeding pregnancy she was less impressed, so that at the fifth occurrence of utero-gestation she was rather favorably impressed with the success of the operation, and her babe showed scarcely a trace of malformation (p. 74).

Marfan Syndrome. The syndrome first described by Marfan (1896) (or to which we attach his name) includes a wide variety of skeletal, cardiac, ocular, and other disorders. The patients' extremities are long, particularly in their distal portions, and the habitus is nearly always asthenic. The fingers and toes are often so long and thin that they are compared to a spider's legs and called arachnodactyly. Deformities of the spine, such as kyphosis and scoliosis, occur frequently. Disorders of the eye are common, especially ectopia lentis and iridodonesis. Many patients have various forms of congenital heart disease, especially dilatation of the ascending aorta, sometimes leading to aneurysm and aortic rupture (with sudden death). The symptoms of Marfan syndrome are so variegated that a barely sufficient knowledge of its medical literature requires acquaintance with journals of cardiology (Bowden, Favara, and Donahoe, 1965; McKusick, 1955), ophthalmology (Lutman and Neel, 1949; Rados, 1942), pediatrics (Black and Landay, 1955; Ross, 1949), birth defects (Skovby and McKusick, 1977), genetics (Lynas, 1958; Pyeritz, 1989), and dermatology (Loveman, Gordon, and Fliegelman, 1963; Pope, et al., 1987). The condition affects perhaps between 25,000 and 30,000 persons in the United States (Pyeritz, 1990).

The congeries of symptoms in patients with Marfan syndrome began to make sense when they were all attributed to a congenital defect of connective tissue (McKusick, 1955, 1972). Careful studies of the families of afflicted patients showed that when a parent is affected, one-half of that parent's children will, on average, also have the syndrome (Lynas, 1958; McKusick, 1972; Weve, 1931). These observations from pedigrees therefore indicate that the disorder is transmitted by a single autosomal dominant gene. Geneticists have reported locating the gene responsible for Marfan syndrome on chromosome 15 (Kainulainen et al., 1990; Kainulainen et al., 1991; Dietz et al., 1991). We should note, however, that a large kindred in France showed all the usual signs of Marfan syndrome except ocular disorders; the feature of autosomal dominant inheritance was present. And yet the investigators of this marfinoid syndrome found no abnormality of chromosome 15 among these patients (Boileau et al., 1993).

Many cases of Marfan syndrome arise without a parental history of the disorder, and geneticists attribute these to "spontaneous" mutations creating a newly founded line of afflicted kindred. Lynas (1958) found six "sporadic" cases (that is, affected children of unaffected parents) among 26 cases ascertained in Northern Ireland. This suggests that 26% of cases arise from new mutations. McKusick (1972), pointing to the difficulties in ascertaining mild cases, estimated the proportion of new cases to be no more than 15%, an estimate that he repeated in a later paper (Pyeritz and McKusick, 1979).

The significance of Marfan syndrome for the present work lies in the wide disparity of its manifestations from one patient to another, even within the same affected family. A patient may have the skeletal abnormalities without ocular or cardiac symptoms. Other patients may have skeletal and ocular changes without cardiac lesions, or skeletal and cardiac disorders without ocular lesions. In one small series of 20 patients, only 11 (55%) had the basic triad of skeletal, cardiac, and ocular manifestations (Lynas, 1958); in another, larger series of 117 patients, only 18 (15%) had the basic triad of manifestations (Ross, 1949). Some patients have such slight abnormalities that they are regarded as exhibiting *formes frustes* of the syndrome, and they often would not be ascertained if they did not have a parent or other family member with more obvious abnormalities. Weve, who seems to have been the first observer to note the dominant nature of the pattern of inheritance and whose report included remarkably detailed case histories, even described one patient whose maternal grandfather, an uncle, and a cousin all showed *formes frustes*, whereas the subject's mother and seven siblings were unaffected (Weve, 1931, pp. 37-38). Weve alluded to the unexpectedness of the observations in this patient's family.

Geneticists use the term *variable expressivity* to explain the marked differences in the phenotypes of Marfan syndrome (Pyeritz, Murphy, and McKusick, 1979). (This concept should not be confused with that of penetrance, which I briefly discussed in Chapter 9 in connection with heritable nevi at a particular location.) One textbook of genetics used Marfan syndrome to illustrate the concept of variable expressivity (Gelehrter and Collins, 1990). The phrase *variable expressivity* has itself no explanatory value, and so when thinking is restricted to genes, "modifier genes" are often proposed to account for the varied phenotypes. Modifier genes, however, cannot account for the differences in manifestations of the syndrome in monozygotic twins (Ambani, Gelehrter, and Sheahan, 1975). Instead, variations in the uterine environment are postulated to explain such differences.

Geneticists may succeed in identifying details of genetic alterations accounting for the variety of phenotypes. Yet the authors of one endeavor of this kind duly noted that three members of a family carrying an incriminated allele were unaffected (Pereira et al., 1994). This makes it possible to admit the influence of one or more other, still unrecognized factors.

Polydactyly. One or more extra fingers or toes occur as a fairly common birth defect. Flatt (1977) estimated the incidence in blacks at 1 in 300 and in whites at 1 in 3,000. The condition often occurs in several or even many members of the same pedigree, and Odiorne (1943), from a careful study of the descendants of a single person who was born in about 1620, concluded that at least in this kindred the condition was transmitted as a dominant character. He noted, however, a wide variation in the phenotypic expression of the disorder: "In addition to the differences between unrelated pedigrees there is also considerable variation in the manifestation of the condition in a single pedigree" (Odiorne, 1943, p. 45). Other published pedigrees have shown similar variations in the manifestation of the disorder among a single kindred (Horne, 1838; Lucas, 1881; Willis, 1857). Newman

and Quisenberry (1944) reported a case of monozygotic twins discordant for polydactyly, which occurred in only one hand of one of the twins.

As with Marfan syndrome, geneticists introduce the concept of variable expressivity to account for the different manifestations of polydactyly in members of the same kindred. Also as with Marfan syndrome, the expression of the gene for polydactyly is said to be "subject to modification by associated genes" (Odiorne, 1943, p. 54).

Although modifier genes may indeed be a factor in polydactyly, as in Marfan syndrome, the case of polydactyly reported by Horne (1838) allows us to consider the possibility of a psychic influence in this condition. In Horne's case, which I summarized in Chapter 3, the mother of a child had been frightened when pregnant by the sight of a man with double thumbs. Her baby daughter had six fingers on each hand, and five of the daughter's nine children had polydactyly, but with variable expressivity.

Rubella. Rubella, first identified as a teratogen by Gregg (1941), has been implicated in a wide variety of birth defects, most notably cataract, deafness, and heart disease. Retrospective studies of the incidence of birth defects related to rubella gave figures much higher than those obtained with the more precise observations of prospective studies. Tartakow's (1965) prospective study (in Long Island, N.Y.) showed an incidence of 16.7% of major congenital malformations in the babies of mothers who had rubella during the 1st trimester. This accords closely with the incidence of 15% that Sheridan (1964) reported, also from a prospective study, among children born in the United Kingdom whose mothers had contracted rubella during the first 16 weeks of pregnancy.

The incidence of birth defects related to rubella varies according to the period of gestation when mother and embryo become infected. An analysis of four series totaling 104 cases showed that the incidence of birth defects was 50% when the infection occurred during the first 4 weeks of pregnancy, but only 25% when it occurred during the 5th to 8th week, and 17% when it occurred during the 9th to 12th week (Hill et al., 1958). Infections later in a pregnancy were associated with even lower incidences. Michaels and Mellin (1960) made similar observations in another prospective study.

A puzzling feature of the effects of rubella is the extraordinary unilaterality of some of the birth defects associated with it; one eye may be seriously affected, while the other one is normal (Gregg, 1941; Hickey, 1953).

Numerous investigations leave no room for doubting that rubella is a cause of birth defects. However, the large percentage of pregnancies with infection from rubella and without birth defects shows that it is not a sufficient cause of them.

Thalidomide. Thalidomide was removed from the market soon after McBride (1961) and W. Lenz (1961, 1962) noted its probable relationship to birth defects, and the United States Food and Drug Administration never authorized its use. Therefore, unlike the opportunities for studying the role of rubella in birth defects, repeated investigations in humans have not been possible, although extensive experiments with animals have been.

The gestating embryo is most sensitive to the effects of thalidomide 34 to 50 days after the last menstruation (Nowack, 1965) or 20 to 36 days after conception. Thalidomide was particularly associated with reduction malformations of the limbs, especially phocomelia. In addition, birth defects of the ear, heart, and intestines also occurred. Nowack showed that organs were particularly sensitive to the effects of thalidomide as they were forming.

Although thalidomide is highly teratogenic, even it is not a sufficient cause of birth defects as several observations show.

Some pregnant women—perhaps many—took thalidomide without giving birth to damaged babies. McBride (1961) found birth defects in 20% of the babies born to mothers who had taken thalidomide. This would mean that 80% of the mothers he observed who had taken thalidomide delivered undamaged babies. Lenz and Knapp (1962), however, suggested that the risk would be considerably higher than McBride's estimate in women who took thalidomide during the phase of pregnancy (mentioned above) when the embryo was maximally sensitive. Later, Lenz (1966) estimated the risk at 50% (or higher) if the drug had been taken between 35 and 50 days after menstruation. Anamneses are notoriously unreliable for dating the actual taking of prescribed medication; even so, Lenz (1961) reported four instances in which a pregnant woman took repeated doses of thalidomide between the 4th and 8th week after conception without any ill consequences for her baby. Dosage and severity of the birth defects seemed unrelated. Phocomelia followed a single dose of 100 mg. (Taussig, 1962), and severe micromelia (as well as other defects) followed a single dose of 200 mg. (Toms, 1962). On the other hand, repeated doses of the drug might be followed by only a mild defect (Taussig, 1962).

Although twins were usually both affected, cases occurred in which one twin was affected much more than the other; and in one case one member of a twin pair had phocomelia while the other had normal limbs (Taussig, 1962). A case of dizygotic twins strongly supports the concept of multifactorial etiology. The family had a history of hereditary defects (brachydactyly) of the fingers and toes. One of the twins had these defects and others, of the ears and cranial nerves, as well. Her twin sister had no defects. The authors of the report of this case cite it as evidence that "the hereditary factor resulted in a proneness for thalidomide damage" (d'Avignon and Barr, 1964, p. 140).

CONSTRICTION RINGS OR BANDS

It has been known at least since the 18th century that occasionally a part of a limb that has developed during gestation may be amputated *in utero* (Barenberg and Greenberg, 1942; Glessner, 1963; Kohler, 1962; Latta, 1925). Sometimes the detached part is delivered along with the rest of the baby; in other instances the amputated part is absorbed before the pregnancy's term. Babies with congenitally amputated limbs often show tight constricting rings on other parts that have not been amputated. In many instances—31%, according to Baker and Rudolph

(1971)—an edematous swelling occurs distal to the constriction. The presence of such constricting rings made it natural to conclude that a band had been the immediate cause of an amputation when one had occurred.[3]

Torpin (1968, p. 138) estimated the frequency of constriction rings (or bands) at between 1 in 5,000 and 1 in 15,000 live births. Mastroiacovo and Calabro (1980) in a multicenter study surveying 160,000 births in Italy found an incidence of 1 in 14,500. Baker and Rudolph retrospectively analyzing data from 133,009 births found an incidence of 1 case in about 10,000 births. Ossipoff and Hall (1977, p. 118) reported an unusually high incidence of 1 case in 1,234 births, but their data derived from a genetic and consultation service to which "high risk" patients might have been referred, although they made no effort to solicit such patients. We cannot from present evidence approach a closer figure for the incidence of constriction rings in the general population than the estimate that Torpin (1968) proposed. This means, however, that as many as 400 persons may be born with the disorder every year in the United States alone. From their data in Hawaii, Foulkes and Reinker (1994) derived the opinion that the incidence of congenital constriction band syndrome (their term for the condition) "appears to be rising" (p. 242).

In the 19th century, Montgomery (1832a, 1832b) and later G. Braun (1862) put forward the explanation for this condition that the fetus becomes entwined in bands of the amnion, which forms the inner lining of the gestation sac. The bands impair circulation to distal parts and amputation may occur. This interpretation became widely accepted until Abbe (1916) and Streeter (1930) proposed an alternative explanation, which is that the area involved in constriction rings fails to develop the usual mesenchymal tissues beneath the skin. (The skin in constriction rings is normal; the defect is in the tissues lying beneath the skin.) Although Streeter's explanation was accepted by many later students of the subject (Glessner, 1963; Patterson, 1961), the attribution of constriction rings to amniotic bands continued to have many advocates (Browne, 1957; Lennon, 1947; Torpin, 1965, 1968). From an extensive—one might almost say exhaustive—review of previous publications as well as from careful observations of cases that came under his observation, Torpin concluded that birth defects associated with amniotic bands were caused by the bands. His monograph was so well received that numerous papers of the 1970s and later included the phrase *amniotic band syndrome* (or a closely similar phrase) in their titles (Beyth, Perlman, and Ornoy, 1977; Ossipoff and Hall, 1977; Ray et al., 1988). Moerman et al. (1992) and Van

[3]I favor the word *ring* as more neutral than the word *band* for describing the annular constrictions occurring in these cases. Flatt (1977) used the phrase *constriction ring syndrome*. Use of the word *band* suggests acceptance of the explanation of amniotic bands as the sole cause of this condition. As I shall explain, amniotic bands may be causally involved in some instances of constriction rings but not necessarily in all.

Readers unfamiliar with cases of constriction rings may look ahead to the cases of Ma Myint Thein (Figures 17-6 and 17-7), Ma Win Tar (Figures 17-52 and 17-53), and Maung Than Htun Win (Figures 19-22 and 19-23), whose hands showed typical constriction rings. Other examples occurred in the cases of Ma Htwe Win (Figure 19-20) and Cordelia Ekouroume (Figures 20-8 and 20-9).

Allen (1981) published photographs showing amniotic bands extending from hands with constriction rings. It seemed that Torpin's revival of the theory of constricting amniotic bands had suppressed its rivals.

Dissent nevertheless continued. Monozygotic twins discordant for constriction rings (Latta, 1925; Pysher, 1980) do not fit well the theory of amniotic bands. One pair of dichorionic monozygotic twins were discordant for constriction rings, and the hypothesis of amniotic bands as causes (instead of effects) of an abnormal process does derive support from their case (Donnenfeld, Dunn, and Rose, 1985). On the other hand, Lockwood, Ghidini, and Romero (1988) reported a pair of monozygotic twins who were monoamniotic and discordant for constriction rings; it is difficult to understand how one twin of such a pair could be seriously affected by amniotic bands while the other was not. Several recent investigators have pointed out that constricting amniotic bands fail to account for the frequent occurrence, along with the constrictions, of severe congenital defects of internal organs (Herva and Karkinen-Jääskeläinen, 1984; Herva et al., 1980; Hunter and Carpenter, 1986; Ossipoff and Hall, 1977; Rossillon et al., 1988). Moreover, amniotic bands may exist, be diagnosed with ultrasound during gestation, and recede without any associated congenital malformations (Papp et al., 1986; Wehbeh et al., 1993). We should also note that constriction rings may occur in the absence of any abnormality of the amnion (Van Allen et al., 1992).

As observations of this disorder have continued, Streeter's hypothesis of a defect in mesenchymal tissue, possibly genetic, has also proven less than fully satisfactory, because, as Ossipoff and Hall (1977) stated, they knew of "no confirmed patients with amniotic bands whose offspring have had amniotic bands" (p. 117). Herva et al. (1980) suggested that the defect arises in a failure of morphogenesis at an early stage of embryonic development. Stock and Stock (1979) seemed to echo this opinion in stating that "annular constrictions or intrauterine amputations are the result of focal secondary changes in developing fetal tissue and are not a primary arrest in development [as Streeter suggested] or secondary to extrinsic mechanical compression" (pp. 597-598). Hunter and Carpenter (1986) and Lockwood et al., (1989) have suggested that some disturbance of the vascular system precedes the other manifestations of the disorder. Modern authors seem all to agree that the condition is not hereditary and that the causes are environmental and act on the embryo and fetus during gestation.

In sum, there are cases in which amniotic bands are found attached to constriction rings and seem clearly to have been a causative factor in the occurrence of the rings; there are also cases in which amniotic bands have occurred without any constriction rings; and there have been constriction rings without the occurrence of any amniotic bands. Thus Torpin's theory has validity for some constriction rings, but does not provide a universal explanation for all cases.

Moerman et al. wrote that "the theories of Streeter and Torpin are not mutually exclusive but rather apply to different types of lesions" (Moerman et al., 1992, p. 470). This accords with what Kohler (1962) wrote three decades earlier. From an extensive experience with the condition he made the prudent suggestion

that some instances of constriction rings may be exogenous (that is, due to amniotic bands) and some may be endogenous, that is, due to faulty development. He wrote: "The apparent conclusion that the problem has been solved has been a deterrent rather than a stimulant for further thought and research on the subject" (Kohler, 1962, p. 274).

The cases of this work suggest that one environmental cause of constriction rings may be a psychic influence from a deceased person in the process of reincarnating. The work includes numerous cases with transverse birthmarks and grooves many of which resemble the constriction rings described and photographed by the authors I have cited. Some of the subjects whose defects I shall describe have edematous swelling of tissues distal to the ring, others do not.

I do not think the cases that I report in this work can contribute much to an understanding of *how* a psychic influence can bring about the constriction ring or rings with which a subject is born. We have little information verifying the location of the wounds on the previous personalities that informants said corresponded to the constriction rings on the subjects. If we nevertheless allow, for the purposes of conjecture, that the rings corresponded to the wounds the subjects said they remembered from the previous life, I can most readily suppose that the psychic influence affected the vascular supply of the embryonic or fetal part to which a wound corresponded. In Chapter 2 I reviewed some evidence indicating that alterations of the blood vessels may be the primary physical change involved in such phenomena as stigmatism and blisters evoked during hypnosis, and in Chapter 3 I made the same suggestion for the dermographism of Olga Kahl; however, the psychic influence I am conceiving could as well affect countless other physical processes in cells.

Such an influence might occur at any stage of embryonic or fetal development. During that development many cells duplicate; but others die (P.G.H. Clarke, 1990). The vascular network seems particularly susceptible to anomalous development and local obstructions during gestation. Van Allen (1981) attributed a variety of birth defects to fetal vascular disruption. Bodily parts already well formed may become involved in regressive and destructive processes as the occasional occurrence of well-formed limbs amputated *in utero* testifies. Such destructive influences may act during all periods of a gestation, although observations of the effects of rubella, thalidomide, and maternal impressions show that the 1st trimester of pregnancy is a period of much greater sensitivity on the part of the embryo or fetus to exogenous influences than the other 2 trimesters.

THE INCIDENCES OF FREQUENTLY OCCURRING AND RARER BIRTH DEFECTS

Many of the birth defects that I describe in the following chapters are, singly or in their combinations in one person (the subject of a case), unknown to syndromologists of birth defects; and I devote Chapter 19 exclusively to such

cases. Many of the birth defects, however, *are* well known to pediatricians and teratologists. For some of the familiar defects reasonably accurate figures of their incidence—at least in the West—are available, and I have given such figures for every case where I could find applicable ones. I have described these defects in the following categories:

a) Common or fairly common; those having an incidence greater than 1 in 2,500 (such as auricular appendages and cleft lip and palate);

b) Rare; those having an incidence between 1 in 2,500 and 1 in 25,000 (such as hemimelia);

c) Extremely rare; those having an incidence less than 1 in 25,000 (for example, phocomelia).

Readers should consider these figures of incidence when they try to decide whether a correspondence between a birth defect and a wound or other lesion on a previous personality could have occurred by chance. I am sure they will also remember that the cases of this work throw doubt on the sufficiency of the concept of chance as an explanation for birth defects of presently unknown cause.

It is helpful to distinguish *malformations*, which are due to faulty development during gestation, and *deformations* (or *deformities*), which are due to mechanical factors impinging on developed or developing organs and thus distorting them; club foot is a good example of a deformation. Not all authors make this distinction between malformation and deformation. (I discuss it further in Chapter 18, footnote 13.) Readers may have noticed that in Volume 1 of this work the authors I quoted frequently used the word *deformity* when *malformation* would be more correct.

17

Birth Defects of the Extremities

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I present 25 cases the subjects of which had major birth defects of the extremities. Most of the subjects were adults when my associates and I investigated their cases. Nevertheless, all but five of the cases are solved, and for all but six of the solved cases we obtained adequate testimony about the wounds on the previous personality to which the birth defects corresponded. In quality the testimony about the wounds ranges from fair to satisfactory. For no case of this chapter have I obtained a medical document. All but two of the deaths of the previous personalities occurred violently.

I have ordered the cases according to the country in which they occurred. More than half the cases occurred in Burma; the remainder are from India, Sri Lanka, Turkey, Nigeria, and British Columbia.

Four of the Burmese subjects claimed to have been Japanese soldiers killed in Burma during World War II, and I have grouped the reports of their cases together. I included four similar cases in earlier chapters, those of U Tinn Sein, Maung Win Sein, and Maung Myint Aung in Chapter 4 and that of Ma Shwe Yee in Chapter 9. In Chapter 25 I describe yet another case of this group, that of the twins Ma Khin San Tin and Ma Khin San Yin.

Some of the other Burmese subjects remembered lives and deaths that occurred during the British rule in Burma; others remembered ones during the insurgency and lawlessness that followed the defeat of the Japanese Army in 1945. (See Appendix B.) The previous personalities of these cases were killed with swords, except for one who was killed by a bomb explosion.

Five of the subjects said that their murderers chopped off some of their fingers and toes before killing them. This form of torture was a specialty, so to speak, of Burmese torturers. So far as I know, neither the Japanese nor the British tortured victims in this way during World War II. Three of the subjects said that their fingers were chopped off when they raised them in self-defense or to plead for their lives. These subjects had birth defects of the hands, but not of the toes.

Seven of the Burmese subjects had linear grooves on the legs or arms which they said derived from the ropes with which they were tied before they were killed. One subject explained a similar groove as resulting from the crushing pressure of ropes attached to bullocks (hitched to a cart) that had bolted and that the previous personality of the case had tried to halt by pulling on the ropes.

None of the previous personalities in the Burmese cases died a natural death, and all but two died homicidally. Of the two exceptions, one was accidentally killed by a bomb explosion, and the other was run over by a railway train.

Violent death was also prominent in the cases of countries other than Burma. Among the nine previous personalities of these cases all but two died violently.

At the end of the chapter I describe three cases—one in Sri Lanka, one in the United States, and one in India—the subjects of which had major birth defects but had no memories of a previous life. Moreover, no one identified them otherwise as being some deceased person reborn. I have included these cases in order to emphasize a point about which I fear that I shall be misunderstood. I do not claim to explain *all* birth defects any more than I claim to explain all birthmarks; it is enough for me to propose an explanation for some birth defects that seem inexplicable from presently recognized causes.

CASE REPORTS

THE CASE OF LEKH PAL JATAV

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Lekh Pal Jatav was born in December 1971 in the village of Nagla[1] Devi in District Mainpuri, Uttar Pradesh, India. He was the sixth of eight children born to his parents, Sita Ram Jatav and his wife, Chiraunja Devi. For the last 15 days of her pregnancy Chiraunja Devi had a fever, but took no medicine for whatever illness she had. Lekh Pal was born prematurely after 8 months of gestation. Sita Ram was a cultivator of exceedingly modest economic circumstances. Both he and his wife were illiterate.

Lekh Pal was born without the phalanges of his right hand (Figures 17-1 and 17-2); his left hand (and other parts of his body) were normal. As soon as the

[1]*Nagla* is the Hindi word for "hamlet." *Gaon*, which occurs later in this case, means "village."

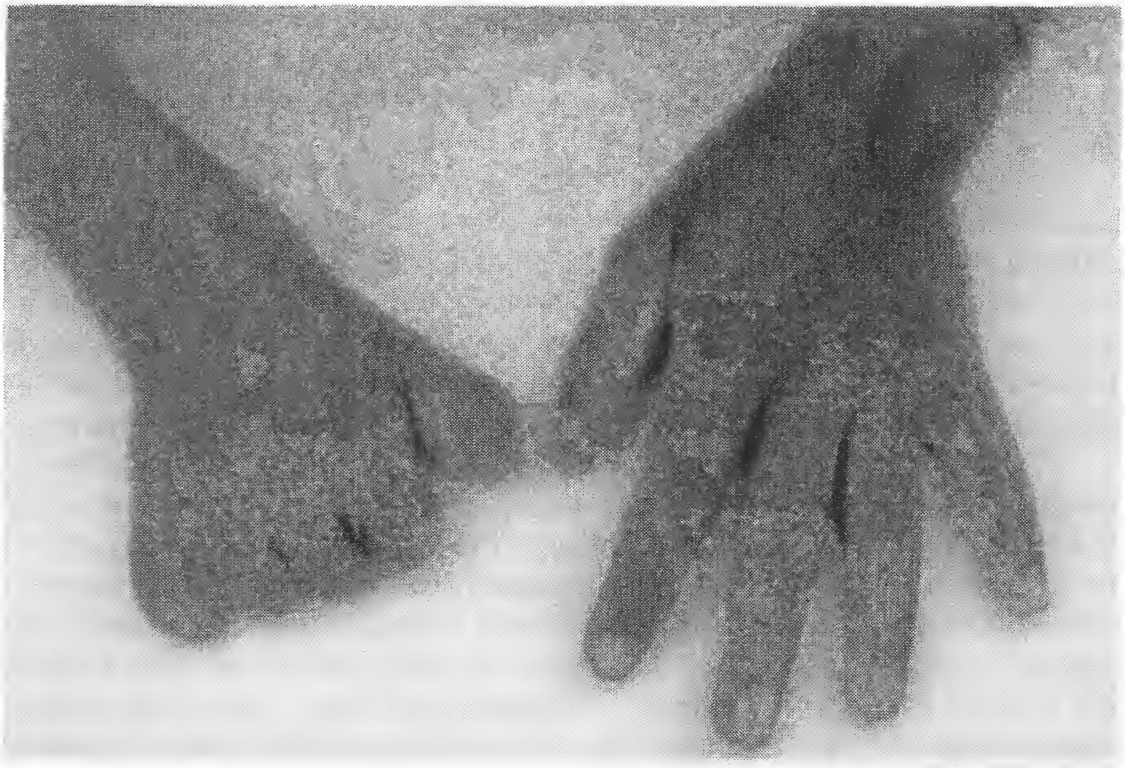

Figure 17-1 Dorsal surface of Lekh Pal's hands in February 1980, when he was just over 8 years old.

Figure 17-2 Palmar surface of Lekh Pal's hands in February 1980. Small or rudimentary nails can be seen on three fingers of the right hand.

defect of Lekh Pal's right hand was noted, someone half-jocularly suggested that he must have been a tax collector in a previous life, during which an angry taxpayer had cut off his figure-writing fingers.[2] A phrase for tax collector in Hindi is *lekh pal*,[3] and so his parents gave the baby this name.

When Lekh Pal was 1 year old, he became severely ill with vomiting, diarrhea, and fever. He remained ill for about 3 years. At one time his life was despaired of, but he eventually recovered, although he remained weak thereafter. His childhood development was slow, probably because of this illness. He did not walk until he was about 4 and did not speak with full effectiveness until he was 5. He nevertheless did speak to some extent before then, because his mother and older sister recalled his having referred to the previous life when he was younger.

When Lekh Pal was between 1 and 1½ years old, a woman, Ram Piyari, from the village of Nagla Tal (which was about 8 kilometers from Nagla Devi) went to Nagla Devi to attend the wedding of her niece; this was the daughter of her sister Leela Wati, who had married a man of Nagla Devi. Lekh Pal's mother, Chiraunja Devi, was present among the women of Nagla Devi at the time of the wedding, and she was carrying Lekh Pal in her arms. Ram Piyari noticed Lekh Pal's defective hand and mentioned to Chiraunja Devi that a child of her village, Hukum Singh, had had his fingers cut off so that his mutilated hand resembled Lekh Pal's. Lekh Pal was just beginning to talk, and he said nothing to Ram Piyari. (Up to this time he had said only a few words about the previous life.) Chiraunja Devi told Ram Piyari that Lekh Pal had been born with his hand defective. The two women exchanged information about dates, and Ram Piyari later thought that Lekh Pal had been born at the time of Hukum Singh's death. When Ram Piyari returned to Nagla Tal, she told the villagers there about Lekh Pal.

I am not positive that Ram Piyari was the first person to inform Hukum Singh's family about Lekh Pal, because a neighbor of Lekh Pal's parents, Kamla, had a sister who had married in Nagla Tal, and she told the people there about Lekh Pal, although I do not know when she did this. I also learned of still another woman, Brijrani, who carried news about Lekh Pal over to Hukum Singh's family. Brijrani lived in another village of the region, but her brother, Manohar Lal, lived in Nagla Devi; and she must have seen Lekh Pal on visits to him. I did not interview her and do not know what connections she had with Nagla Tal. At any rate, Hukum Singh's family were in no hurry to see Lekh Pal, because none of them went to Nagla Devi until the occasion of a wedding they attended there when Lekh Pal was about 3 or 4 years old. At that time Lekh Pal recognized at least one

[2]In Chapter 19 I describe a case in which this actually happened. This is the case of Sukh Lal Sharma, which occurred in another district of India that is approximately 120 kilometers from where Lekh Pal was born. I think we can be confident that Lekh Pal's family had never heard of Sukh Lal's case. However, since the naming of Lekh Pal was only half-jocular, other symbolically appropriate acts of vengeance against tax collectors of which his family had heard may have occurred closer to Lekh Pal's village; but I did not learn of any such event.

[3]The phrase *lekh pal* means an accountant, but by extension it has come to refer to a tax collector, who is a kind of accountant.

of Hukum Singh's brothers. Before that visit, other villagers from Nagla Tal had been over to Nagla Devi and seen Lekh Pal, although they had apparently not talked with him.

In the meantime, Lekh Pal had been referring to a previous life. To his mother he said only that he was from "Tal Gaon" (the village of Tal). Chiraunja Devi recalled that he kept repeating, "Tal, Tal," but she could not remember anything else that he had said. However, he spoke much more to his older sister, Rajan Siri, who was about 8 years older than Lekh Pal. He described to her how in the previous life he had cut his hand in a fodder-chopping machine.

When Lekh Pal was about 5 years old, a villager of Nagla Devi called Sarnam Singh took him to Nagla Tal, where he made several recognitions that I shall describe later. On the occasion of my visit to Nagla Devi, Sarnam Singh was out of the village, and so my information about Lekh Pal's recognitions in Nagla Tal derives solely from the informants there.

On October 24, 1979, Dr. Satwant Pasricha and I were in Nagla Tal in connection with the study of another case. Villagers there told us about Lekh Pal's case and described the birth defect of his hand. Sensing the importance of the case, we began its investigation the next day. We went to Nagla Devi and interviewed Lekh Pal's parents. Lekh Pal was then staying in another village, Sirsa, with his older sister, Rajan Siri, who was married and living there. Later in 1979, Dr. Pasricha went to Sirsa, where she interviewed Lekh Pal and Rajan Siri.

In February 1980 Dr. Pasricha and I went to Sirsa together and had further interviews with Lekh Pal and his sister. We also went back to Nagla Tal, where we interviewed members of Hukum Singh's family. In November 1980 we returned to Nagla Tal in order to check on some details and to meet Ram Piyari.

In March 1983 Dr. Pasricha returned to the area and arranged for x-ray photographs to be taken of Lekh Pal's hands.

In March 1990 Dr. Pasricha returned to Sirsa, where she missed meeting Lekh Pal again, but learned about his later development from his sister, Rajan Siri.

In December 1990 Dr. Pasricha was more successful. She met Lekh Pal again in Nagla Devi; and she also met Hukum Singh's mother and one of his brothers, Bharat Singh, in Nagla Tal.

Persons Interviewed during the Investigation

In Nagla Devi we interviewed:

Sita Ram, Lekh Pal's father
Chiraunja Devi, Lekh Pal's mother
Kamla, a neighbor of Lekh Pal's parents
Manohar Lal, Kamla's husband

In Sirsa we interviewed:

Lekh Pal
Rajan Siri, Lekh Pal's older sister

In Nagla Tal we interviewed:

Raj Rani, Hukum Singh's mother
Dwarka Prasad, alias Kamandal, Hukum Singh's father
Rameshwar Dayal, Hukum Singh's oldest brother
Bharat Singh, another of Hukum Singh's older brothers
Ram Piyari, villager of Nagla Tal

Relevant Facts of Geography and Possibilities for Normal Means of Communication between the Two Families

Nagla Devi is a moderate-sized village near the town of Bewar in the Mainpuri District of Uttar Pradesh. In 1979 its population was estimated for me at between 2,500 and 3,000. It is about 5 kilometers southwest of Bewar. Bewar itself is on the Grand Trunk Road, which for centuries has connected Bengal with Delhi. Nagla Tal is about 3 kilometers east of Bewar and less than half a kilometer north of the Grand Trunk Road. I estimate it as being slightly smaller than Nagla Devi, so that it would have had in 1979 about 1,500 to 2,000 inhabitants. Roads—paths for part of the distance—between Nagla Devi and Nagla Tal skirted the edge of Bewar, where inhabitants of both villages would do most of their marketing and shopping. Along these roads and paths the two villages were about 8 kilometers apart.

The families immediately concerned in this case did not know each other prior to its development. If a marriage occurred between a person of one village and one of the other, some of the members of the two villages would meet while attending the wedding. Afterward, visits would continue between the immediately related members of the married couple's families. Otherwise, the inhabitants of one village would rarely have had any need to go into the other one. As we have seen, at least one woman of Nagla Tal was married in Nagla Devi, and several members of Hukum Singh's family went from Nagla Tal to Nagla Devi to attend another wedding when Lekh Pal was between 3 and 4 years old.

Chiraunja Devi said that she had never been to Nagla Tal until after Lekh Pal began going over there for visits when he was more than 5 years old. She also denied that she had heard anything about Hukum Singh's accident until after Lekh Pal had begun to talk about the previous life. (At the age of about 1½, when Ram Piyari first noticed him on her visit to Nagla Devi, he had already said a few words about the previous life; so Chiraunja Devi's statement is not necessarily incompatible with Ram Piyari's saying that she talked with Chiraunja Devi about Hukum Singh's accident and speculated that Lekh Pal might be the reincarnation of Hukum Singh.)

Hukum Singh's mother said that she had never been to Nagla Devi, even after the case developed. Hukum Singh's older brother, Bharat Singh, said that he had never been to Nagla Devi before the occasion when he attended the wedding to which I referred earlier.

The two families were on approximately the same level economically and belonged to the same caste. So there were no social or economic barriers to their meeting and becoming friends, as there have been in many other cases in India.

How Hukum Singh Cut His Hand, His Later Death, and Related Events

Hukum Singh was born in Nagla Tal. He was the fourth son and fifth child of his parents, Dwarka Prasad and Raj Rani. (They had four other children later.) Dwarka Prasad was a cultivator.

When Hukum Singh was about 3½ years old, he put his hand into a fodder-chopping machine of the type shown in Figure 17-3. His father was the sole witness of the accident, which happened in the following way.

Machines of this type are used in every village of India to shred stalks of millet, maize, and other grain crops into sizes suitable for cattle fodder. Ordinarily two men operate the machine: One holds a handle on the large wheel that carries the blades and rotates the wheel; the other man feeds the stalks into cogs that grasp and advance them toward the rotating blades. On the day of Hukum Singh's accident Dwarka Prasad was operating the machine by himself. Under these circumstances he did not see his young son approach the machine and thrust his right hand into the part where the blades were cutting. Hukum Singh's fingers were instantly severed.

Dwarka Prasad immediately carried Hukum Singh to the nearby Government Hospital in Bewar. Another of his sons and some other villagers accompanied them. Hukum Singh's wound was bandaged, he was "given some

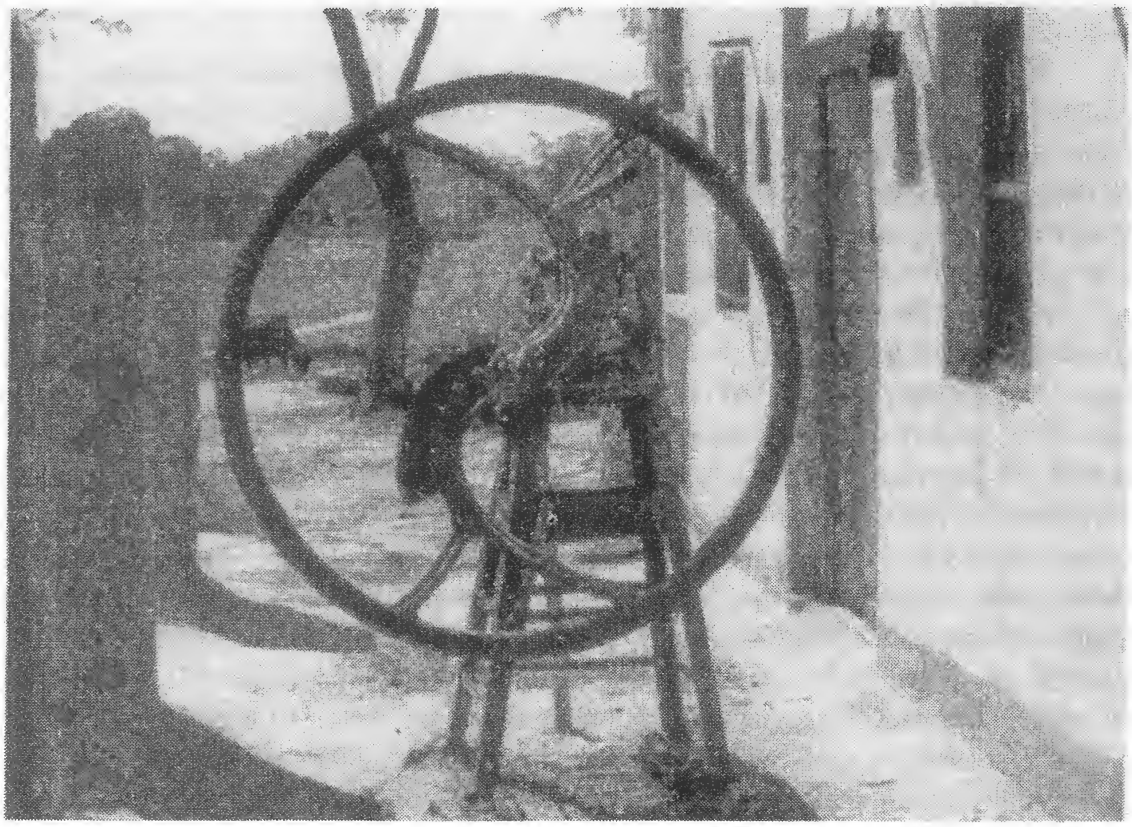

Figure 17-3 Fodder-chopping machine of the type in which Hukum Singh's fingers were cut off. The little boy put his hand into the machine from the side of the viewer.

injections," and he was sent home. It was later remembered that Hukum Singh did not cry immediately after the accident. At the hospital when his wound was being dressed, he cried and became unconscious for a time.

For a month following the initial visit to the hospital Hukum Singh's oldest brother, Rameshwar Dayal, took him back for dressings of the wound. At the end of that time the wound had completely healed.

Before the accident Hukum Singh had been right-handed, but afterward he began using his left hand more. Otherwise, he seemed to have no sequelae from it.

About 10 months after the accident he died of a completely unrelated illness. He developed a fever, and the following day his family took him again to Bewar. The hospital was closed, so they consulted a private practitioner who gave Hukum Singh an injection. He was not judged to be seriously ill, and his father was carrying him back to the village when he died, quite unexpectedly, just as they were approaching it.

Raj Rani's grief at the death of her son seems to have been severe and prolonged. She was still inconsolable when, many months later, she learned about Lekh Pal's birth and the likelihood—as it seemed to the observers in both villages—that he was Hukum Singh reborn. She told me that she cried so much she thought she was going to lose her sight. She dreamed of Hukum Singh twice within the first 2 months after his death. In the dreams—which were similar—he tried to console her and said he would come back to her. But he did not give any indication of where he might be reborn.

The search for written documents in this case was particularly frustrating and disappointing. Raj Rani remembered Hukum Singh's accident as having occurred close to the Hindu festival of Dusshera, which falls in the autumn of each year, usually in October. Dwarka Prasad could not remember the month. Nor could either of Hukum Singh's parents remember the exact year of his death. Raj Rani thought this had occurred in September, about 10 months after Hukum Singh's fingers were cut off. (If that accident happened in October, the estimate of the interval between the accident and the death would be satisfactorily close, especially for an uneducated villager.) She thought he had died about "9 years ago." She said this in February 1980, but when pressed she could not remember whether Hukum Singh had died 9 years before the previous September (that is, in September 1970) or 9 years before the September of 1980 that was still ahead (that is, in September 1971). Dr. Pasricha and I examined about 1,500 entries in the registries of the outpatient department of the Government Hospital at Bewar for a record of the accidental amputation of Hukum Singh's fingers. Accepting Raj Rani's memory that the accident had occurred in the autumn, we searched all the records for the autumn months of 1968-1971, but found no entry recording the accidental amputation of Hukum Singh's fingers. This failure does not necessarily discredit the memories of Hukum Singh's parents; a busy dispenser may not have had time to make any record of Hukum Singh's visit to the clinic.

As mentioned above, Hukum Singh's fingers were cut off. Figures 17-1 and 17-2 show that Lekh Pal's right thumb was affected in the malformation as much as were the four fingers of his right hand. I expected to learn from Hukum Singh's

family that his thumb had been injured along with his fingers. Rameshwar Dayal said that not only Hukum Singh's phalanges, but part of his metacarpal[4] bones had been cut through in the accident; and it is difficult to see how this could have happened without the thumb also having been injured. Nevertheless, both of Hukum Singh's parents, and another of Hukum Singh's older brothers, Bharat Singh, all firmly asserted that the thumb had not been cut. Rameshwar Dayal said that he was in a particularly good position to observe the injured hand, since he had been the one who took Hukum Singh back to the hospital for the dressings of his wound, and he had an opportunity to see the hand on each of these occasions.

I deliberately tried to shake the testimony of Hukum Singh's mother and his brother Rameshwar Dayal, but they would not change their statements.[5]

Statements and Recognitions Made by Lekh Pal

As mentioned earlier, Lekh Pal said little about the previous life that his mother later recalled. She did remember that during the rather prolonged period when Lekh Pal was still learning to speak, his older sister Rajan Siri used to ask him to explain how his hand came to be malformed and where he was from. Of his replies Chiraunja Devi could only remember that Lekh Pal had said that he was from "Tal Gaon," which means the village of Tal. (She said he was about a year old when he began saying "Tal Gaon.") She remembered also how Lekh Pal kept repeating, "Tal, Tal."

According to Rajan Siri, Lekh Pal's first references to the previous life were: "I will not stay here. This is not my home." She remembered his saying that he was from "Tal Gaon," and she recalled additional details about the previous life that he had spoken at about the age of 4.[6] He said that he had a father and mother

[4]Rameshwar Dayal could not use the word *metacarpal* in speaking to Dr. Pasricha, who was translating; but he indicated that the hand had been cut proximally to the ends of the fingers, and Dr. Pasricha translated this to mean that the ends of the metacarpals had been cut.

[5]The confidence informants have in their memories provides an entirely inadequate guide to the accuracy of these memories.

I believe that it is sometimes acceptable to apply pressure on informants by deliberately challenging their memories. This may stimulate them to greater efforts at accurate recall. Exhortations to accuracy in remembering can sometimes improve accuracy (Gauld and Stephenson, 1967).

In the present instance I retain some doubts. In February 1980 Raj Rani said that she recalled that Hukum Singh's thumb had been injured in the accident; but after she listened to Rameshwar Dayal's confident assertion that it had not been injured, she withdrew her earlier statement, thus leaving open the possibility that she did so in order to avoid a disagreement with her son.

[6]In some other cases the subjects have confided more in older siblings than in their mothers; or the older siblings have remembered more than the mothers. An Indian mother of nine children, as Chiraunja Devi was, will often delegate the immediate care of younger children to one of the older ones; and that older child will then spend more time with the younger ones than the mother herself does. The mother would be most immediately concerned with her latest-born child.

If the parents of a subject try to suppress the expression of his memories, which I do not think happened in the present case, this increases the tendency for the subject to find sympathetic listeners among other persons.

at "Tal Gaon," and also an older sister and a younger brother. (This was correct, although incomplete, because Hukum Singh had three older brothers also.) He did not give Hukum Singh's name, and he did not say the names of other members of the family, with one exception that occurred in the details he gave of the injury to Hukum Singh's fingers. About this he said that he and his "uncle" were cutting fodder. His "uncle" was working the machine, and he (Hukum Singh) was feeding the fodder into it when his hand was cut. After his hand was cut, two persons took him to the hospital at Bewar. He did not recover, was then taken to Fatehgarh, and died on the way there. Lekh Pal did not tell Rajan Siri how old he was when he died (in the previous life), but said that he had been young.

Comment about Lekh Pal's Statements. In describing the man who was operating the fodder-chopping machine, Lekh Pal used the word *chacha*, which is the Hindi word for a father's younger brother. In the joint families of India children commonly adopt as names for their parents the forms of address they hear used for them by adults and older children of the family. Among the members of Hukum Singh's family Dwarka Prasad was known as "chacha," so that Lekh Pal's use of this particular term was correct from the perspective of Hukum Singh.

I have already explained that Dwarka Prasad was not even aware that Hukum Singh was near the fodder-chopping machine when the accident occurred. (His eyes were almost certainly on his hand that was pushing the stalks to be chopped towards the gripping cogs, while his other hand turned the wheel.) But Hukum Singh—small child that he was—could well have imagined that he was helping his father with the work in hand, and when he put his hands into the blades, he may have intended to hold something up to the blades for them to cut.

The detail about going to Fatehgarh is incorrect. Hukum Singh was not taken to Fatehgarh (which is the nearest city with full medical facilities), either for the treatment of the accident in which his fingers were cut off or for the brief illness from which he later died. Nor had his family considered taking him to Fatehgarh on either of these occasions.

Lekh Pal seemed, from his statements to Rajan Siri, to think that Hukum Singh had died of the accident to his fingers, although this was wrong.

Recognitions Made by Lekh Pal. Chiraunja Devi said that Lekh Pal had recognized Hukum Singh's brothers at the time they came to Nagla Devi to attend the wedding mentioned earlier. Hukum Singh's older brother, Bharat Singh, confirmed this, at least for Lekh Pal's recognition of him. He said that when he and his brothers went to Nagla Devi, Lekh Pal did not speak to them when he first saw them. Instead, he went inside his house. But when, later, someone pointed to Bharat Singh and said: "Who is he?" Lekh Pal replied: "My brother."

When Lekh Pal went to Nagla Tal a year or two after the wedding in Nagla Devi, he recognized other members of Hukum Singh's family, but under conditions that seem to me less satisfactory than those in Nagla Devi. Raj Rani said (in February 1980) that Lekh Pal had been asked: "Who is your mother?" She was in a group with several other women. Lekh Pal went over to Raj Rani, put his hand on her, and said: "This is my mother." After similar questions—also conveying too

much guidance—Lekh Pal recognized Hukum Singh's brothers and sisters. Raj Rani said that Lekh Pal had not been able to remember their names.

The informants at Nagla Tal agreed that Lekh Pal had correctly identified the place where Hukum Singh's fingers had been cut off, and he indicated a machine of the type that had cut them off. There were, however, some doubts concerning whether he had recognized the particular machine in which Hukum Singh had injured himself. Rameshwar Dayal was positive that Lekh Pal had correctly indicated the place where the fodder-chopping machine had been placed when Hukum Singh's fingers were cut, but he was uncertain that Lekh Pal had identified the particular machine concerned in Hukum Singh's accident.

Raj Rani said that Lekh Pal also recognized the place outside the village, on the road toward Bewar, where Hukum Singh had died.

Lekh Pal's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

We have already seen that, according to Rajan Siri, Lekh Pal's opening statement (that she remembered) about the previous life was the expression of a wish to leave his home and go where he thought his home was. Later, when he was talking more fluently about the previous life, at the age of about 4, he used to say that he would go to his mother and father in "Tal Gaon." As explanation for this he added: "My mother will be alone there." At this time, therefore, his motive for going to Nagla Tal seemed to be that of comforting Hukum Singh's mother, whose grief for him had indeed been immense. (She could not be regarded as in any sense physically alone, because she lived—even after several of her children died—in the middle of a large joint family.)

When Hukum Singh's brothers came to Nagla Devi for the wedding, and Lekh Pal recognized Bharat Singh (and possibly other brothers of Hukum Singh), Lekh Pal asked them to take him back to Nagla Tal with them. He complained to them that "everybody beats me here." I do not know whether this was true; and if it was true, I do not know whether Lekh Pal was being beaten for asking to go to Nagla Tal. However, he did wish strongly to go there, and when he was a little older, he actually began running away from home and trying to reach Nagla Tal. This behavior led to his family's allowing Sarnam Singh to take him over to Nagla Tal on a visit to Hukum Singh's family. This proved a happy occasion, and afterward the two families became friends. Lekh Pal was allowed to make other visits, and once, in 1979, he stayed for 2 weeks at Nagla Tal. He had stayed there on other occasions also. Hukum Singh's family gave Lekh Pal gifts, and in 1978 they had some clothes made for him. Lekh Pal also took gifts to them. He rather touchingly brought some rice to Raj Rani.

Sometime in 1979 Lekh Pal was sent to stay with his older, married sister, Rajan Siri, in Sirsa, where there was a school that he could attend. (Nagla Devi had no school.) Sirsa is 40 kilometers west of Bewar and therefore much farther from Nagla Tal than is Nagla Devi. Lekh Pal was not able to visit Hukum Singh's family conveniently from Sirsa. Yet his mother continued the friendship between

the families, and she had visited Raj Rani at Nagla Tal in 1980, sometime between the two visits Dr. Pasricha and I made there in February and October.

Lekh Pal had no phobia of fodder-chopping machines. His family owned one, and he did not mind approaching it. He was equally unafraid of the fodder-chopping machine used by Rajan Siri's husband in Sirsa. By the time he went to Sirsa, he was about 8 years old and able to help with the farm work, including the use of the fodder-chopping machine.

Lekh Pal's Birth Defect

Figures 17-1 and 17-2 show dorsal and palmar views of Lekh Pal's hands as they were in February 1980, when he was just over 8 years old. The left hand was normal, but the fingers of the right hand were represented by short stubs only. The third finger had a definite nail, the thumb and little finger had rudimentary nails, the other two fingers none. I could feel no bone in the soft stumps of the fingers. Figures 17-4 and 17-5 show the x-ray photographs of Lekh Pal's hands taken in March 1983. These show that he had a beginning center of ossification for the first phalanx of the fifth finger, but none for the phalanges of the other four fingers.

Figure 17-4 X-ray photograph of Lekh Pal's right hand in March 1983, when he was 11 years old. A small center of ossification can be seen at the distal end of the 5th metacarpal.

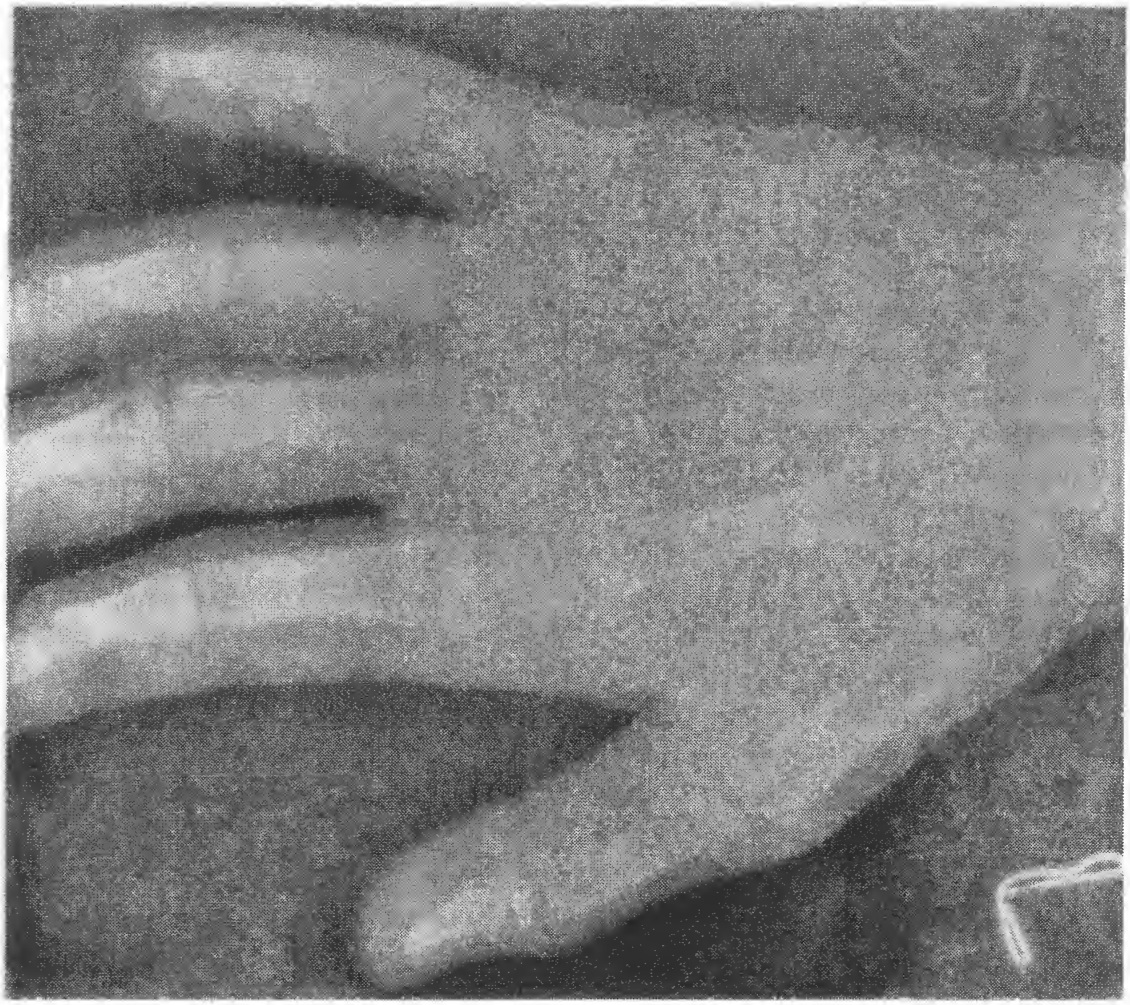

Figure 17-5 X-ray photograph of Lekh Pal's left hand in March 1983.

Lekh Pal had no pain in his right hand. He was left-handed and wrote for us with his left hand. However, he had considerable use of his right hand, as I noticed when watching him tie the rope of a buffalo to a post.

Other Relevant Medical Information. There were no other cases of birth defects in Lekh Pal's family, nor had there been any in either Chiraunja Devi's family or that of Sita Ram for two generations back, which was as far as they could be expected to know about. Chiraunja Devi and Sita Ram were not related.

I mentioned earlier the illness that Chiraunja Devi had during the last 15 days of her pregnancy with Lekh Pal, but it is unlikely that this illness, coming in the 8th month of her pregnancy, could have been responsible for Lekh Pal's birth defect.

Comment. Lekh Pal had a well-recognized birth defect—brachydactyly. However, the word *brachydactyly* means simply "short fingers," and the term refers to a variety of defects having short fingers in common (Bell, 1951). In the most widely recognized type of this defect, the middle phalanges are absent or

rudimentary. Bilateral brachydactyly of this type—in Bell's classification, type A1—has been recognized as a genetically transmitted birth defect at least since the careful study of its inheritance in one family by Farabee (1905). Its transmission is that of a Mendelian autosomal dominant, with a predictability of inheritance that led a judge in Norway to decide a paternity claim on evidence that the baby in question and the putative father both had brachydactyly, and no one else in the community had the condition (Mohr, 1934).

Bilateral brachydactyly occurs in about 1 in 40,000 births (Birch-Jensen, 1949), and unilateral brachydactyly must be much less frequent. Standard monographs on congenital malformations of the hand (Flatt, 1977; Kelikian, 1974) do not report any examples of unilateral brachydactyly. Experts I have consulted have not been able to direct me to any published reports of cases of unilateral brachydactyly. Bell (1951) reviewed 124 pedigrees that included 1336 individuals affected with one form or another of brachydactyly. She noted a few cases in which the defect had been somewhat asymmetrical, but only one family in which it had been unilateral; and in those cases only the thumb had been affected (Thomsen, 1927-28). Werthemann (1952, pp. 127-128) briefly reported the case of a 2-year-old boy who had a partial brachydactyly of one hand, but the fourth finger of the boy's other hand was also shorter than normal. The only published case of unilateral brachydactyly (similar to that of Lekh Pal) known to me is that reported by Barker (1887), which I cited in Chapter 3 (see Case 41 of Table 3-2). In sum, the evidence warrants my saying that unilateral brachydactyly is exceedingly rare.

A further fact of importance for the present case is that in the common types of brachydactyly the fingers are short but present. Lekh Pal had mere boneless stubs for the fingers of his right hand. Thus his birth defect was unusual in two respects: in being unilateral and in the extreme shortness of his fingers.

I describe a second case of unilateral brachydactyly, that of Ma Tin Yee, later in this chapter.

Comment on the Lack of Stimulation from Naming the Subject "Lekh Pal"

Kenedi Alkan's father named his son after President John F. Kennedy and undoubtedly fostered in his son an identification with President Kennedy. I do not have any information about whether Lekh Pal's family promoted his identification with a tax collector whose fingers an irate taxpayer had cut off. The name he was given, however, and the birth defect the name seemed to explain could have provided materials for Lekh Pal to have developed a fantasied identification with a tax collector. He failed to follow this lead and instead talked about an entirely different sort of life—a verifiable one—and gave a different explanation for his birth defect.

Lekh Pal's Later Development

In 1979 and 1980, when Dr. Pasricha and I met Lekh Pal, he seemed to retain memories of the previous life which he told to us affably. (These, however,

may have been secondary memories of what he remembered saying when younger or of what older persons had told him he had said when younger.) He persisted in the error of thinking that he had died of the effect of having the fingers cut off.

At Sirsa in 1980, Lekh Pal was going sporadically to the primary school, where he was in the first grade. However, he was not interested in studies, and, being only in the first grade at the age of 9, he was markedly behind his peers. An officious member of the crowd surrounding us at Sirsa pointed out with some truth that he could not be expected to develop much interest in school because he was not attending regularly. It seemed that his sister and brother-in-law detained him at home, or allowed him to remain at home, in order to help with the farm work. Lekh Pal eventually left school in about 1983 after completing the sixth grade. To have done this he must have received a "social promotion" at some stage.

Lekh Pal expressed no conflict between the two families, saying that he liked living with his sister in Sirsa and also enjoyed visiting Hukum Singh's family.

After staying with Rajan Siri and her husband in Sirsa for some years, Lekh Pal returned to his parents' home in Nagla Devi in about 1987. He was tending the family's cattle. At this time Lekh Pal was almost 16 years old, and his parents had considered arranging a marriage for him, but nothing had come of their plans. Rajan Siri told Dr. Pasricha that no girl "is willing to marry him because of his hand." Rajan Siri said that if someone scolded Lekh Pal, he would still sometimes threaten to go back to "my place."

When Dr. Pasricha last met Lekh Pal in December 1990, he said he was 18 years old, but was perhaps 19. He had still not married. He was working in the family's fields, in which he found the defect of his right hand somewhat handicapping.

At this time he again said that he had no imaged memories of the previous life, but he knew from what others had told him what he had said about the previous life when younger.

The two families continued to have friendly relations. When Lekh Pal's older brother married, early in 1990, one of Hukum Singh's brothers came to Nagla Devi for the wedding. Lekh Pal's father, Sita Ram, tried to stop Lekh Pal from going to visit Hukum Singh's family in Nagla Tal, but Lekh Pal managed to go anyway. In the spring of 1990 Hukum Singh's father, Kamandal, died, and Lekh Pal attended his funeral. Two or three months later he went again to Nagla Tal for a wedding. He told Dr. Pasricha that when he was in Nagla Tal he had a longing for Nagla Devi; but back in Nagla Devi he had a longing for Nagla Tal.

In Nagla Tal, Hukum Singh's mother told Dr. Pasricha that she regarded Lekh Pal as her son, and Bharat Singh said that he considered Lekh Pal to be his brother.

Comment. Sita Ram may have opposed Lekh Pal's going to Nagla Tal out of a fear that he would develop, more than he already had, divided loyalties to the two families.

THE CASE OF MA MYINT THEIN

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Ma Myint Thein was born in the village of Okingone near Pyawbwe, in Upper Burma, on October 12, 1956. Her parents were U Pe Tin and his wife, Daw Khin Hla. Ma Myint Thein was the fifth of their six children. U Pe Tin was a farmer. He and his family lived in a small house, where his wife did some weaving.

Before Daw Khin Hla became pregnant with Ma Myint Thein, U Pe Tin had a dream in which an acquaintance, U Sein Maung, said that he wished to be reborn in U Pe Tin's family. I shall describe this dream later. When U Pe Tin had it, he did not know that U Sein Maung was dead, but learned the next day that he had been murdered by assassins armed with swords.

When Ma Myint Thein was born, her parents immediately noticed severe malformations of her fingers (Figures 17-6 and 17-7). Ma Myint Thein also had a linear birthmark on her neck and a birthmark on her back in the area of the left kidney. In the meantime, her parents had forgotten about U Pe Tin's dream and simply attributed Ma Myint Thein's birth defects to a previous life without linking them to the murder of U Sein Maung.

Ma Myint Thein began to speak coherently when she was about 1½ years old, or perhaps 2. She seems to have made no reference to a previous life until she was 5 or 6. According to Ma Myint Thein, speaking many years later in 1975, her first memories of the previous life occurred when, as she was playing with other children, she noticed that her hands were different from theirs. She then began to recall that in a previous life she had been murdered by three or four men with swords. Thereafter, she recovered more and more details about the previous life.

Daw Khin Hla said that she first learned about Ma Myint Thein's memories when she overheard Ma Myint Thein, who was then about 6, talking with one of her older brothers. Ma Myint Thein was saying: "I have got a wife in the south. I will give you candies if you will take me there." After this, Ma Myint Thein gradually opened up her memories to other members of the family.

The case came to the attention of U Nu, our associate in Upper Burma, in 1975, and he made an extensive investigation of it in June of that year. When U Win Maung and I were in Pyawbwe in November 1975, U Nu dictated to me, with the help of his sister-in-law Daw Hnin Aye as interpreter, more than eight pages of notes from his interviews about the case. U Win Maung and I could not meet Ma Myint Thein or other informants for the case in 1975. In February 1977, U Win Maung, U Nu, and I went to Okingone, where we met Ma Myint Thein, her parents, and two other members of her family. In the nearby village of Sardaung we interviewed two persons who had seen the body of U Sein Maung after his murder.

In March 1978, we stopped again at Okingone and had a further brief interview with Ma Myint Thein.

In February 1984, Daw Hnin Aye went to Okingone at my request. She met Ma Myint Thein and her mother, who answered some questions about details. A

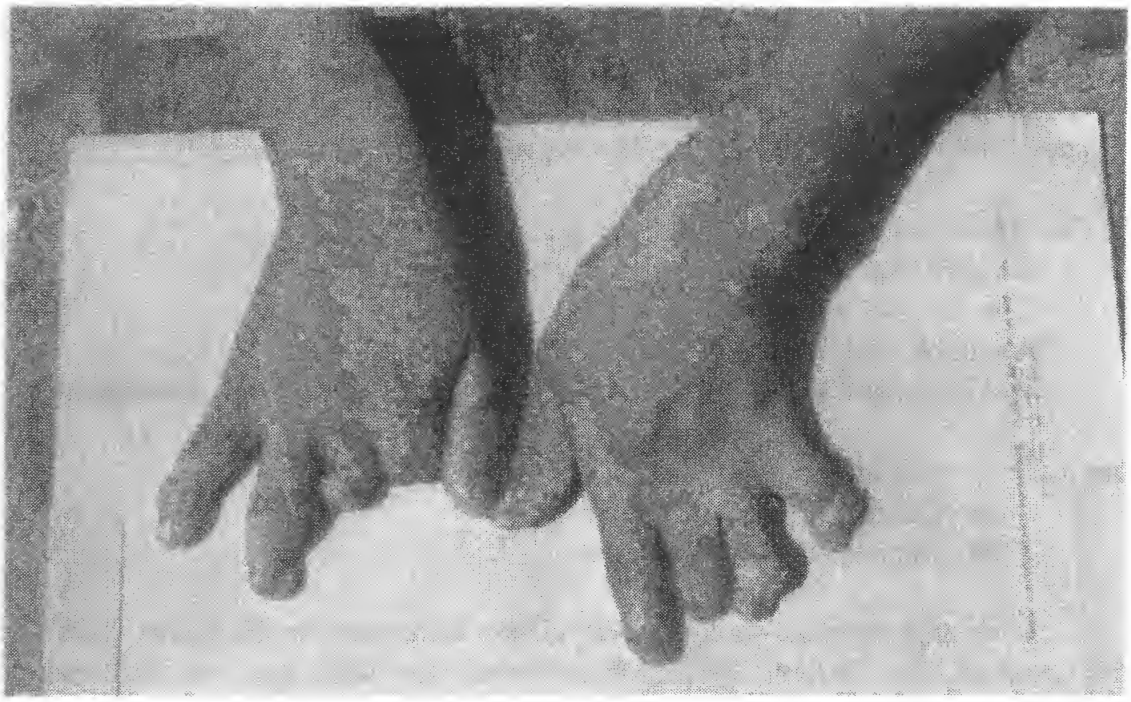

Figure 17-6 Dorsal view of Ma Myint Thein's hands as they appeared in February 1977, when she was 20 years old. All the fingers were markedly shortened and malformed. Most of the fingers and the right thumb showed constriction rings. Only the left thumb was completely normal.

Figure 17-7 Palmar view of Ma Myint Thein's hands. The photograph was taken at the same time as Figure 17-6.

few weeks later, on March 1, 1984, U Win Maung and I (accompanied by Daw Hnin Aye) went to Okingone and met Ma Myint Thein again.

Persons Interviewed during the Investigation

In Okingone we interviewed:

Ma Myint Thein
U Pe Tin, Ma Myint Thein's father
Daw Khin Hla, Ma Myint Thein's mother
Daw Thoung, Daw Khin Hla's mother and Ma Myint Thein's grandmother

In Sardaung we interviewed

U Aye Maung, villager of Ligoma
U Chit Maung, villager of Ligoma

U Nu had previously interviewed all the informants in Okingone, with the exception of Daw Thoung. He also interviewed Daw Toke Aye, who had been a close friend of U Sein Maung and had made reasonable conjectures concerning his murderers.

Ma Myint Thein's maternal aunt, Ma Yin Mai, was present during our interviews of 1977, but she answered only one question.

Ma Myint Thein said very little to us during our visit in 1977, but she had spoken freely with U Nu in 1975, and so we have a satisfactory record of what she could remember about the previous life when she was almost 19 years old.

U Win Maung and I did not interview any member of U Sein Maung's family. My information about his life and death comes principally from U Pe Tin and Daw Khin Hla (Ma Myint Thein's parents), who knew U Sein Maung well, and from U Nu's interview with Daw Toke Aye, who had also known U Sein Maung well. U Nu himself had grown up in Pyawbwe, and he maintained business interests there as well as in Taunggyi. He was widely familiar with the people in Pyawbwe and its surrounding villages. He was in Pyawbwe at the time of U Sein Maung's murder.

Relevant Facts of Geography and Acquaintance between the Families Concerned

Okingone, where Ma Myint Thein was born and lived, is about 5 kilometers southwest of Pyawbwe. Sardaung, a village where U Nu had a home, is about 1 kilometer south of Pyawbwe.

U Sein Maung was murdered along the road that links Therawaddy and Pyawbwe, near another village called Ligoma. Ligoma is about 1 kilometer from Okingone. On the other side of Okingone (about 0.5 kilometer farther north) is the village of Pachaung, where U Sein Maung's parents lived. As I shall explain below, he had been visiting his parents in their village just before he was murdered.

U Pe Tin was a native of Pachaung, U Sein Maung's village. He said that he had known U Sein Maung "very well." They were not related, but "very friendly."

Of the two families U Sein Maung's was considerably more prosperous than U Pe Tin's.

The Life, Death, and Character of U Sein Maung

U Sein Maung was born in about 1921 in the village of Pachaung. His parents were U Po Tha and Daw Ngai Ma.

When he grew up, he lived mostly in Pyawbwe, where he worked as a small trader. In this he prospered sufficiently so that he purchased his own truck with which he traded between Pyawbwe and Rangoon. He sold vegetables and other agricultural products.

He married a girl called Ma Thein, and they had two children, a girl, Ma Ahmar, and a boy, Maung Tin Win.

U Sein Maung's married life was unsatisfactory, perhaps because he spent so much time on the road in his truck and away from Pyawbwe. Ma Thein suspected him of having, or planning to have, a mistress or "lesser wife"[7] whom he would keep in Rangoon. Suspicious of what her husband was doing in Rangoon, she followed him there on one occasion to better inform herself. Not being reassured, she became angry and "in a fit of temper" committed suicide by drinking battery acid. This occurred about 4 or 5 years before U Sein Maung was murdered. U Nu later enquired about the truth of the allegation that U Sein Maung had kept a "lesser wife" in Rangoon, and learned that it was true. Ma Yin Mai, Ma Myint Thein's maternal aunt, also said (in 1977) that she had heard that U Sein Maung had been keeping a "lesser wife."

On the day of U Sein Maung's murder, he had bicycled out from Pyawbwe to visit his parents at their village of Pachaung. On his way back he saw U Pe Tin and Daw Khin Hla by the side of the road about halfway between Pachaung and Okingone. It was the season for harvesting peas and beans, and U Pe Tin and Daw Khin Hla were sorting their crop when U Sein Maung stopped and asked them for a drink of water. They gave him some water, chatted a little with him, and then watched him go off. He had planned to look in on a wedding that was taking place in Ligoma, the village between Okingone and Pyawbwe. After that he was going to return to Pyawbwe.

[7]Burmese marriages may be quite informal. In villages a couple may present themselves before the elders and say that they plan to live together. Unless there are strong grounds for opposing the union, the couple are thereafter regarded as married, and so regard themselves, so long as they remain together. A divorce is only slightly more difficult, although village elders usually make some effort to reconcile a quarreling couple.

A certain amount of what would be regarded in the West as bigamy occurs in Burma. A man who takes a "lesser wife" is not necessarily ostracized, at least by other men, but his arrangements are not likely to be agreeable to his first wife.

The next day U Pe Tin and Daw Khin Hla were shocked to learn that U Sein Maung had been murdered along the road between Ligoma and Pyawbwe. He had attended the wedding and was bicycling home between Ligoma and Pyawbwe when he was murdered and his body left near a railway culvert in a rather isolated part of the road. U Pe Tin and Daw Khin Hla did not go to view his dead body. Neither did U Nu, who was then living at his village of Sardaung. He had known U Sein Maung slightly, and he learned about U Sein Maung's murder on the day it occurred, but did not go to the area of the murder until, 2 or 3 days later, he had to go there on his own business. At that time he enquired about the murder and learned of some of the odd circumstances that pointed toward a motive for it.

In 1977 U Win Maung and I talked at U Nu's house in Sardaung with two persons who had seen U Sein Maung's body after his murder. (We interviewed them together.)

U Aye Maung said that U Sein Maung's fingers of both hands had been chopped off and his neck had been cut.

U Chit Maung remembered the scene in a slightly more detailed way. He said: "I went [to look at the body of U Sein Maung] with a lot of other people from my village [Ligoma]. I saw the body when it was still on the ground, lying on its stomach. I saw a wound on the nape of the neck. I saw the fingers, some lying near the body and some dangling partly attached. The head was almost off the body."

After listening to U Chit Maung's account, we asked U Aye Maung to describe the extent of the wound on U Sein Maung's neck that he had mentioned. He then said that the head was almost severed from the trunk.

When U Nu made his inquiries a few days after the murder, his informants described to him the chopping off of U Sein Maung's fingers and told him that his head had been nearly severed from his body. In addition, they said that U Sein Maung had received a stab wound in the lower left back. (U Nu placed his own hand approximately over his left kidney as he indicated the site of this wound.) Our two informants of 1977 did not mention this wound.

Figure 17-8 shows a Burmese sword of the type that might have been used in this murder.

The murder occurred during the period of insurgency that affected Burma for many years after it achieved independence in 1948. (See Appendix B.) The authority of the police and judiciary in Upper Burma was seriously curtailed during several of those years. U Sein Maung's murder was officially unnoticed, and there were no arrests. There were, however, suspects, and the knowledge that two of them were still living in the area in 1975 inhibited Daw Toke Aye from talking with U Nu about the murderers as freely as she might otherwise have done.

It seemed possible to eliminate robbery as a motive for the murder of U Sein Maung. His bicycle had not been taken away from the scene of the crime, and the gold studs of his shirt were still in place. Moreover, a gold ring that had been on one of his fingers had been left and so had a wristwatch and a gold band that he was wearing on one of his wrists. These observations opened the way for

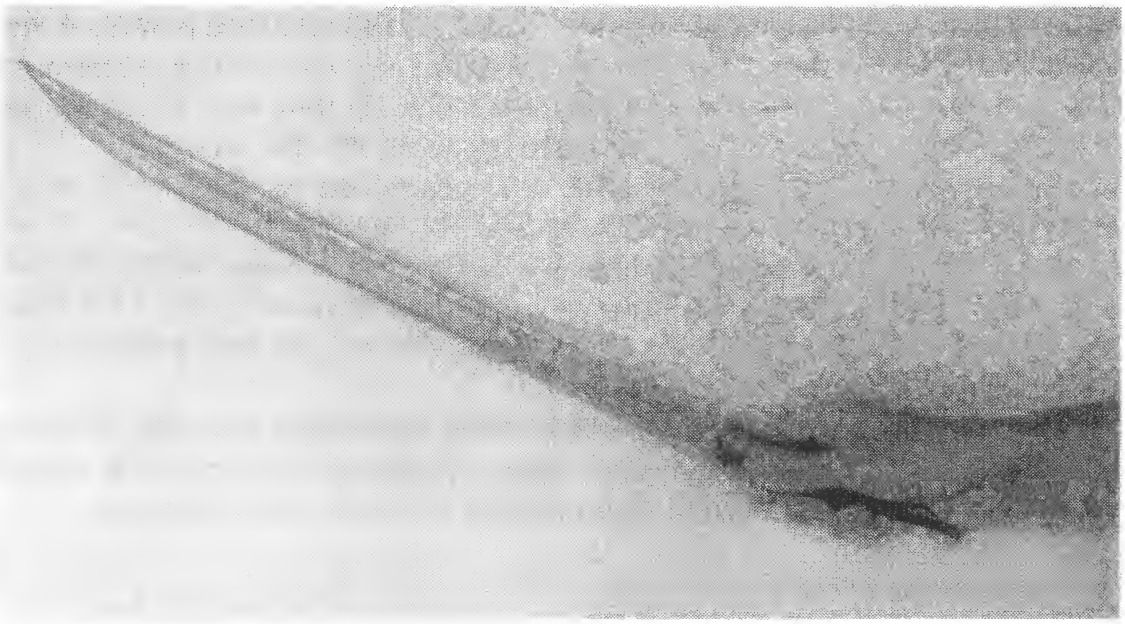

Figure 17-8 Sword of Burma of the type that might have been used in the murder of U Sein Maung. This one was purchased in Mandalay.

speculations about other reasons for U Sein Maung's murder. The most likely of these suggested that U Sein Maung's mother-in-law had nourished a grievance against U Sein Maung for the suicide of her daughter, Ma Thein, and had finally decided to revenge herself on him by hiring professional, or at least employable, murderers to kill him.

An unexpected confirmation of our information about U Sein Maung's life and death occurred in the following way. As I mentioned, Daw Hnin Aye went to Okingone in February 1984 in order to ask some questions about details for me. Some of the villagers who had learned why Daw Hnin Aye had come to the village approached her and volunteered information about the murder of U Sein Maung. They claimed to know what we had only surmised, which was that U Sein Maung's mother-in-law had learned the circumstances of her daughter's suicide (because U Sein Maung was unfaithful) and had sworn in front of some villagers—not necessarily the same ones that were talking to Daw Hnin Aye: "He must die as my daughter has died." After saying this, she hired some men to kill U Sein Maung.

Attempts to Verify the Date of U Sein Maung's Death. U Pe Tin said that he dreamed about U Sein Maung the night after his murder, of which he heard news the following day. He thought he had the dream shortly before Daw Khin Hla became pregnant with Ma Myint Thein. Ma Myint Thein was born after about 9 months of pregnancy on October 12, 1956. She was not premature, but not postmature either. This would put her conception back to February 1956, which accords with the season of harvesting peas and beans.

I asked U Nu whether we might obtain a more precise date for U Sein Maung's murder by learning the date of the wedding he had attended just before

he was killed. U Nu had already thought of that. He had asked the printers of the invitations to the wedding—Pyawbwe probably had only one printing company—if they could establish the date, but they could not. He then went to the couple who were married that day, but they could not recall the date precisely. U Nu's first general recollection that the murder had occurred during the years of insurgency in Burma provides no precision, because the insurgency went on for years. However, he thought that U Sein Maung's murder had occurred during the last week of March 1956. But if this is the correct date for the murder, then Daw Khin Hla was already pregnant with Ma Myint Thein, although she may not have realized this until later.

In sum, U Sein Maung was almost certainly killed some time early in 1956, and Ma Myint Thein was with an equal degree of certainty born toward the end of 1956. I do not think we can come closer than these dates to the correct ones.

An Announcing Dream

On the night of the day of U Sein Maung's murder (but before he had learned about the murder), U Pe Tin dreamed that he met U Sein Maung at the gate of his (U Pe Tin's) compound. U Sein Maung spoke to him and said either: "I am coming to your house" or "I want to come and stay at your house." U Pe Tin replied: "Come, if you wish to do so." Daw Thoung (Daw Khin Hla's mother) said (in 1977) that she learned about U Pe Tin's dream the following day and that he had said, as if he had learned it from the dream: "Sein Maung is already dead." Daw Khin Hla also recalled hearing about U Pe Tin's dream, but she did not mention when she had first heard about it.

Statements Made by Ma Myint Thein

Ma Myint Thein's Statements When She Was a Young Child. Ma Myint Thein talked more with other persons than with her mother about the previous life. She seems to have confided in one of her uncles, whom I did not meet. However, in one way or another, U Pe Tin and Daw Khin Hla learned that she was claiming to remember the following details. (I am here combining the statements Ma Myint Thein's parents made to U Win Maung and me about these early memories in 1977.)

Ma Myint Thein said that she had been called Sein Maung. She[8] had had a wife, Ma Thein, and two children, a boy and a girl. She stated their names, Ahmar (the daughter) and Paw Gwe (the son). (Paw Gwe was in fact the pet name for Maung Tin Win.) She had a sister-in-law called Ma Thein Kywe. Ma Thein had committed suicide in Rangoon.

[8]Throughout this section, and sometimes elsewhere in this report, I have used a feminine pronoun for convenience in the narrative. Readers should remember, however, that the previous life recalled was that of a man. It was he who had the wife.

Ma Myint Thein said further that in the previous life she had owned some cattle, a bicycle, and a motor vehicle. (U Sein Maung had owned a truck; the Burmese language does not ordinarily distinguish the different types of motor vehicles unless someone wants more specific information.)

Concerning the death in the previous life, Ma Myint Thein said that she was killed with "a big, long knife,"[9] and that when this happened she had fallen off the bicycle and spectacles that she was wearing had fallen off.

At this stage—when she was still a young child—Ma Myint Thein seemed to recall the name of U Sein Maung's principal murderer, but when her uncle asked her to reveal the name she would not do so.

Ma Myint Thein spontaneously said that her fingers were malformed because, as U Sein Maung, she had held up her hands to ward off the first stroke of the sword as the murderers began to kill him.

Ma Myint Thein's Memories in the 1970s. I have derived the following summary from U Win Maung's translation of U Nu's notes (of 1975) combined with my own notes dictated by U Nu.

Ma Myint Thein remembered that she had been U Sein Maung of Pyawbwe in the previous life and had a wife, Ma Thein. She could no longer remember the names of U Sein Maung's parents,[10] but did remember those of his two children: Ma Ahmar and Maung Tin Win. Ma Thein had committed suicide because she thought U Sein Maung was keeping a "lesser wife." Ma Thein had killed herself in Rangoon by drinking battery acid. U Sein Maung had had a primary education in a monastery. He had been a trader in agricultural products, such as vegetables, owned his own truck, and was traveling between Pyawbwe and Rangoon and also between Pyawbwe and Pegu. (Pegu, a large city, is on the main road between Pyawbwe and Rangoon; presumably what Ma Myint Thein meant here was that sometimes U Sein Maung went from Pyawbwe only as far as Pegu and returned to Pyawbwe without going on to Rangoon.)

Ma Myint Thein had a memory of her parents sorting beans on the day of U Sein Maung's death. (She appears not to have remembered such other details of the meeting between U Sein Maung and Ma Myint Thein's parents as that he stopped and asked them for a drink of water.) Ma Myint Thein further said that she (as U Sein Maung) had been returning on a bicycle to Pyawbwe from a wedding ceremony at Ligoma when a group of three or four persons had stopped her outside the village near a railway culvert. U Sein Maung was taken down the road

[9]In the report of the case of Maung Myint Aung I explained that the Burmese use the word *dah* in referring to any bladed utensil or weapon from a kitchen knife to a sword; and different interpreters render it variously in English. The word *sword* would be a more accurate translation here, and it was used at other times in reference to U Sein Maung's murder.

[10]The names of U Sein Maung's parents had not figured earlier among the statements she had made when young, according to her parents. She might have remembered the names without mentioning them. It is also possible that her parents did not remember the names when we questioned them (in 1977) about what names she had mentioned. There remains the further possibility that she never had remembered the names, but later thought that she had.

to a small embankment. He tried to plead for his life with his hands held up palms together, but the murderers chopped off his fingers. Ma Myint Thein remembered that U Sein Maung had been wearing a ring, a wristwatch, and a gold bracelet. She had no memories of wounds after the fingers were chopped off, nor any of the interval between U Sein Maung's death and her birth.

In the 1970s Ma Myint Thein said that U Sein Maung did not recognize his murderers, and she herself could no longer remember what they had looked like, this memory having been among those that had faded.

In answer to questions from U Nu, Ma Myint Thein said that she could not remember the color or the license number of the truck that U Sein Maung had owned and used for trading. She denied that U Sein Maung had had a "lesser wife," but U Nu was skeptical of this denial; he thought that Ma Myint Thein remembered that U Sein Maung had had a "lesser wife" (as U Nu himself had verified), but was ashamed to admit it.

Ma Myint Thein told U Nu that all other memories had faded. This meant that she was claiming then to have told him everything that she could then remember about the previous life.

Comment. Ma Myint Thein was almost 19 years old when U Nu recorded the statements just described. Many years had passed since she had first spoken about the previous life as a child of 5 or 6. Moreover, during the interval she had met U Sein Maung's mother-in-law and his daughter, Ma Ahmar. There were probably four such meetings altogether. At least two of these meetings had been brief. There had not been repeated and prolonged opportunities for the exchange of information between the families such as occurs in some cases. Nor, so far as I could tell, were Ma Myint Thein's memories often a topic for discussion within her own family. Ma Myint Thein's grandmother shared a superstition found among some Burmese people that it is unlucky to talk about a previous life. Her belief probably inhibited talk about the previous life, at least between Ma Myint Thein and the adults around her. Despite this, her later statements included more detail, especially about the death of U Sein Maung, than did what her parents remembered of what she had said when younger. There are three possible explanations for this.

First, her parents, not having paid much attention to what she said when she had been younger, had perhaps forgotten details. Also, as I mentioned, she may have confided more in other persons than in her parents.

Second, Ma Myint Thein might have acquired information about U Sein Maung from persons outside her family with whom she had talked about the previous life more freely than she did within it. U Sein Maung, although he lived in Pyawbwe, had come from the village of Pachaung, which was only half a kilometer from Ma Myint Thein's village of Okingone. Moreover, at Ligoma, only 1 kilometer from Okingone, numerous persons knew about U Sein Maung's murder, which had occurred just beyond that village on the road to Pyawbwe.

Third, by brooding over the previous life, especially in relation to her defective hands, Ma Myint Thein might have brought to consciousness more memories

than she had had as a young child. She herself said that the memories came back to her gradually after she began—as a young child—to realize that her hands were different from those of other children. In this connection I find it relevant that her memories of 1975 included the ring, wristwatch, and gold bracelet that U Sein Maung was wearing when he was murdered. All these would have been among the last objects in U Sein Maung's visual field as he held up his hands partly to plead for his life, partly to ward off the first stroke of the sword.

I agree with U Nu's opinion that Ma Myint Thein (in 1975) had falsely denied remembering that U Sein Maung had a "lesser wife." When she had been young, she had recalled that U Sein Maung's wife (Ma Thein) had committed suicide. Her mother had also overheard her telling her brother: "I have got a wife in the south." This use of the present tense presumably referred to U Sein Maung's having a "lesser wife" at the time of his death. It is, however, possible that Ma Myint Thein had forgotten this memory between the time she told it to her brother and the time many years later when she spoke with U Nu.

Ma Myint Thein's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

Circumstances and Manner of Ma Myint Thein's Speaking about the Previous Life. When Ma Myint Thein was young, she seemed to show no strong emotion as she talked about the previous life. Her parents (like the parents of many other Burmese subjects) said that on cloudy days she became depressed and then remembered the previous life. They had not noticed that she ever seemed to remember the previous life in dreams or nightmares.

Although Ma Myint Thein remembered the name of U Sein Maung, she never asked to be called by his name.

In general, she seemed well able to separate the previous life to which she referred from her own life. An exception occurred when she told her brother: "I have got a wife in the south." This sense of the wife still being available was strong enough to make Ma Myint Thein offer to pay her brother with candies if he would take her to the "wife in the south."

After Ma Myint Thein became aware that her hands were different from those of other children, she wanted to explain to her playmates why she was born with the defects she had. At some stage—I do not know when—she became embarrassed about the appearance of her fingers and tried to hide them. This sense of shame was wearing off in the 1970s, but a residue persisted. Daw Khin Hla said that Ma Myint Thein "grieved over her defects."

Although Ma Myint Thein spoke freely with U Nu in 1975, she did not wish to speak about her memories when U Win Maung and I met her in 1977. At that time she even wept a little when we first tried to draw her out concerning them. She said that remembering the previous life made her "not feel good." She seemed somewhat depressed, and I was not surprised when her mother said that she was. A crowd of modest size attracted by our party cannot have helped her to relax. Some of her reluctance to talk may have derived from embarrassment over having

so many persons stare at her hands and listen to the story of her memories. We did our best to spare her feelings. Later in the day, she became more comfortable with us and talked more freely. When we returned in 1978, she was friendly and also more cheerful.

Ma Myint Thein's Adult Behavior. When Ma Myint Thein was young, she was observed to "act a bit superior to persons of her own age." Daw Thoung told U Nu that Ma Myint Thein "behaved like an elderly person." I did not learn more particulars about this behavior.

Ma Myint Thein's Masculine Behavior. According to Daw Khin Hla, Ma Myint Thein had shown masculine traits when she was young. She was fond of wearing boys' clothes. She preferred girls' blouses that were long and resembled men's shirts. She did not, however, wear her longyi in the style of a boy or man. On the other hand, her mother had noticed that she used the masculine verb forms—which indicate the sex of the speaker in Burmese. She complained about being a girl. Ma Myint Thein told U Win Maung and me, both in 1977 and 1978, that she would prefer to be a male.[11]

Ma Myint Thein's Phobia of the Site of U Sein Maung's Murder. U Nu told me in 1975 that Ma Myint Thein had "recognized" the place—along the road between Ligoma and Pyawbwe—where U Sein Maung had been murdered; but I learned no details about this recognition. However, apart from whatever happened when she first passed this place on the road, Ma Myint Thein found herself shivering every time she passed it later. And this happened often during many years, because she had to pass the spot as she went into Pyawbwe to attend school there. She would pass it again as she came home. U Nu said in 1975 that Ma Myint Thein's shivering at the site of U Sein Maung's murder had ceased around 1972. Nevertheless, Ma Myint Thein said, in 1977, that although she had lost the formerly severe phobia she had of that site when she was about 12 (which would have been in 1968), she noticed that she still shivered a little whenever she went past the place.

Ma Myint Thein's Attitudes toward U Sein Maung's Family. The observations under this heading require evaluation in relation to our knowledge that U Sein Maung's (principal) wife, Ma Thein, had died before he did, and that his parents had died before Ma Myint Thein spoke about the previous life. Of U Sein Maung's close relatives we need therefore only to consider his mother-in-law, Daw Saw Yin, his two children, Ma Ahmar and Maung Tin Win, and his "lesser wife" in Rangoon (whose name I did not learn).

When she was about 6, Ma Myint Thein expressed to her brother a strong wish to visit the "lesser wife" in Rangoon. In 1975 U Nu said that Ma Myint Thein had not expressed any wish to meet U Sein Maung's children or mother-in-law. However, U Pe Tin said that she had expressed a wish to meet Ma Ahmar;

[11]The other behavioral expressions of masculinity are more important than Ma Myint Thein's verbal statement that she would like to be a man. Most Burmese women express a wish to change sex and become a man in their next life (Stevenson, 1983).

and in about 1975 he had taken her to Thazi (a town north of Pyawbwe) for this purpose. According to U Pe Tin, both Ma Myint Thein and Ma Ahmar wept when they met. Although U Nu, who gave me a secondhand account of this meeting, thought that Ma Myint Thein had recognized Ma Ahmar, U Pe Tin did not say this. Perhaps something about Ma Myint Thein's manner of greeting Ma Ahmar that was reported to U Nu made him think the former had recognized the latter. But considering that, on setting out from Okingone, Ma Myint Thein would have known that she was going to meet Ma Ahmar in Thazi, we cannot credit anything in this meeting as having a paranormal process.

Ma Myint Thein had never met Maung Tin Win, U Sein Maung's son. This might have been because he had joined the Burmese Army and, at least in 1977, was serving in the south of Burma.

Ma Myint Thein had met Daw Saw Yin about three times. Unfortunately, I am far from certain about when each of these meetings took place. Moreover, no member of her family appears to have been a witness for what went on between Daw Saw Yin and Ma Myint Thein when they met; we are obliged to reconstruct this from what Ma Myint Thein told her parents (and, later, U Nu, U Win Maung, and me).

The first meeting occurred in the bazaar at Pyawbwe when Ma Myint Thein was on her way to school. She was then about 8 years old, which she would have been in 1964 or 1965. Ma Myint Thein expressed some dislike for Daw Saw Yin and declined to accept an invitation to visit her at her home. Another meeting occurred much later, in about 1974. Ma Myint Thein was again unfriendly toward Daw Saw Yin, and, according to her account later, she turned her back on Daw Saw Yin. Daw Saw Yin cried when she saw Ma Myint Thein and showed a mood of conciliation as well as a plea for affection. She said: "Now that my son is no more I am poor. No one is supporting me now." Ma Myint Thein replied: "Where is my truck?" The implication of this remark was that if U Sein Maung's truck was still in the family it could be used or sold to provide at least some support for Daw Saw Yin.

In 1977 Ma Myint Thein told us that Daw Saw Yin wanted her to visit, and she had gone (by that time) once, but once only. Such visits revived memories of the past life and of her present handicap (the malformations of her hands) and made her sad. In March 1978 Ma Myint Thein said that she had again met Daw Saw Yin in February (about a month before our visit). Daw Saw Yin was "quite friendly" and had invited her to come to her home, but Ma Myint Thein had declined.

In 1984 Ma Myint Thein told Daw Hnin Aye that she did not wish to visit Daw Saw Yin because she was troubled by the knowledge that she (as U Sein Maung) had died because of Daw Saw Yin.

Comment. I cannot say whether Ma Myint Thein had incriminated Daw Saw Yin through recovering additional memories or from normally acquired information warranting the conjecture I mentioned earlier, according to which Daw Saw Yin had hired murderers to kill U Sein Maung.

Ma Myint Thein's Attitude of Vengefulness toward U Sein Maung's Murderers

Ma Myint Thein said that when she was young she had had thoughts of revenging herself against U Sein Maung's murderers. However, she appears to have lost this attitude while still young. Daw Khin Hla remembered a conversation between Ma Myint Thein and her maternal uncle (Daw Khin Hla's brother). I think this occurred not long after Ma Myint Thein began talking about the previous life. The uncle asked Ma Myint Thein to give out the name of U Sein Maung's murderer, and she had refused. The uncle then offered to kill the murderer if Ma Myint Thein would identify him. Ma Myint Thein replied that he must not do that.

When, in 1975, U Nu asked Ma Myint Thein whether she then had any wish to take revenge against U Sein Maung's murderers, she said that she did not.

Other Behavior of Ma Myint Thein

Ma Myint Thein had no special interest in trading and did not claim that she had any unusual habits or attitudes characteristic of a trader that she might have derived from the life of U Sein Maung. However, she felt confident that if she did work as a trader she would be able to handle the business competently.

Comments about Ma Myint Thein's Attitude toward Her Situation

I have already mentioned that Ma Myint Thein was moderately depressed in 1977, and I have indicated several reasons why she might have been. From her perspective, rebirth had brought her into much less favorable circumstances than those of U Sein Maung: She found herself with grotesque birth defects of both hands that all could see, a female body, and a marked demotion in economic status. She definitely did not like this situation. Her mother described Ma Myint Thein as having "been dissatisfied with her whole life."

Ma Myint Thein was aware that U Sein Maung's conduct had contributed to Ma Thein's suicide. When, in 1977, we asked Ma Myint Thein about the motive for Ma Thein's suicide, she said that "she [Ma Thein] was dissatisfied with the way Sein Maung was behaving." This was presumably an oblique reference to the "lesser wife" whom U Sein Maung had maintained. Earlier, Ma Myint Thein had denied to U Nu that there had been such a "lesser wife." As I mentioned earlier, she may have been ashamed to admit the fact to him. Thus some sense of guilt may have added further to her depression.

The early conversation between Ma Myint Thein and her uncle suggested that she had known (when young) the name of at least one of U Sein Maung's murderers; however, it seems likely that he was a mere hired killer. As I mentioned earlier, Ma Myint Thein appears to have concluded that Daw Saw Yin had engaged persons to kill U Sein Maung. Nevertheless, we could adequately explain

Ma Myint Thein's uncordial attitude toward U Sein Maung's mother-in-law, Daw Saw Yin, by the bad relationship that U Sein Maung may be presumed to have had with her before and after Ma Thein's suicide.

Comments on the Possible Influence of Ma Myint Thein's Parents on Her Identification with U Sein Maung

If some parents of a subject decide early that a baby is the reincarnation of a particular person and then facilitate the child's identification with that person, the present case does not seem to be an example of such an influence. I have no reason to question the statement of Daw Khin Hla (stated in her husband's presence and I am sure with his full assent) that they quickly forgot the dream he had just after U Sein Maung's murder, but before he knew about the murder. When they saw Ma Myint Thein's birth defects, they accepted them as derived from a previous life in some way, but made no connection between them and any particular person. They remained in this state of disinterest until Daw Khin Hla overheard Ma Myint Thein talking with her brother about the previous life. She was then about 6 years old.

Ma Myint Thein's Birth Defects and Birthmarks

Figures 17-6 and 17-7 show that, with the exception of the left thumb, each of Ma Myint Thein's fingers was affected in some way. The right thumb was less affected than the eight fingers, but it had a constriction ring that can be seen best on Figure 17-6 near the interphalangeal joint. The eight fingers were all shortened, some markedly so, and the right index finger was effectively missing, being represented only by a stump. Most of the remaining fingers showed constriction rings, and some of them had the edematous ballooning distal to the rings that often occurs with such constrictions (Baker and Rudolph, 1971; Flatt, 1977; Patterson, 1961; Torpin, 1968).

Ma Myint Thein said that she had never had pain in her hands. They were functional, but Ma Myint Thein found herself much handicapped in performing ordinary household tasks. She was right-handed, at least for signing her name, which I watched her do.

Because U Sein Maung's head had been nearly cut off and from my experience with other cases—Ravi Shankar Gupta's, for example—I thought that Ma Myint Thein might have a birthmark on her neck. Her parents did not mention any such mark, and when I examined her in 1977, I could find nothing like a birthmark on her neck. However, I returned to this matter in 1984. We then asked about other birthmarks. Daw Khin Hla then said that Ma Myint Thein had had a linear birthmark on the left side of her neck when she was born. It had been a line of hypopigmentation. This had become fainter as she grew up. In 1984 Daw Hnin Aye thought that she could see a faint line where the birthmark had been, but when I again examined Ma Myint Thein myself I could not see it.

We also enquired about a birthmark in the region of the left kidney. (One of U Nu's informants had told him that U Sein Maung had received, among other wounds of the fingers and neck, a stab wound in the lower left back.) Unfortunately, we posed our question about a possible birthmark corresponding to this wound in the form of a leading question. Daw Khin Hla said that Ma Myint Thein had an area of increased pigmentation on the skin of her back in the area of the left kidney. I did not ask to examine this area for myself. To have done so might have seemed particularly impolite in Burma.

U Nu had known U Sein Maung and knew that he had leukoderma of one foot (he did not mention which foot). He examined Ma Myint Thein's feet and found that she had no leukoderma there. However, as leukoderma often does not develop until later in life, Ma Myint Thein's skin should be observed further as she grows older.

Other Relevant Medical Information. U Pe Tin and Daw Khin Hla were not related. Daw Khin Hla was healthy throughout her pregnancy with Ma Myint Thein. She took no drugs during her pregnancy. No other member of the family had a birth defect.

Ma Myint Thein's Later Development

Ma Myint Thein started school at the age of 6. She did not do well in some years, failed several times, and finally dropped out of school after passing the 8th grade at the age of 20. (I do not know what had interfered with her progress in school.) After leaving school she remained at home helping with chores around the family home and farm.

Ma Myint Thein began menstruating at the age of 15.[12] Her menses were irregular and also painful to the point of her needing to take analgesics to relieve the pain. However, in her early 20s she married a man (like her father, a farmer) whom she had known and liked for 2 years. By 1984 they had two children. Ma Myint Thein's pregnancies and deliveries were entirely normal.[13] Her children had no birth defects.

In 1978 and again in 1984 Ma Myint Thein's general health was good. In 1978 she said that she no longer thought about the previous life. Remembering how unhappy she had been when asked about her memories in 1977, I did not wish to trouble her by asking what, if anything, she still remembered. In 1984 I asked whether her memories of the previous life had faded, and she said they had not. Again, I did not ask for details.

[12]This is almost 2 years later than the average age at menarche in Burma, which is 13.2 years (Foll, 1961).

[13]Ma Myint Thein belongs to those subjects of sex change cases whose later sexual and reproductive life has become essentially normal, so far as we have information. The sexual orientation of other subjects, however, remains fixed at that of the previous life. Ma Tin Aung Myo is a prime example of this group. There are also cases in which the subject moves much of the distance toward gender adjustment without entirely erasing residues of a masculine orientation. Rani Saxena belongs to this group.

Daw Hnin Aye, also in 1984, was able to hear Ma Myint Thein speak frankly about how she viewed her present life in relation to the previous one. She found it "not good" to have been a man and become a woman. She said that "to remember one was rich before and to be poor now made one unhappy." However, Ma Myint Thein had no desire for revenge against the murderers of U Sein Maung. She believed that she (in the previous life) had brought her various present misfortunes on herself. She expressed the hope that she had paid in full "what she had done to 'another person' [here meaning U Sein Maung's wife, Ma Thein, who had committed suicide because of his misconduct] and that she will be free from its 'debt' in the next life." (The quotations are from Daw Hnin Aye's notes and are not necessarily Ma Myint Thein's exact words.)

THE CASE OF DAW TIN HLA

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Daw Tin Hla was born in Nga-Zun, Upper Burma, on March 20, 1936. Her parents were U Aung Khin and his wife, Daw Htay. She was the youngest child of the family. She had an older sister, Daw Tin U, and three older brothers. U Aung Khin was a policeman.

Daw Htay, before she became pregnant with Daw Tin Hla, dreamed that a friend, U San, came to her and asked whether he could be reborn in their family. He was mounted on a horse. Daw Htay was afraid and asked him not to come to them. (U San had been the headman of Pandawgyin village [15 kilometers from Nga-Zun], and he had been murdered some time before.)

Daw Tin Hla was born with severe defects of the fingers of both hands (Figures 17-9 and 17-10), but her family appear not to have connected these with Daw Htay's dream about U San until Daw Tin Hla herself claimed, at the age of about 3, that she was U San of Pandawgyin village. (Daw Tin Hla later said that she had had images of memories of the previous life before she could communicate them in words.)

When Daw Tin Hla was a young child, she showed strong masculine traits and other unusual behavior that seemed related to the memories she had of the life and death of U San.

U Win Maung first learned of this case when he made a visit to Nga-Zun in September 1972. At that time he recorded a long statement by Daw Tin Hla, who seemed to have preserved her memories of the previous life with little loss. Six weeks later (on November 5, 1972), U Win Maung and I interviewed (in Nga-Zun) Daw Tin Hla and also her older sister, Daw Tin U. The latter was the oldest child of the family and 21 years older than Daw Tin Hla. Their parents were dead, and their three brothers lived dispersed in other places. It was not feasible for us to travel then to Pandawgyin village. As a result of these disappointing circumstances, Daw Tin Hla and her older sister were the sole informants both for what she said about the previous life and for the events in that life that she described.

In March 1977, U Win Maung and I were again in Nga-Zun and at that time had another long interview with Daw Tin Hla and her older sister, Daw Tin U.

In December 1980, once more in Nga-Zun, U Win Maung and I missed meeting Daw Tin Hla, who was away. However, we obtained some further information from Daw Tin U. We wanted to make another effort to reach Pandawgyin, even though Daw Tin U had told us in 1977 that she knew of no one then living who had witnessed the wounds on U San. Unfortunately, the road was then impassable.

The Death of U San

I have not talked with a firsthand informant for the details of U San's murder. However, Daw Tin U could provide a secondhand verification. Her (and Daw Tin Hla's) parents were not related to U San, but they had been good friends, and when U San came to Nga-Zun he often spent the night at U Aung Khin's home. Apart from friendship, however, U Aung Khin became involved in the inquiry about U San's murder. U San's body was taken to the hospital in Myinmu—there being no hospital in Nga-Zun at that time—and U Aung Khin in his capacity as policeman of the area had to examine the body and write a report. Daw Tin U remembered that her father had said there was a lot of blood, but he had not told her, or she had not remembered, details about the wounds on U San's body. No other member of the family saw U San's body.

Readers familiar with my case reports know that I am reluctant to credit secondhand testimony. In the present instance I have done so—for Daw Tin U's account of U San's murder—because she was a young woman when Daw Tin Hla first talked about the previous life. Their father, U Aung Khin, was informed about U San's murder and had seen his body. If Daw Tin Hla had narrated details that he thought incorrect, he would, I think, have corrected her; and Daw Tin U would have remembered this, even though Daw Tin Hla might not have done so.

Statements and Recognitions Made by Daw Tin Hla

When Daw Tin Hla spoke with U Win Maung and me, her sister, Daw Tin U, listened and occasionally prompted or commented. For the most part, however, Daw Tin Hla spoke from her own memories and appeared to be repeating what she had told her family many years earlier as a young child.

Daw Tin Hla gave a rather circumstantial account of the murder of U San.

U San was a landowner of Pandawgyin and also the village headman. As headman he was responsible for collecting revenue and remitting it to the treasury in Nga-Zun, the nearest town. One day U San asked a nephew to take some tax money that he had received to the treasury in Nga-Zun. The nephew, however, disbursed the money on gambling, alcohol, and women. This angered U San, who scolded the young man and threatened to punish him, although he appears not to have done so. His nephew, in turn, nursed a grudge against U San; and one

evening, along with two or three companions, he followed his uncle and murdered him as he was worshiping at the pagoda. (According to Daw Tin Hla, U San was a religious person who worshiped regularly, early in the morning and late in the evening, at the Pandawgyin pagoda.)

U San was unarmed, and as his assailant raised the dah (sword) to strike him, he put up his hands with palms and fingers opposed, partly in supplication for mercy and partly to ward off the first blow. This fell on his upraised fingers and slashed them. The murderer then delivered a second blow at U San's upraised right forearm. With his third stroke he cut U San's neck, killing U San instantly.[14] U San was about 40 years old when he died. He was married but had no children.

Daw Tin Hla's Memories of Events after U San's Death and before Her Birth. Daw Tin Hla said that she remembered some events that happened after the death of U San; she had, however, forgotten some details that Daw Tin U remembered from hearing her narrations in childhood and from hearing about them from their parents. This section of my report therefore conflates memories that Daw Tin Hla still preserved with those of Daw Tin U about what Daw Tin Hla said to her or to their parents when she was a young child.

After U San's death he—these memories are recorded as from the persisting identity of U San—followed his body as it was carried home, and later he attended the funeral. U San's body was buried, not cremated. Then he spent 7 days in a grove of hta-naung trees near a water-stand.[15] An old woman was there sweeping around the place and guarding the water-stand. Some persons came and asked for water, but she turned others away and gave water only to U San. The old woman then conducted U San to a place from which two lanes departed. One lane was clear and straight, but the other was thorny. U San tried to follow the clear path, but the old woman pointed to the thorny one and told him to follow it. She then accompanied U San. They came by this route to the compound at the police station in Nga-Zun where the staff lived. There they encountered guardian spirits[16] who tried to block U San from entering, but he pleaded with them to let him enter, urging the goodness of his intentions and promising that he

[14]I have given here a fuller version of how U San died that we received from Daw Tin Hla in 1977. In 1972 she stated no details of how U San's assailant struck him, merely saying U San "entreated for his life" and "instinctively tried to ward off [the first stroke of] the sword." In 1977 she said that the first cut of the sword had been across her upraised fingers, the second against her (also upraised) right forearm, and the third at her neck.

[15]Water-stands of this type provide earthen pots of water kept in shaded shelves for the use of travelers and other passers-by. Since the roads and wells are not necessarily close together, travelers often appreciate the convenience of such water near the roads.

[16]The Burmese believe that life in the realm of discarnate persons is not always one of leisure. Tasks are assigned to certain sojourners there. They may be instructed to guard treasures, temples, villages, and even individual houses. Their duties then are to keep undesirable persons—whether incarnate or discarnate—from intruding on the property under guard. A number of Burmese subjects of cases have claimed to remember experiences in the discarnate state in which they either had careers as guardian spirits themselves or had encounters with them, such as the one Daw Tin Hla narrated. Guardian spirits also had a role in the case of Maung Win Aung.

would create no trouble. Through persuasion or evasion U San got into the compound. He then sent a dream message to Daw Htay telling her that he wished to be reborn to her. (I am now mentioning the dream remembered later by Daw Tin Hla from the viewpoint of its initiator.) After this, U San got into a speck of dust on some water that Daw Htay drank.[17]

Additional Information about the Announcing Dream. Daw Tin U said that her (and Daw Tin Hla's) mother told her, presumably when she was a young woman, about an announcing dream she had had. We have versions of it therefore from Daw Tin Hla's memories of U San's discarnate experiences and also from what Daw Tin U remembered their mother to have said about the dream. It occurred before Daw Htay became pregnant with Daw Tin Hla. After she dreamed of U San, Daw Htay woke up her husband and told her dream to him. He replied: "You have a fixation on U San, and that is why you have thought or dreamed of him." But Daw Htay answered: "No. I have practically forgotten all about him."

Other Memories of Daw Tin Hla. Daw Tin Hla said that when she was about 8 years old, her parents took her to a festival at the pagoda in Pedaw, a village located approximately 2 kilometers from Pandawgyin. U San's niece lived in Pedaw, and they first visited her. Ma Tin Hla—as she would have been called at that age—recognized her, but I did not learn details of how she did this. She also made a comment about an old umbrella that was still at the house from the time when U San had visited it. She remarked that new oxen had taken the place of those with which U San had been familiar. She fell into a nostalgic mood and talked of the happy days when U San and his family would go into Nga-Zun for the festival at Mogoung Pagoda and sell their goods. Ma Tin Hla's parents then took her to the pagoda at Pedaw, where the abbot entertained them hospitably and offered pickled tea. When the abbot thought that she had eaten amply and warned her against the possibility of a stomachache if she ate too much, Ma Tin Hla replied rather gruffly: "Nonsense. I have eaten a lot here. I always liked pickled tea."

Daw Tin Hla's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

Daw Tin Hla's Phobias. Daw Tin Hla had a marked fear of blood. She could not bear to look at any bleeding wound, even a small accidental cut on a finger. The sight of blood appears to have affected her to the point of making her physically ill. Once, when she was about 30 years old, she was riding in a bus with some other friends. One of them, a woman, imprudently put her hand out of a window of the bus, and a truck, passing too close to the bus, struck and seriously wounded the woman's extruding hand. The injured woman screamed for help. Her

[17]Subjects of Burmese cases sometimes say that the discarnate person whose life they remembered somehow shrank itself into a speck of dust that the subject's mother then drank with some water. (Another example occurred in the case of Maung Zaw Thein Lwin.) The idea should not be assimilated to concepts of oral impregnation. It is rather an attempt to explain how the presumably large (in size) discarnate spirit enters into the mother-to-be.

hand was bleeding profusely. Daw Tin Hla's fear of blood overcame her wish to help her friend, and she did not go to her aid.

Daw Tin Hla also had a fear of swords and large knives that could be used as weapons; but she was not afraid of kitchen or other domestic knives.

Daw Tin Hla had never experienced any pain in her neck, but she felt uneasy when anyone would touch her in that region. The children of Burma often wear on their faces a light coat of a yellow paste, made by grinding a wet bark from a thanaka tree (*Limonia acidissima*) on a slightly rough round slate. The Burmese believe that the paste is beautifying and also say that it has a bleaching effect on the skin. (I mentioned this paste in the report of Ma Myint Myint Zaw's case.) Daw Tin Hla wore the cosmetic paste on her face, but she would not permit her parents to put it on her neck. Even up to 1972 she would not allow anyone else to touch her neck.

She also was, and remained, sensitive about being at the rear of a group. She related this to a fear of being attacked from behind. In a group of persons worshiping at a pagoda, for example, Daw Tin Hla preferred to place herself in the middle of the group or at its front. The surrounding persons would thus offer protection against an attack from behind. (I did not learn that U San had been sitting at the back of a group in the pagoda when his nephew murdered him; Daw Tin Hla said that U San had been sitting alone at the pagoda when he was attacked.)

Daw Tin Hla's Sexual Orientation. Daw Tin Hla wished to wear boys' clothes when she was young. Her parents seem to have allowed her to do so at first, perhaps hoping she would "grow out of" the habit. But this did not occur. So when Ma Tin Hla was 9, her parents began to insist that she wear girls' clothes. They equipped her with suitable garments, but she managed to "borrow" clothes from her brothers and wore these instead. The struggle with her parents over clothes went on until she was 12, at which age Ma Tin Hla admitted defeat and adopted female dress.

It was noted that Ma Tin Hla spoke roughly and cursed and swore like a man. Because she had three older brothers, her parents thought she might have picked up these habits from them. They, however, did not have such habits. (I have not learned whether U San cursed and swore, but Daw Tin Hla and Daw Tin U assumed that Daw Tin Hla's habit derived from the life of U San.) As in the matter of clothes, a contest ensued between Daw Tin Hla and her parents over her habit of swearing. When I was talking with her (in November 1972), she and her sister agreed that she had stopped swearing at the age of 12, the age at which she reformed in habits of dress. However, 6 weeks earlier, she had acknowledged to U Win Maung that occasional expletives escaped her even then.

When I met Daw Tin Hla in 1972, she was well dressed in fairly typical clothes for a Burmese woman. I was therefore a little surprised to hear her say that she would prefer to be a man. She explained her wish as partly derived from a personal inclination and partly from the widespread belief among Burmese Buddhists that men are superior to women.

I asked Daw Tin Hla how, if she had been U San in her previous life, she accounted for the change of sex. She replied that she remembered—still from her own memories—that U San had great concern about his wife just before his death. According to her, and other Burmese Buddhists also, this would suffice to bring him into a female body at his next birth.[18]

Other Behavior of Daw Tin Hla Related to the Previous Life. In three other characteristics Daw Tin Hla appeared to have traits resembling those of U San or inferable about him.

She was inclined to be dominant, expecting others to follow her instructions and recognize her leadership; these are qualities needed or assumed by village headmen.[19]

She had an interest in religion greater than average; for example, in 1972 she attended almost every religious ceremony in the area where she lived. This habit accorded with U San's piety.

Compared with other members of her family, Daw Tin Hla had a strong appetite for pickled tea. Her mother did not eat pickled tea at all, and her father only ate it during his adulthood. (Daw Tin Hla, as the episode mentioned above shows, began eating it when she was 8 years old.) Her three brothers and her sister did not care for it as much as she did. Daw Tin Hla's fondness for pickled tea apparently corresponded with a similar trait in U San.

Daw Tin Hla's Birth Defects

Daw Tin Hla had severe acral malformations of both hands (Figures 17-9 and 17-10). On her left hand, only her thumb and forefinger were normal. The fourth finger was completely absent while the middle and little fingers were represented by short buds. On her right hand every digit was shortened. The right thumb had a distal phalanx, but it was appreciably shorter than the corresponding one on the left hand, and the nail was much smaller on the right thumb than on the left one. The other fingers of the right hand were all greatly shortened. The two distal phalanges appeared to be missing from each of its lateral three fingers, and one phalanx was missing from the forefinger, the other being shortened. Only two of these four fingers had nails, and these were rudimentary. There was a constriction ring on the left little finger with edema distal to the ring.

In the lower part of Daw Tin Hla's right forearm she had a deep annular groove entirely around the arm (Figures 17-9 and 17-10). Daw Tin Hla said that this groove corresponded to the assailant's second stroke with his sword as he attacked and killed U San. She said that the first stroke cut off U San's fingers.

[18]I have described elsewhere the explanations the Burmese people offer for cases of the "sex change" type (Stevenson, 1983, p. 213).

[19]Other subjects who remembered the life of a village headman and who had somewhat authoritarian attitudes include Suleyman Andary, U Aung Gyi, and Maung Aung Than.

Figure 17-9 Dorsal view of the hands and (part of the) forearms of Daw Tin Hla as they appeared in November 1972, when she was 36½ years old. Only the left thumb and forefinger were normal. The left fourth finger was absent, and all the other fingers were short and otherwise abnormal. Nails were absent or rudimentary. The left fifth finger had a constriction ring with edema distal to the ring. The right forearm had a deep groove that went entirely around the arm.

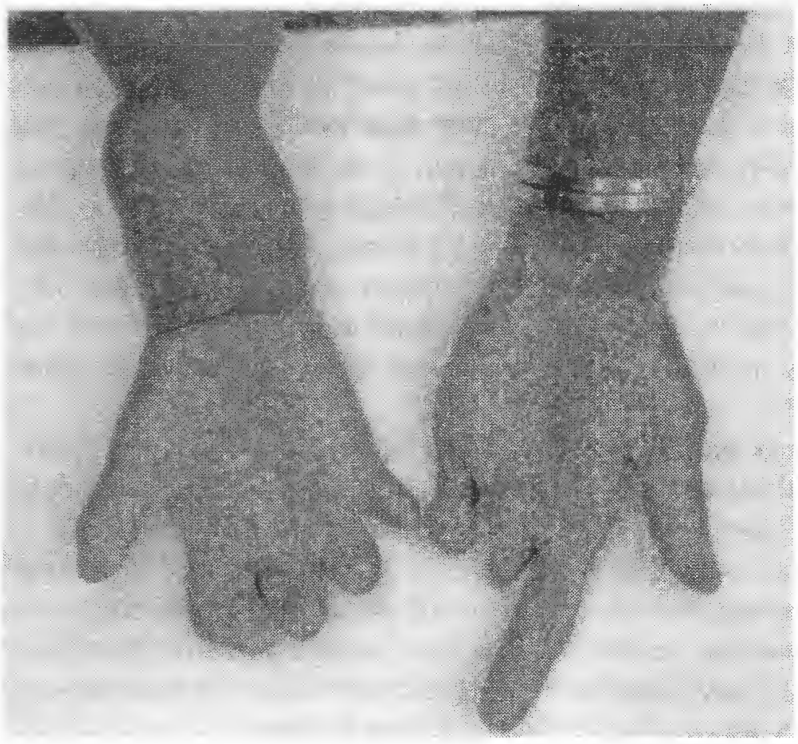

Figure 17-10 Palmar view of hands and (part of the) forearms of Daw Tin Hla as they appeared in November 1972.

Daw Tin Hla had satisfactory use of her hands. Because her left hand was less defective than her right hand, she had become left-handed. (She said that U San had been right-handed.)

Daw Tin U was a young lady living at home when Daw Tin Hla was born. She remembered (in 1972) that the malformations were noted immediately after her sister's birth. She said (also in 1972) that there had been no bleeding or discharge from them at the time of Daw Tin Hla's birth; however, in 1977 she recalled that one finger—she could not remember which—had shown some suppuration. The malformations had not altered in appearance since the time of Daw Tin Hla's birth.

Daw Tin Hla had no birthmark on her neck. She said that she had had none, and I examined her neck twice to see whether I could find a residue of one; but I could see nothing abnormal in the appearance of her neck.

Other Relevant Medical Information. Daw Tin Hla's parents were not related, even remotely. No other member of the family had birth defects like Daw Tin Hla's. Daw Tin U remembered that when her mother was pregnant with Daw Tin Hla she enjoyed good health, had no illness, and took no drugs or alcohol.

Daw Tin Hla's Later Development

When I met Daw Tin Hla in 1972, she was living with her older sister, Daw Tin U, in a joint ménage. Both were spinsters, and they operated together a retail shop for the sale of fish.

Daw Tin Hla appeared to have fairly good use of her hands and seemed little handicapped by their defects. Some shyness may have developed from an awareness of the abnormality of her appearance.

When we met Daw Tin Hla again in 1977, we learned that she had married soon after our earlier visit. Daw Tin U told us that Daw Tin Hla's was a *mariage de convenance*. The sisters were becoming older, their business for selling fish was not flourishing, and they felt they needed a man in the household. A proposal that they move in with some relatives in the city of Sagaing did not appeal to Daw Tin Hla, who did not wish to leave Nga-Zun. Accordingly, the sisters decided that Daw Tin Hla would marry, and her husband, U Ye Myint, moved in with them. By 1977 Daw Tin Hla had had two children, and a third was born before our last meeting with Daw Tin U in 1980. Her children were all normal; none had birth defects like Daw Tin Hla's.

Despite her marriage and motherhood, Daw Tin Hla was not fully "feminized" in 1977. She said that she would prefer to be a man, because men could move around more freely than women and were, in general, more independent.

The phobias she had had earlier persisted. She was still afraid of blood and of swords and sharp weapons; and she was also still afraid to be at the back of a group at the pagoda with no one behind her. She was also still sensitive about having anyone touch her neck, and I inadvertently startled her when I made a move to examine her neck again to see whether she had a birthmark there.

Daw Tin Hla said that her memories were beginning to fade, but she could still remember the previous life at certain times, such as when she was depressed or on overcast days.

THE CASE OF MA KHIN SAN

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Ma Khin San was born in 1947 in the village of Kyauktan in Mahlaing Township, Upper Burma. Her parents were U Aye and Daw Ngwe Shin. U Aye died when Ma Khin San was under 10 years of age. She had one brother. Her mother remarried and had more children, so that Ma Khin San had four stepbrothers and one stepsister.

When Ma Khin San was between 3 and 7 years old, she spoke about the previous life of her father's younger brother, U Shein. Her narration explained the birth defects of her hand, foot, and leg. U Aye was the suspected murderer of U San Nyunt, whose life Daw Aye Myint recalled. (I described Daw Aye Myint's case in Chapter 4.) Other murders were imputed to him also, and, as one of his victims had sworn revenge against him, he was afraid that Ma Khin San might be that person, or another of his victims, reborn. So he did not approve of Ma Khin San talking about her previous life and tried to prevent her from doing so, sometimes beating her cruelly. Ma Khin San's mother also disapproved of her talking about the previous life, at least until 1972.

U Win Maung and I first learned of this case from Maung Aye Kyaw, a resident of Mahlaing, who informed us about several cases. (He should not be confused with the Maung Aye Kyaw who is the subject of another case I described in Chapter 4.) He had learned about Ma Khin San's case from one of his sisters, who was then living in Kyauktan, and he sent U Win Maung some preliminary information about it in 1971.

In November 1972, U Win Maung and I had a long interview with Ma Khin San in Kyauktan. At that time her mother would not cooperate with our investigation, and, as her father had died many years earlier, I obtained no corroboration that Ma Khin San had talked about a previous life when she had been younger. She said, however, that she still recalled the memories of the previous life that she had had earlier, and she gave us an account of these that substantially agreed with what she had previously told Maung Aye Kyaw.

In November 1975, I was in Mahlaing, but the road to Kyauktan was almost impassable. Ma Khin San showed her interest in the investigation by obligingly coming into Mahlaing on a bullock-cart for another interview.

In February 1977, U Win Maung and I were again in Kyauktan, and on this occasion Daw Ngwe Shin agreed to meet us and was affable. (She said that she had not wished to talk with us earlier because she felt sorry for Ma Khin San, who had, she thought, been too much troubled by being questioned about the previous

life; however, Ma Khin San herself made no complaint of this kind to us.) We also met U Shein's younger brother, U Aung Yin, and he gave us an account, admittedly secondhand, of U Shein's death. Ma Khin San was out of the village at this time, and I have not met her since 1975.

The Life and Death of U Shein

Nearly all the information we obtained about U Shein (given in this section) derives from our interview with his younger brother, U Aung Yin. For details of the death of U Shein he was a secondhand informant, and some of his information may have been even more remote.

U Shein was born in Kyauktan in about 1917. His parents were U Pan Nyo and Daw Shwe Thaw. He had five brothers, among them U Aye (who was Daw Khin San's father) and U Aung Yin (our informant). (The family had no daughters.)

U Shein worked as a cultivator. He married Daw Mai Tha and at some stage moved to a village not far from Meiktila, which is the largest city in that part of Upper Burma.

U Shein was driving a bullock-cart, accompanied by some fellow travelers who were probably also on bullock-carts, on a road in or near Meiktila, when a band of dacoits attacked them. While they were being detained and robbed, the bullocks became frightened and bolted. U Shein tried to stop them, but in doing so the ropes, pulled tight by the strength of the runaway bullocks, mutilated his fingers. The dacoits managed somehow to capture U Shein and then shot him, leaving him for dead. The other persons traveling with U Shein were allowed to escape, and they fled without seeing what happened to U Shein. They could not say that he had died immediately. They informed the villagers of Kyauktan about what had happened, but U Shein's survivors were not allowed to recover his body. This was probably because the Japanese Army impeded travel through important cities like Meiktila.

U Shein was killed during the time of the Japanese occupation of Burma, and U Aung Yin thought that he had died in about 1942. U Shein was then about 25 years old.

Statements and a Recognition Made by Ma Khin San

Ma Khin San's Statements as a Young Child. Daw Ngwe Shin said that soon after Ma Khin San began to speak (between the ages of 2 and 3), she said that she had been shot while driving a cart. However, she did not give a more detailed account of the previous life until she was between 6 and 7 years old. At that time she said that she was U Shein and had lived in a village south of Meiktila. She said that the defects of her hand were due to cuts from the rope made while she was pulling on them to stop the bullocks. She said that the rope became entangled in her (U Shein's) fingers. She had been shot and died on the spot.

Daw Ngwe Shin asked Ma Khin San to describe the house where U Shein had lived. She said correctly that it had been near a clump of bamboo trees and also near a well.

Ma Khin San's Recognition of Daw Mai Tha. When Daw Mai Tha came to Kyauktan, Ma Khin San did not say she recognized her until after she had left, when she did say this. (Daw Ngwe Shin attributed to shyness Ma Khin San's reluctance to recognize Daw Mai Tha openly.)

Ma Khin San's Statements in the 1970s. Ma Khin San told us that she still vaguely remembered the previous life, and she stated the following details about it. She said that she had been U Shein, her father's younger brother. He had been a native of Kyauktan village, but had moved to Inn-ma-ya-way village.[20] There he had married twice. His wives were Daw Mai Tha and Daw Paw.[21] Daw Mai Tha came from Inn-ma-ya-way village.

In about 1942 U Shein was traveling by bullock-cart from Inn-ma-ya-way village to Kyauktan. He had been planning to move back to Kyauktan and so had some of his possessions on the cart. A band of robbers stopped him on the Meiktila road. They demanded his valuables, but he said he did not have any. During the parley one of the robbers fired a gun, probably with the intention of frightening U Shein into a more compliant attitude. The noise of the gunshot startled U Shein's bullocks, and they bolted. U Shein, fearing that the robbers would think he was fleeing and shoot him, tried to stop the bullocks, and, to get a better purchase on the harness ropes, wrapped them around his fingers and pulled hard. The bullocks, however, were wild with fright, and as they pulled the cart forward the forefinger of U Shein's left hand became severed, and he suffered rope burns on the other fingers of that hand. The cart eventually stopped, but the robbers had become annoyed at the inconvenience this incident had caused them. They then tied U Shein's legs with ropes so that he could not run away while they searched his cart. One of them (probably out of spite) slashed with a sword or knife at U Shein's right foot and cut off the ends of two toes.

U Shein managed to reach Kyauktan and died some time later, not of the effects of the wounds received during his encounter with the robbers, but of some natural cause.

Up to this point Ma Khin San's account of the previous life was consistent on the three occasions when she told it in the early 1970s. Her accounts varied, however, with regard to where U Shein had died and how long he had lived after the robbers had attacked him. Concerning the latter detail, she said in 1971 that U Shein had died "soon after" his encounter with the robbers. In November 1972 she still used the expression "soon after," but reckoned the interval to be about 1 year. In 1975, however, she extended the gap to between 3 and 4 years. As to the place of U Shein's death, Ma Khin San said in 1972 that he had been unable to

[20]Inn-ma-ya-way village is near Meiktila and about 80 kilometers from Kyauktan.

[21]According to U Aung Yin, U Shein had only one wife. He said that Daw Paw was the wife of his (and U Shein's) older brother, U Po Mein.

rejoin his family in Inn-ma-ya-way and had died in Kyauktan; but in 1975 she said U Shein had gone back to Inn-ma-ya-way and had died there. Ma Khin San's account of U Shein's death in the 1970s also disagreed with what her mother said she had stated when a young girl, which was that the dacoits had shot U Shein dead. (I comment on these differences below.)

Ma Khin San remembered that, just before U Shein died, he had expressed a wish to be reborn in Kyauktan, his native village. She did not claim to remember anything between the death of U Shein and her birth.

Ma Khin San also said that she thought U Shein had wanted to change sex. She said U Shein was much attached to Kyauktan and unhappy because circumstances had obliged him to move out of that village to another one. A girl born in such a village would not have to leave it, if she did not wish to do so.[22]

Comment on the Discrepancy between U Aung Yin's Account of U Shein's Death and Ma Khin San's Account. As I mentioned, U Aung Yin's account of U Shein's death was secondhand, at best. U Shein's companions fled from the scene of the dacoity as soon as they could do so. They may have assumed that the dacoits had shot U Shein, when perhaps they had not. No further news of U Shein may have reached Kyauktan—80 kilometers away—until after the end of the Japanese occupation of Burma.

It is more difficult to account for why Ma Khin San herself said as a child that U Shein had been shot dead and then later, as a young adult, said that he had died a natural death. The memories of previous lives seem sometimes to come in clumps, and, as they occur, the person having them tries to interpret them, as one does with memories of this life. Ma Khin San might as a child have first remembered a gun being fired—and her first statement was about being shot. She may later have located the memory of the gunshot in the more ample memory that she had by then recovered of the entire scene of the robbery, when one of the dacoits fired a gun, perhaps to frighten U Shein.

It is also possible that U Aung Yin had learned and remembered correctly how U Shein had died. In that case, Ma Khin San's later statements would illustrate how imagination may amplify memories.

Ma Khin San's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

Circumstances of Ma Khin San's Remembering the Previous Life. Like many other Burmese subjects of these cases, Ma Khin San said that she remembered the previous life on overcast, cloudy days.

[22]Economic factors enter into this difference. A Burmese village girl will usually be cared for by her husband if she marries or by members of her own family if she does not. A man, on the other hand, cannot expect this and may have to leave his native village if he cannot make a satisfactory living in it.

However, male Burmese villagers are also sometimes reluctant to leave their villages and move elsewhere, so that U Shein's desire (according to Ma Khin San) to be reborn in Kyauktan would have seemed entirely normal to his family and friends.

Ma Khin San said that remembering the previous life made her feel somewhat sad. Her melancholy mood derived, it seemed, from the unpleasant memories of U Shein's encounter with the dacoits.

Ma Khin San's Masculine Behavior. Daw Ngwe Shin said that when Ma Khin San was young, she asked for shirts and other boys' clothes. She was active and played like a boy. Until she was 8 to 10 years old, she played with boys more than with girls.

Ma Khin San's Attitude toward Being a Woman. Ma Khin San did not remember that as a young child she had had an inclination to wear boys' clothes. In November 1972, she told me that she would prefer to be a girl. She had not married up to 1975, when she was 28 years old. She said then that she did not wish to marry, but denied an inflexible opposition to marrying; she had just not found the right man. She had a strong attachment to Kyauktan, just as she remembered U Shein had had, and this might have restricted the territory in which she could find an appropriate husband. Yet she would not rule out the possibility of moving into Mahlaing, the nearest town, if an otherwise qualified husband happened to live there.

Ma Khin San's Birth Defects

Figures 17-11 and 17-12 show the dorsal and palmar aspects of Ma Khin San's hands. The index finger of her left hand was completely missing. A groove about 3 millimeters wide and 2 millimeters deep ran completely around her left thumb at about the middle of the proximal phalanx. Unlike most constriction rings, which are transverse, this groove ran obliquely around the thumb. Ma Khin San said that these defects corresponded to the mutilations of her left hand caused when U Shein's bullocks bolted and his hand became caught in the rope as he tried to halt them.

Figure 17-13 shows a moderately prominent depression running around Ma Khin San's left calf about 10 centimeters above the ankle. Ma Khin San said that this mark corresponded to a wound made by the rope tied tightly around U Shein's leg after the dacoits captured him.

Figure 17-14 shows that the distal phalanges were missing from the third and fourth toes of Ma Khin San's right foot; and these toes also had no nails. Ma Khin San said that these defects corresponded to the wounds on U Shein made when one of the dacoits slashed his toes with a sword.

Ma Khin San had had no pain in her left hand.

Other Relevant Medical Information. Both Daw Ngwe Shin and Ma Khin San said that no other member of her family had any birth defects. U Aye and Daw Ngwe Shin were not related. However, because they both came from Kyauktan, some distant relationship could not be excluded. Daw Ngwe Shin's pregnancy with Ma Khin San was normal, and she took no drugs and had no illness during it.

Figure 17-11 Dorsal view of Ma Khin San's hands as they appeared in November 1972, when she was about 25 years old. The left index finger was absent. There was a deep groove around the left thumb at the level of the first phalanx. The groove was about 3 millimeters wide and 2 millimeters deep.

Figure 17-12 Palmar view of Ma Khin San's hands as they appeared in November 1975, when she was about 28 years old. The groove on the left thumb can be seen to extend entirely around the thumb.

Figure 17-13 Ma Khin San's left leg as it appeared in November 1975, when she was about 28 years old. A slight depression of the skin and a horizontal deepening of the pigmentation can be seen about one third of the distance from the ankle to the knee. The area of the slight grooving can be seen best against the white background on the lateral side of the leg at the place indicated by the arrow.

Figure 17-14 Ma Khin San's feet as they appeared in November 1972, when she was about 25 years old. The third and fourth toes of the right foot had no distal phalanges and no nails.

Ma Khin San's Later Development

In November 1972 Ma Khin San described herself as then only "vaguely" remembering the previous life. However, in 1975 she said that her memories had not faded and that she could still remember details of the previous life as well as she did earlier. Perhaps talking about her memories to various people since we had begun to study her case had improved her recall of details that had earlier been receding from her consciousness. This interpretation helps us to understand as plausible (although not necessarily accurate) her statement in 1975 that U Shein had managed to return to Inn-ma-ya-way, where he had later died. However, U Win Maung had a simpler explanation; he suggested that at our earlier interviews Ma Khin San had been shy and had withheld from us some of the memories that she had kept from childhood.

THE CASE OF DAW OO

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Daw Oo was born in Kyauktan village, Mahlaing Township, in Upper Burma in about 1932. Her parents were U Po Kyi and Daw Aye Thwe. Daw Oo was the youngest of their five children. U Po Kyi was a casual laborer. He and his family lived at the lowest economic level of Burmese villagers. They earned some income from collecting toddy, the juice of palm trees that is used in the making of arrack.

Daw Oo was born with severe birth defects of both hands (Figures 17-15 and 17-16) and her right foot (Figure 17-17). When she was a young child, she said that in a previous life she had been Daw Nge Gyi and the mother of Mai Sein. It was known in Kyauktan that a woman called Daw Nge Gyi had been murdered in the village some years before Daw Oo's birth.

U Win Maung and I learned of this case in 1977, when we went to Kyauktan, primarily to study other cases, such as that of Ma Khin San. We met Daw Oo and recorded a statement from her. She was then 45 years old; her parents had both died, and it did not seem likely that we could obtain much further information about the case. However, in 1980 we were again in Kyauktan, met Daw Oo again, and also met Ma Gauk, an older friend of Daw Oo's family, and Daw Mai Sein, one of Daw Nge Kyi's two children. From them and from two other informants we assembled a small amount of information that at least partly corroborated and verified Daw Oo's statements.

The dates I have used in this report are at best approximate. They were reckoned backward from the claimed ages (in 1977 and 1980) of Daw Oo and Daw Nge Kyi's daughter, Daw Mai Sein. (The claimed age of Ma Gauk does not fit this chronology well.)[23]

[23]The difficulty in estimating ages in Burma becomes further complicated by the Burmese custom of saying that they are, say, 74 when they have just passed the 73rd birthday, after which Westerners would say (for the next 12 months) that they are 73, not 74.

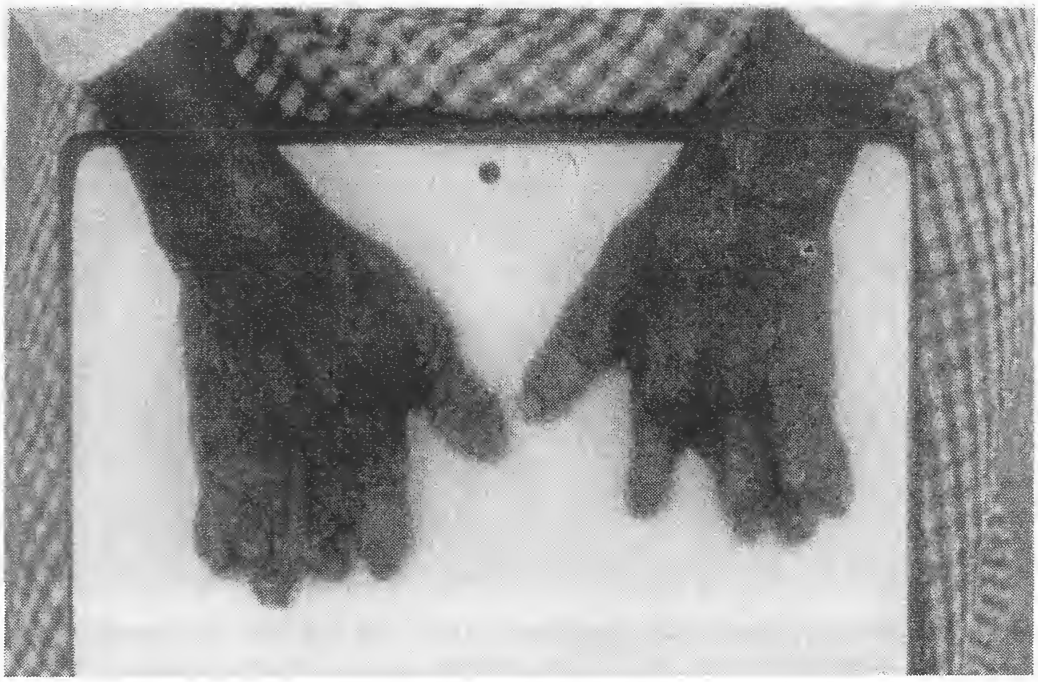

Figure 17-15 Dorsal aspect of Daw Oo's hands as they appeared in 1977, when she was about 45 years old. The syndactylous involvement of the lateral three fingers of each hand can be seen. Most of the fingers had at least rudimentary nails, but the index and middle (third) finger of the right hand did not.

Figure 17-16 Palmar aspect of Daw Oo's hands as they appeared in 1977. The thumbs were normal, but the other fingers of each hand were markedly shortened and the middle, fourth, and fifth fingers of each hand were syndactylous.

Figure 17-17 Daw Oo's feet as they appeared in 1977. The left foot was morphologically normal. On the right foot all the toes, except the fifth were markedly shortened. The great toe had no nail. The three middle toes had nails but were syndactylous.

Persons Interviewed during the Investigation

In Kyauktan we interviewed:

Daw Oo
Daw Chit Khin, villager (daughter of U San Tin)
Ma Gauk, older friend of Daw Oo's family
Daw Mai Sein, Daw Nge Kyi's daughter

In Mahlaing we interviewed:

U San Tin, former headman of Kyauktan

Other potential witnesses for the case had died or were not in Kyauktan when we were there.

At the time of our interviews in 1980, Daw Mai Sein said that she was 77 years old; this would make 1903 her year of birth. Ma Gauk said that she was 65, and therefore she was born in about 1915.

The Life and Death of Daw Nge Kyi

Daw Nge Kyi was born in Kyauktan in about 1867. When she grew up, she married U Shwe Pan, a cultivator, and they had (at least) two children, Daw Mai Sein and U San.

In about 1927 Daw Nge Kyi was killed outside Kyauktan. She had a friend, Ma Mhet Tin, who was a trader, and on an occasion when she was leaving the vil-

lage Daw Nge Kyi went outside the village to help her on her way a little. They were robbed by dacoits (robbers), who thought they might have some money. Then the dacoits, apparently afraid that the victims might tell who they were, killed them.

Daw Nge Kyi was about 60 years old at the time of her death. Her daughter, Daw Mai Sein, was in her middle 20s. When she learned of her mother's death, she was too upset to go to see her mother's body, but her husband went to see it. Daw Mai Sein learned that her mother's fingers had been chopped with a sword, and it was rumored that the dacoits had cut her fingers as she was begging for her life. Rumor also said that U Po Kyi, who later became Daw Oo's father, had been one of the dacoits who had killed Daw Nge Kyi. U San Tin, who was then living in Kyauktan (although he was not village headman at that time), heard this rumor and found it credible; he said U Po Kyi was known to be capable of murder. However, that does not mean that he committed this particular one, and I am inclined to think that he did not.

According to Ma Gauk, one man was arrested, convicted, and executed for the crime; but she said he was the wrong man.

According to the crude chronology that I constructed, Daw Nge Kyi was murdered in about 1927, approximately 5 years before Daw Oo's birth.

Comment. Dacoity attracts few full-time practitioners in Burma. The life is hazardous and the income uncertain. Consequently, the majority of dacoits work as cultivators or at other labor most of the time and engage in dacoity only irregularly, as occasion affords. It is rare for them to prey on people of their own village or even on those of nearby villages, where the risks of being recognized are greater than they are in more remote areas.

That the alleged murderers and one of their victims came from the same village led to the complication in this case that informants who actually knew more than the persons we interviewed may have been unwilling to speak about the murder, even though it had happened 50 or more years earlier, and the suspects were all dead. Two informants who did talk with us, Daw Mai Sein and Ma Gauk, both said that they knew who had murdered Daw Nge Kyi, but they would not identify them. The obvious reason for this reticence was that, although the murderers were dead, their children were not; they may indeed have been in the crowd around the open shelter that served as our office for the interviews of this and some other cases in Kyauktan. Ma Gauk's cryptic remark to us that the wrong person had been executed for killing Daw Nge Kyi contained the ingredients for opening a village feud if the topic were penetrated further. We were willing to do this, but she was not.

Daw Oo's Statements and Recognitions

Daw Oo told us that she began to speak about the life of Daw Nge Kyi when she was between 3 and 4 years old. I have no independent confirmation of this, nor indeed any firsthand corroboration of what she said when she was a

young child. Daw Mai Sein heard that Daw Oo (then Ma Oo) was talking about the previous life with her playmates and claiming to be Daw Mai Sein's mother; however, she herself did not meet Daw Oo until she (Daw Oo) was 9 or 10 years old. When they did meet, Daw Oo was friendly, even affectionate, toward Daw Mai Sein, but she never claimed directly to Daw Mai Sein that she was her mother.

Comment. Since Daw Mai Sein lived near Daw Oo's family (in Kyauktan), I found it puzzling when she said that she had never met Daw Oo until Daw Oo was 9 or 10 years old. This mystery may be explained by remembering that, rightly or wrongly, Daw Oo's father, U Po Kyi, was suspected of having been Daw Nge Kyi's murderer. Such a rumor might have been enough to inhibit visits between the two families.

Daw Oo's Statements in 1977. Daw Oo said a great deal more about the previous life than we were able to corroborate or verify. No one would conjecture—and still less assert—that everything she told us about the previous life derived from original imaged memories; much of it might have come from what she remembered saying when younger, from what older persons told her she had said, and from other information normally acquired.

She herself believed, however, that her memories had not faded. She said that she had lived through the experiences she described to us, and so, from her perspective, she had greater reason to remember their details than our other informants, who were observers at best, and sometimes secondhand reporters only.

Daw Oo told us that as Daw Nge Kyi she was killed in the following circumstances. Two hawkers from Mahlaing had been in Kyauktan, and when they were leaving, she escorted them a little way outside the village. They were walking along the road by the eastern side of Kyauktan and near the village gate. It was sometime in March and about 6 o'clock in the evening. Three dacoits waylaid them. The dacoits were from Kyauktan, and she recognized them, although she knew the name of only one of them, Maung Hla Myo. She imprudently told them: "Take away all our possessions if you like. I know all of you." This provocative remark left the dacoits no choice but to kill their victims. One of the dacoits slashed at Daw Nge Kyi's toes with a sword. Daw Oo's final memory was of being on her knees begging for her life.

Comment. Burmese persons about to be killed with a sword, if they have a chance to do so, will raise their hands with the palms together in a gesture of supplication. They may also hope to deflect the first stroke of the sword. This maneuver often leads the murderer to make his first slash at the victim's hands or fingers in order to get them out of the way so that he can strike the neck or some other vital part of the body. The cases of Maung Aung Than, Ma Myint Thein, and Daw Tin Hla all illustrate this sequence of events.

Some murderers in Burma have also deliberately tortured their victims by chopping with a sword at a victim's fingers or toes. In the case of Ma Khin San (although unverified as to the actual wounds inflicted) the previous personality may have been tortured in this way; and Daw Oo said that Daw Nge Kyi was so

tortured by having her toes chopped. Subjects of other cases reported later in this work have had similar memories of this kind of torture in the previous lives they remembered.

In fact I have not been able to verify in a single case any subject's claim that his or her fingers or toes were chopped off during torture in the previous life remembered. Nevertheless, none of my fairly numerous informants for the cases the subjects of which had such memories questioned the plausibility of these memories. They all took for granted that Burmese dacoits, soldiers, and even ordinary villagers would, when angry, inflict this form of torture. My associates in Burma, such as U Win Maung, U Nu, and Daw Hnin Aye, all accepted such torture as a reality of life in Upper Burma. I had wanted to try to interview a dacoit and obtain firsthand information on the matter, but U Win Maung said this was infeasible. The authorities would not allow me to meet a dacoit who was in prison, and those who were free were certainly not going to show themselves for the purposes of an interview to further this research.

In Chapter 18 I describe how I broached this subject with U Tint Aung (whose case I describe in that chapter). He remembered the previous life of a notorious dacoit, Bo San Pe, and I thought that he might have some memories or knowledge about the chopping of fingers and toes with a sword as a method of torture. He denied that Bo San Pe had done this, but said that some of his gang had done so. Readers may not wish to credit these memories as firsthand evidence, which I agree they are not. Minimally, however, they show familiarity with this kind of torture on the part of a schoolteacher of Upper Burma.

The Burmese "style of torture" becomes important in the understanding of several cases later in this work, particularly when I suggest that the torturers (and killers) of some previous personalities may not have belonged to the nationalities (Japanese or British) to which the subjects assigned the torturers in their memories and statements. This problem arises in the cases of Maung Aung Htoo, Maung Hla Hsaung, and Maung Than Htay.

Daw Oo's Statements about Experiences after Daw Nge Kyi's Death and before Her Birth. Daw Oo said she remembered that after dying as Daw Nge Kyi she lived as a discarnate personality on a big tamarind tree near the eastern side of Kyauktan village. (According to her account, this was also near the site of Daw Nge Kyi's murder.) During whatever time she spent there she felt happy; her needs were all provided for. No sage of that realm told her when or where to be reborn. She saw U Po Kyi, followed him to his home, and was reborn.

Daw Oo's Recognition of Daw Nge Kyi's Murderers and Her Attitude toward Them. Daw Oo said that in her childhood she had recognized Daw Nge Kyi's murderers. When she was young, she hated them and wanted to take some sort of revenge on them. However, she later changed her attitude and lost the craving for revenge.

The murderers died when Daw Oo was about 12 or 13 years old.

In her statement to us Daw Oo named only Maung Hla Myo as a murderer of Daw Nge Kyi. She did not say that her father had been one of the murderers.

Comment. Ma Gauk, who claimed to know who the murderer (or murderers) of Daw Nge Kyi had been, but would not tell us, said that U Po Kyi had not murdered Daw Nge Kyi. Her statement on this point together with Daw Oo's failure to name her father as one of the murderers (although she may have been trying to protect him) make me think that U Po Kyi was not one of them. We should therefore not include the present case in the small group of those in which the subject remembers the life of someone killed by a member of the subject's own family.

Daw Oo's Birth Defects

Figures 17-15 and 17-16 show that Daw Oo's thumbs were normal, but all the fingers of both hands were defective. They were much shorter than normal, and the middle, fourth, and fifth fingers of each hand were syndactylous. The middle finger of the right hand appeared to be fixed in a position of flexion. The affected fingers did have nails.

Figure 17-17 shows that the toes of Daw Oo's right foot were seriously defective. The great toe was markedly shorter than the corresponding great toe of the left foot, and it had no nail. The three middle toes were syndactylous, although they had nails. The fifth toe was the only normal toe of this foot. The left foot seemed normal; the second toe was somewhat flexed, but this may have been a postnatal development.

Other Relevant Medical Information. Daw Oo said that so far as she knew she had no birth defects other than those of her hands and right foot. No other member of her family had birth defects. (This was also stated by Ma Gauk, who said that she had known Daw Oo's parents as well as her brothers and sisters.)

Daw Oo's parents were not related.

THE CASE OF MA KHIN MAR HTOO

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Ma Khin Mar Htoo was born on July 26, 1967, in the town of Tatkon, Upper Burma. Her parents were U Thein Myine and Daw Ngwe Kyi, and she was the third of their four children. U Thein Myine was a casual laborer; his wife sold water and foodstuffs to passengers at the Tatkon railway station.

Before Ma Khin Mar Htoo's conception, Daw Ngwe Kyi dreamed two or three times about a girl called Ma Thein Nwe (alias "Kalamagyi"), who had been killed in August 1966, when a railway train had run over her.

Daw Ngwe Kyi was somewhat ill during her pregnancy with Ma Khin Mar Htoo, as I shall describe later. However, she carried Ma Khin Mar Htoo through a 9-months pregnancy from which she was delivered uneventfully. At her birth Ma Khin Mar Htoo was found to have no right leg from a point about 10 centimeters below the right knee (Figures 17-18 and 17-19). She also had birth defects of the fingers of both hands (Figures 17-20 and 17-21).

Figure 17-18 Birth defect of Ma Khin Mar Htoo's right leg as it appeared in 1980, when she was 13 years old. The leg was missing from about 10 centimeters below the knee. Small rudiments of toes protruded from the stump.

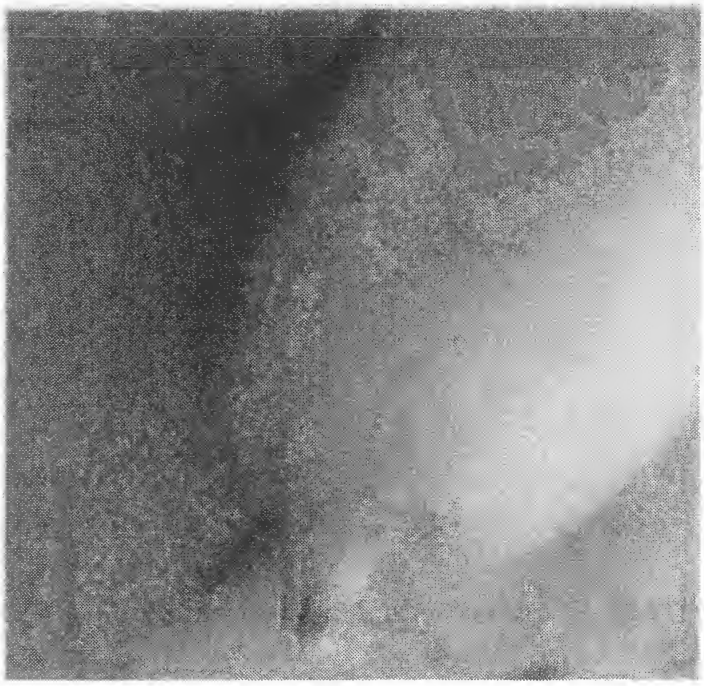

Figure 17-19 Close-up view of the rudimentary toes at the end of Ma Khin Mar Htoo's leg stump. (This photograph was taken in November 1980.)

Figure 17-20 Dorsal surface of Ma Khin Mar Htoo's hands as they appeared in November 1980. The left thumb was a mere stump. The left index finger was shortened and malformed at its distal end. The middle finger of the right hand was markedly shortened and partly webbed to the fourth finger, which was also somewhat shortened. The right fifth finger was also shortened and malformed distally.

Figure 17-21 Palmar surface of Ma Khin Mar Htoo's hands as they appeared in November 1980.

Ma Khin Mar Htoo was able to speak clearly by the time she was about 2 years old. When she was about 3, she began to say that she was Kalamagyi and to describe how she had been run over by a train. Thereafter, she made a number of statements about the life of Ma Thein Nwe, and informants also credited her with recognizing several persons and places known to Ma Thein Nwe.

Within the limits of her disability Ma Khin Mar Htoo appears to have had a normal childhood. Up to the time of the investigation of the case she moved around on crutches.

When Ma Khin Mar Htoo was about 6 years old, she went to live with her paternal grandparents, U Ko Gyi and Daw Aye Toke, in the village of Shwemyo, south of Tatkon. When she was in her early teens, her parents separated formally. Her mother remarried and moved to Pyinmana. Her father moved to Shwemyo, where he stayed with his parents.

U Win Maung learned of this case in 1980, and in September 1980 he interviewed several informants about it. It happened that Daw Ngwe Kyi was visiting in Tatkon when he was there, and he was able to interview her there.

Two months later, in November 1980, U Win Maung and I continued the investigation of the case with additional interviews. At this time we gave particular attention to learning about the injuries on the body of Ma Thein Nwe incurred when the train had run over her.

In the summer of 1981, U Win Maung returned to Tatkon and rechecked various details with our earlier informants. In addition, he interviewed Ma Khin Su, Ma Thein Nwe's younger sister, who had seen her sister's body just after she had been killed.

In March 1984 U Win Maung and I were again in Tatkon, where we had another meeting with Ma Khin Mar Htoo. We also again met her mother, Daw Ngwe Kyi, this time in Pyinmana.

Persons Interviewed during the Investigation

In Shwemyo, near Tatkon, we interviewed:

Ma Khin Mar Htoo
U Thein Myine, Ma Khin Mar Htoo's father
U Ko Gyi, Ma Khin Mar Htoo's paternal grandfather
Daw Aye Toke, Ma Khin Mar Htoo's paternal grandmother

In Tatkon we interviewed:

Daw Ngwe Kyi, Ma Khin Mar Htoo's mother
U Kyaw Hlaing, Ma Thein Nwe's father
Daw Than Kyi, Ma Thein Nwe's mother
Ma Khin Su, Ma Thein Nwe's younger sister
U San Kyi, Ma Thein Nwe's first cousin
U Thoung, switchman at the Tatkon railway station
Daw Sein May, U Thoung's wife

Daw Tin May, a neighbor and a friend of the families of Ma Khin Mar Htoo and Ma Thein Nwe
U Bo Ni, police officer of Tatkon

Of the persons listed above, U Win Maung interviewed (without me) Daw Aye Toke, Daw Ngwe Kyi, Ma Khin Su, Daw Tin May, and U Bo Ni. He also interviewed most of the other informants on other occasions before and after our work together on the case in November 1980.

I have not listed above some informants who gave information about where we might find records pertaining to the accident in which Ma Thein Nwe had been killed.

Relevant Facts of Geography and Possibilities for Normal Means of Communication between the Two Families

The two families concerned in this case lived in Tatkon in houses that were about 350 meters apart. Both houses were within a few hundred meters of the railway station. It will be helpful later if I note here that the house of U Kyaw Hlaing (Ma Thein Nwe's father) was south of that of U Thein Myine. At least during the lifetime of Ma Thein Nwe, her father and Ma Khin Mar Htoo's father were not acquainted. However, the mothers of the girls, Daw Than Kyi and Daw Ngwe Kyi, were "very friendly" with each other. This is not surprising, because they both sold water to passengers at the railway station. U Thein Myine said that he knew Ma Thein Nwe slightly but had no intimate friendship with her, such as his wife had had with her mother. Daw Ngwe Kyi knew Ma Thein Nwe and said that they were "very fond of each other."

The circumstances of Ma Thein Nwe's death were well known to everyone living in the area of the families concerned, and several of our informants witnessed the accident at the station or had gone to see Ma Thein Nwe's body soon after she was run over by the train.

Shwemyo, where Ma Khin Mar Htoo lived from the age of about 6 with her paternal grandparents, is approximately 16 kilometers south of Tatkon.

The Life and Death of Ma Thein Nwe ("Kalamagyi")

Ma Thein Nwe was the oldest of the six children of her parents, U Kyaw Hlaing and Daw Than Kyi. They were cultivators. Daw Than Kyi also sold water at the railway station. Ma Thein Nwe was born in Tatkon in about 1950. (I have estimated the year of her birth from her given age of 16 when she died in August 1966.) At some time Ma Thein Nwe acquired the nickname of "Kalamagyi," which means literally "big dark girl." She was rather dark complexioned compared with other girls. We learned of only one trait in which she seemed somewhat unusual: She did not eat pork because she did not like it.

Daw Than Kyi sold water to the passengers halted at the Tatkon railway station, which is on the main line between Rangoon and Mandalay. Kalamagyi, as I shall now call her, began to go with her mother to the railway station and engaged in some hawking herself.

The hawkers of food, water, and anything else railway passengers may buy at railway stations in Burma swarm around the platforms and usually do not approach the trains from the side away from the platform. Some, however, do this, and are able to reach up from the ground between the tracks to the windows from which the passengers may lean out.

On a day in August 1966, Kalamagyi went to the railway station with her mother early in the morning to meet a mail train that was due to arrive from Rangoon at about 8:00 a.m. Daw Than Kyi was going to sell water to the passengers, and Kalamagyi had plucked some roses that she hoped to sell.

If a train going north is to stop in Tatkon, it is switched onto the track adjoining the platform used for northbound trains. Across the tracks on the opposite side of the station there is another platform beside the track used for southbound trains. Between these two tracks is a third track used by through trains not stopping in Tatkon. On the day of the accident Kalamagyi was walking along this central track with her back to the incoming train. Ordinarily this would be an entirely safe position, and when the train stopped, it would have been a favorable one for selling the roses she had to the passengers on the track next to the platform. On this day, however, the controls of the switch jammed, and the switchman was unable to divert the train to the track beside the platform for northbound trains. The switches are close to the platform, and when the switchman realized that he could not alter the train's course, it had almost reached the switches and immediately afterward it entered the central track. The switchman then saw with horror that Kalamagyi was walking along the track with her back to the oncoming engine. People on the platform saw this also, and they shouted to Kalamagyi to get out of the way; but the noise of the oncoming engine drowned their cries, and she did not hear them. Nor could the engine driver, who blew the engine's whistle to warn her, stop the train before it hit her. She was knocked down by the cowcatcher and fell under the train, the wheels of which then ran over her. The engine driver stopped the train before all of it had passed across Kalamagyi's body, which was then lying under the train. The several parts of the body were gathered up and taken to the General Hospital at Tatkon. (Figure 17-22 shows the location of the platforms and three tracks in the railway station at Tatkon.)

Many persons at the railway station saw the accident, and others came to view Kalamagyi's dead body immediately afterward. Ma Khin Mar Htoo's mother, Daw Ngwe Kyi, had been at the railway station (selling water herself), but she was too frightened to look at Kalamagyi's body. U Thein Myine, however, went over to the railway station as soon as he heard of the accident, and he saw the body before it was removed to the hospital.

At the General Hospital the several parts of Kalamagyi's body were put into a sack and handed to members of her family. They then buried the parts of the

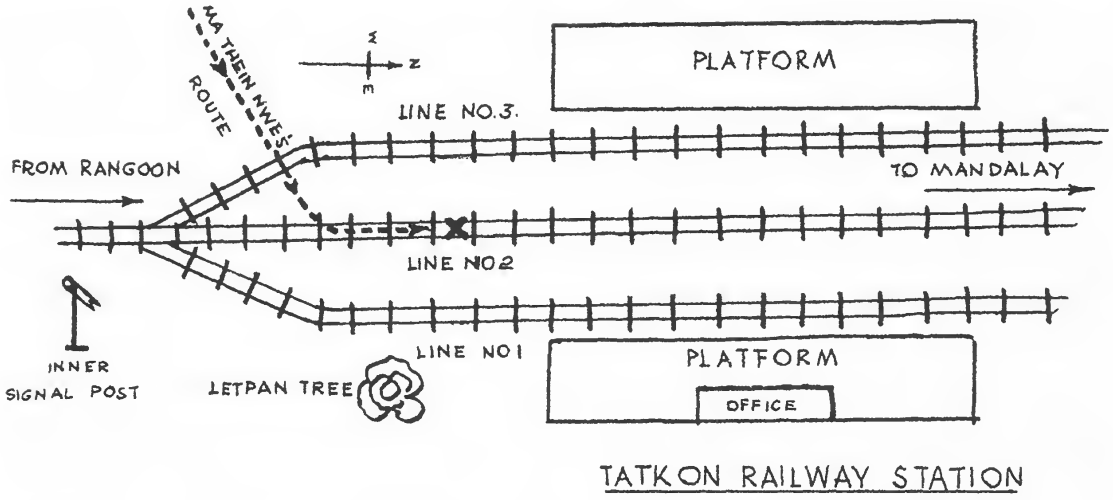

Figure 17-22 Sketch by U Win Maung of the railway tracks and station platforms at the Tatkon railway station.

body in a private burial plot belonging to the family at their farm on the southern outskirts of the town.

The Injuries on Kalamagyi's Body. U Win Maung and I interviewed separately or together six persons who had seen Kalamagyi's body after the train struck it or later, at the time of its burial. One of these could no longer remember (in 1980) where the injuries had been, so we drew on the memories of the remaining five informants.

As I mentioned, parts of the body were still under the train when the engine driver stopped it.

The informants agreed that Kalamagyi's body had been sliced diagonally across the trunk at the level of the neck or upper chest. There was some disagreement among them about the actual level of this injury that had divided the body into two parts, which were, however, still lying more or less together across one of the rails.

The informants disagreed, however, about what happened to Kalamagyi's legs. One informant, U Kyaw Hlaing (Kalamagyi's father), said that both his daughter's legs had been severed, but he did not see the body until the time of its burial. Another informant, U San Kyi, told U Win Maung first that *one* of Kalamagyi's legs had been cut off, but he could not remember which. (One of U Win Maung's brothers, who lived in Tatkon and was present at the first interview, later corroborated that he had made this statement.) Later (when U Win Maung and I interviewed him together), U San Kyi changed his statement and then said that *both* of Kalamagyi's legs had been cut off. The other three informants all agreed that only one of Kalamagyi's legs had been cut off. Of these, one could not remember which leg had been cut off and the other two, U Thein Myine (Ma Khin Mar Htoo's father) and Ma Khin Su

(Kalamagyi's younger sister), said that the right leg had been cut off. Ma Khin Su, who emerged in U Win Maung's opinion as the most reliable of all the witnesses of the accident, said that the severed right leg was lying some distance away from and behind the other parts of the body beside the track. This suggests that the right leg had been cut off first and perhaps while Kalamagyi was still conscious. She had probably then tried to get out from under the train by throwing herself across one rail only to be run over across her trunk by the other wheels of the train.

The informants with one exception had not remarked on any damage to Kalamagyi's hands. U San Kyi said that one of her hands had been cut off, but the reversal of his statement concerning the legs discredited him somewhat as a witness of the injuries.

We had naturally hoped that we could trace and examine some written record of the accident in which Kalamagyi had been killed and, better still, obtain a copy of the record of a postmortem examination of her body. But U Bo Ni (police station officer at Tatkon) told U Win Maung (in 1981) that the records from 1966 had long since been destroyed by insects or removed from his office.

U Kyaw Hlaing said that the parts of Kalamagyi's body were taken to the General Hospital at Tatkon, where it was supposed that a postmortem examination was performed. It is, however, unlikely that any such examination was made, as we learned from Dr. James Scott, a railway surgeon who was posted at Yamethin, the town (and railway station) north of Tatkon.

Dr. Scott told us that each year some 50 persons were run over by railway trains in Burma. The accidents occurred with about equal frequency in each of the five railway subdivisions of the country, so that he might have knowledge of about 10 a year that occurred in his own subdivision. Nearly all the persons run over were: persons committing suicide, drunkards who had stumbled in front of a train or fallen asleep on the tracks, and hawkers who had taken risks like Kalamagyi. In addition, the bodies of murdered persons were sometimes laid on the tracks to simulate a suicide or perhaps the accidental death of a drunkard. From this practice arose a rule of conducting a postmortem on persons killed in railway accidents, unless the deceased had been seen alive just before being killed. This was true in the cases of most of the hawkers killed by the trains; it is therefore unlikely that there was a postmortem examination of Kalamagyi's body.

The Date of Kalamagyi's Death. Since we could not obtain written records establishing the date of the accident, we had to rely at first on the memories of informants for estimating the date of Kalamagyi's death. However, Daw Than Kyi (Kalamagyi's mother) eventually remembered that they had kept a record of the donations made by friends for the ceremony held 7 days after a person's death.[24] This record included the date (in the Burmese calendar) of

[24]This was the paritta ceremony about which I have given some information in the report of Maung Aye Kyaw and elsewhere (Stevenson, 1983).

Kalamagyi's death, and this converted to the Western calendar as August 23, 1966. Kalamagyi was about 16 years old when she died.

Some Related Dreams and an Apparition

Daw Ngwe Kyi recalled in 1980 that she had had two or three dreams about 2 or 3 months before she became pregnant with Ma Khin Mar Htoo; but she could no longer recall their content. Her husband did not remember hearing anything about them.

Daw Ngwe Kyi said that she had told U San Kyi and some other neighbors about the dreams soon after she had them; and U San Kyi said that he remembered some details of the dreams. In one of them Daw Ngwe Kyi saw Kalamagyi sitting on the platform at Tatkon railway station. Kalamagyi said to her: "Auntie, I am coming to stay with you." Daw Ngwe Kyi remonstrated saying: "How could you come and stay with us? You were run over by a train."[25] In the later dreams Kalamagyi continued petitioning until Daw Ngwe Kyi finally agreed that she could be reborn in their family.

In 1984 Daw Ngwe Kyi said she then remembered one of the dreams. In it Kalamagyi asked her for some dried beef. Kalamagyi was lying beside her on the bed without any wounds—appearing structurally normal.

After Kalamagyi's death, her mother, Daw Than Kyi, dreamed that Kalamagyi asked her both to repay a small debt that she owed to one Daw Chin Gyi and to collect some money owed to her by another woman, Daw Kyan, to whom she had sold a pumpkin and some other vegetables. Daw Kyan told Daw Than Kyi that she had seen an apparition of Kalamagyi in which the apparitional figure had asked her to pay this debt.[26] (We did not interview Daw Kyan; she had died by 1984.)

The Date of Ma Khin Mar Htoo's Birth

At the stage when U Win Maung and I were still uncertain of the exact date of Kalamagyi's death, we received varying estimates about the date of Ma Khin Mar Htoo's birth. The date given on her National Registration Card was February 1, 1966; but this was clearly wrong if we accept Daw Ngwe Kyi's statement that she had two or three dreams about the deceased Kalamagyi several months before she became pregnant with Ma Khin Mar Htoo. Children are not issued National Registration Cards until they are 12 years old, and it is probable that when Ma

[25]The unspoken reason for this rejection of Kalamagyi's dream petition was the fear that the baby would have birth defects. Like mothers everywhere else, Burmese mothers want their children to be physically and mentally normal.

[26]In a small number of other cases the previous personality has been seen as an apparition before the subject's birth. Examples occurred in the cases of Maung Yin Maung, Maung Myo Min Thein, and the Ven. Chaokhun Rajsuthajarn.

Khin Mar Htoo's father got her registered, he simply tried to remember how old she was without consulting a birth certificate. Appraising all the evidence we then had, U Win Maung said in 1981 that he was reasonably sure that Ma Khin Mar Htoo had been born in June or July 1967. We confirmed the accuracy of his estimate when, in 1984, we met Daw Ngwe Kyi again and asked her whether she had a written record of Ma Khin Mar Htoo's date of birth. She had; in a notebook she kept she had noted the date as July 26, 1967.

Statements and Recognitions Made by Ma Khin Mar Htoo

According to U Thein Myine, when Ma Khin Mar Htoo was about 3 years old, she said that she was Kalamagyi and that she had been run over by a train at the station in Tatkon. She indicated the malformations of her hands and right leg as related to the cause of her death.

Daw Ngwe Kyi also recalled that Ma Khin Mar Htoo had given the name she said that she had had in a previous life. Daw Ngwe Kyi, who, it will be recalled, had been afraid to look at the mutilated dead body of Kalamagyi, could not bear to ask Ma Khin Mar Htoo to describe how she had died in the previous life, and so she never learned whatever her daughter might have said about such details. (Ma Khin Mar Htoo seems never to have given statements about the way in which Kalamagyi's body was injured, such as which limbs or other parts were struck first by the train.)

U San Kyi recalled that Ma Khin Mar Htoo had given the name of Kalamagyi's father: U Kyaw Hlaing. He also remembered questions his mother, Daw Ni (who was Kalamagyi's paternal aunt), had put to Ma Khin Mar Htoo in order to test her. I shall quote next from U Win Maung's notes of his interview on September 17, 1980, with U San Kyi. The following were the questions and answers he said had been exchanged between Daw Ni and Ma Khin Mar Htoo.

Q: Were you not killed while you were selling water at the station?
A: No. I was selling roses.
Q: Oh, yes. I picked the flowers for you from the compound of Auntie Kyi [Daw Ngwe Kyi].
A: No. Auntie Kyi picked the roses for me from the plant in front of this [Daw Ni's] house.
Q: Weren't they white roses?
A: No. They were red roses.

All of the above answers by Ma Khin Mar Htoo were, according to U San Kyi, correct.

Ma Khin Mar Htoo recognized Kalamagyi's mother, Daw Than Kyi, at the railway station when she was about 3 years old. She seems to have noticed Daw Than Kyi spontaneously, and she cried out: "Ahmay Than Kyi." (*Ahmay* is a

word for "mother" in Burmese.) She followed Daw Than Kyi home. (I did not learn how she did this, but she may at that young age already have had small crutches.) Daw Ngwe Kyi observed this recognition, and Daw Than Kyi confirmed it to us herself; however, she only recalled that Ma Khin Mar Htoo had addressed her as "Ahmay." Daw Ngwe Kyi thought that at Daw Than Kyi's house, Ma Khin Mar Htoo had been asked to identify property that had belonged to Kalamagyi, but Daw Than Kyi said that she had not asked Ma Khin Mar Htoo to do this.

I am not sure how old Ma Khin Mar Htoo was when she made some other recognitions attributed to her, but several of them deserve mention.

When shown a photograph of one of Kalamagyi's relatives, U San Pe, Ma Khin Mar Htoo recognized him and referred to him by the word that Kalamagyi had used for him. She correctly placed him as living in Mandalay. The two informants for this item, U San Kyi and Daw Than Kyi, disagreed about whether U San Pe was an uncle or a grandfather of Kalamagyi. (There may have been a slip in translation here.)

When Ma Khin Mar Htoo first met U Si, who was Kalamagyi's uncle by marriage, she addressed him as "Uncle Si," as Kalamagyi had done. She also pointed out the brick tomb of U Si's older brother, U Ni.

On another occasion, at U Kyaw Hlaing's house, Ma Khin Mar Htoo saw one of Kalamagyi's brothers and said of him: "This boy is dumb," which was correct; the child was congenitally dumb.

U Kyaw Hlaing once asked Ma Khin Mar Htoo to indicate where Kalamagyi had been buried. Ma Khin Mar Htoo correctly pointed in the direction of the private cemetery used by U Kyaw Hlaing's family.

Comment. Readers appraising these recognitions need to remember that the two families concerned in the case knew each other, and their houses were no more than 350 meters apart. Ma Khin Mar Htoo might have obtained information normally that could have guided her in some of these recognitions.

Ma Khin Mar Htoo's Statements about Events after Kalamagyi's Death and before Her Birth. Ma Khin Mar Htoo said that after the death of Kalamagyi she stayed for "some time" (in a discarnate state) at a letpan tree located on the southern side of the railway station at Tatkon. This was close to the site where Kalamagyi was killed (see figure 17-22).

In 1980 Ma Khin Mar Htoo told U Win Maung and me that as a discarnate personality she observed Kalamagyi's funeral and noted that one leg was not buried with the rest of the body.[27] U San Kyi denied this; he had participated in

[27]One of the strongest human attachments is that to one's physical body. The concern appears to be continued sometimes after a body has died. Other subjects who have claimed to remember the funeral (or other disposition of the body) of the previous personality were Disna Samarasinghe, Ma Thoung, Dellâl Beyaz, Celal Kapan, Pratima Saxena, Pratomwan Inthanu, and the Ven. Chaokhun Rajsuthajarn.

In the case of Runolfur Runolfsson (Haraldsson and Stevenson, 1975) a mediumistic communicator showed concern—in the event, justifiable—that one of his legs had not been buried along with the rest of his body.

the burial and insisted that both of Kalamagyi's legs were buried. (His statement has to be the final word in the matter, but is not necessarily the correct one.) Ma Khin Mar Htoo said that as a discarnate personality staying by the tree at the railway station she could observe living people moving around. She also remembered being—in that condition—afraid of trains.

Daw Ni (Kalamagyi's paternal aunt) asked Ma Khin Mar Htoo (when she was about 4 years old) whether she had seen her late husband, U Ni, in the discarnate realm. Ma Khin Mar Htoo said that she had seen the deceased U Ni "once and only for a while."

When U Win Maung and I asked Ma Khin Mar Htoo how she became associated with her family, she said that her mother had been selling water at the railway station, and she had followed her home.

Ma Khin Mar Htoo's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

Ma Khin Mar Htoo's Phobia of Trains. Daw Aye Toke, Ma Khin Mar Htoo's paternal grandmother, told U Win Maung that Ma Khin Mar Htoo had been afraid of railway trains when she was a young child, but had outgrown the fear. However, Ma Khin Mar Htoo herself told us in 1980 that she still had some fear of trains. She was then able to travel in trains, but was still afraid of approaching closely to the railway tracks.

Ma Khin Mar Htoo's Attraction for Kalamagyi's Family. According to U San Kyi, one of Ma Khin Mar Htoo's earliest references to the previous life occurred when she said: "I want to go to my father in the southern part [of the quarter]." When she did go to U Kyaw Hlaing's house, she went to him happily, kissed him, and sat on his knees. She addressed him as "*Ahphay*" (meaning father). U Kyaw Hlaing said in one interview that Ma Khin Mar Htoo was between 3 and 4 at the time of this meeting and in another interview that she was between 4 and 5. Because Ma Khin Mar Htoo had been asking to meet U Kyaw Hlaing and almost certainly knew that she was going to his house before she arrived there, she cannot be said to have recognized him paranormally, as I think she may have recognized Kalamagyi's mother, Daw Than Kyi (when she first saw her at the railway station). I wish here only to draw attention to her affectionate behavior with a strange man.

Ma Khin Mar Htoo's desire to go to Kalamagyi's family was no transient fancy. In 1980 her father, U Thein Myine, told us that she still talked about returning to Kalamagyi's parents.

Ma Khin Mar Htoo said (also in 1980) that she still thought spontaneously about the previous life. She said that she did this particularly when alone. We did not enquire about the possible stimuli for her thinking about the previous life, but it is easy to conjecture two of these. First, Kalamagyi had been a fully formed human being without the pitiable birth defects from which Ma Khin Mar Htoo suffered, and it would not be surprising if Ma Khin Mar Htoo spent some time thinking about the much better body she thought she then had. Second, Ma Khin Mar

Htoo's parents had been unhappily married and had finally separated when she was in her early teens. In contrast, U Kyaw Hlaing and his wife, Daw Than Kyi, persisted in their marriage, which could have provided for Kalamagyi a happier home, if she had lived, than did the broken one of U Thein Myine and Daw Ngwe Kyi.

Other Behavior of Ma Khin Mar Htoo Related to the Previous Life. Ma Khin Mar Htoo did not eat pork, a food that Ma Thein Nwe also did not eat. The aversion had no origins in religious or cultural prejudices; it was simply a matter of distaste for pork in both persons. I did not learn whether Ma Khin Mar Htoo was alone in her family in disliking pork. However, the trait must have been distinctive, because her paternal grandmother, Daw Aye Toke, mentioned it to U Win Maung.

Ma Khin Mar Htoo's Birth Defects

Figures 17-18, 17-19, 17-20, and 17-21 show Ma Khin Mar Htoo's birth defects so well that I think verbal description hardly necessary. I shall, however, draw attention to the appendages at the end of the stump of her right leg. These are shown in a close-up photograph (Figure 17-19) in which readers can see that there were two somewhat toelike structures with nails at their ends.

The most serious defect of Ma Khin Mar Htoo's hands was the almost complete absence of the left thumb. In addition, the left index finger was shorter than the right one and slightly malformed at its distal end. On the right hand the middle finger was shortened and partly webbed to the fourth finger. The right fifth finger was also shortened and malformed at its distal end.

The birth defects did not bleed or otherwise discharge when Ma Khin Mar Htoo was born.

In 1980 Ma Khin Mar Htoo told U Win Maung and me that during the rainy season in Burma (usually July to early November) she felt some pain in her hands and in her right leg; but the pain was not severe.

Other Relevant Medical Information. Daw Ngwe Kyi suffered from "heart disease" during her pregnancy with Ma Khin Mar Htoo. She took "vitamins and other medicines prescribed by the doctor." I did not learn what these "other medicines" were, but I think they must have been indigenous medicines, because Daw Ngwe Kyi also said that she took no "drugs," by which I think she meant Western (allopathic) medicines. She said that she drank no alcohol during her pregnancy. It was without complications, and the delivery normal at the end of a 9-months gestation.

I did not learn further details about the nature of Daw Ngwe Kyi's heart disease. It was not sufficiently severe to prevent her from bearing a fourth child, a son who was born after Ma Khin Mar Htoo.

U Thein Myine and Daw Ngwe Kyi were not related. There was no other case of congenital malformation in the family.

Daw Ngwe Kyi did not think that Ma Khin Mar Htoo resembled Kalamagyi physically. Kalamagyi had been dark, as her name suggests, but Ma Khin Mar Htoo was fair (for a Burmese person).

Comment on Ma Khin Mar Htoo's Birth Defects. I do not know of any injury to Kalamagyi's hands that corresponds to the birth defects of Ma Khin Mar Htoo's hands. I shall, however, offer here for the reader's consideration the conjecture that Kalamagyi's hands became injured during the early stages of the train's hitting her and running over her. It is reasonable to suppose that when she was suddenly struck by the train from behind, she reached out with her hands and got them entangled in parts of the train as she went under it. If we accept Ma Khin Su's account of the injuries to Kalamagyi's body, as U Win Maung did and I do, her right leg was cut off by the train and left beside the track before the train ran over her body and killed her. In short, I am supposing that Kalamagyi was conscious at the time her hands were injured (if they were) and her right leg was cut off; but she was unconscious by the time the train ran over her trunk. In Chapter 14 I discussed the possible role of consciousness in the origin of birthmarks and, by extension, in that of birth defects.

Ma Khin Mar Htoo's defect of her leg corresponded to the first major injury that Kalamagyi incurred, according to reasonably satisfactory testimony. I refer to the evidence that the train severed her right leg before it ran over the rest of her body.

This defect, the absence of the lower part of her right leg (unilateral lower hemimelia), is rare. I cannot give a figure for its incidence, but Wilde (1843) in his survey of birth defects among 23,413 births in Vienna did not find a single instance of it. Frantz and O'Rahilly (1961) found this type of hemimelia in only 12 cases (4%) among 300 cases of all congenital skeletal limb deficiencies that they examined.

Before leaving the discussion of Ma Khin Mar Htoo's birth defects, I will mention that the middle and ring fingers of her hands show a late syndactyly; that is, the fingers became partly joined at their distal ends only after they had been adequately formed in the embryonic phase of development.

Comments on the Evidence of Paranormal Processes in the Case

The families concerned in this case had some acquaintance with each other before the case developed. Ma Khin Mar Htoo's family knew about Kalamagyi's tragic death, and they probably also knew many other details about her family. Moreover, from her mother's dreams and her birth defects, Ma Khin Mar Htoo was identified as Kalamagyi reincarnated even before she could speak and claimed this herself. She may have assimilated normally communicated information about Kalamagyi and thereby enhanced both her identification with Kalamagyi and its impressiveness to other persons. I am not saying this is the way the case developed, and I do not myself believe that it did. I only wish to emphasize that on the evidence available we have not excluded this possibility.

Ma Khin Mar Htoo's Later Development

In 1980 Ma Khin Mar Htoo told U Win Maung and me that her memories had undergone no fading. She was then 13 years old, and if we accept her

statement as true, her memories had escaped the amnesia that affects most subjects of these cases in later childhood. It is certainly probable that she had preserved at least some memories of the previous life because, as mentioned earlier, U Thein Myine said that she was still talking about returning to the previous family. She said that she remembered being run over by the train in the previous life, but could not state any details about the injuries received as she was killed.

I mentioned earlier that Ma Khin Mar Htoo moved around on crutches up to the time when I met her in 1980. The crutches were rather crude and ill-fitting. She had enormous calluses on her hands, which showed that much of her weight was being borne by her hands instead of by the muscles of her shoulders.

I can, however, end this report on a happier note. In 1981 Ma Khin Mar Htoo had the toelike appendages removed from the stump of her right leg. It was then fitted with a prosthesis, and by August she was walking without crutches. Her gait was still imperfect, but she had greatly increased her freedom to move around and live a normal life.

In 1984 we met Ma Khin Mar Htoo in Tatkon, although she was still living in Shwemyo with her paternal grandparents. She was then in the 7th grade of school. (She had been withdrawn from school for a time out of fear that her birth defects would embarrass her, and this led to her being behind her peers.) She had adjusted well to the prosthesis on her right leg and could easily go up and down stairs.

Her memories of the previous life had now become "vague," but she remembered that in that life a train had run over her. When we asked about the origin of the defects in her fingers, she said that they (in the previous life) had been crushed or chopped off.

She still liked to visit Kalamagyi's family when she came to Tatkon.

THE CASE OF MA TIN YEE

Introduction

This case is one of the few in this work (given a detailed report) whose subjects I have not met. She lived in a particularly inaccessible region of Burma from which she visited Rangoon at infrequent intervals. U Win Maung met her in Rangoon on one such visit.

The pertinent dates in this case are inexact and largely derived from the informants' memories of their own ages at the time various events occurred. However, the dates I have furnished are probably accurate to within about 2 years.

A further deficiency in the investigation of the case is that neither U Win Maung nor I have interviewed either of Ma Tin Yee's parents.

Despite the gaps in the investigation of the case, the feature of unilateral birth defects of a hand makes it worth including in this work.

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Ma Tin Yee was born in about 1953 at In-Lai village in Aunglan Township, Burma. Her parents were U Han Maung and Daw Nyi Ma, and Ma Tin Yee was the second of their three children.

According to Ma Tin Yee, her mother had a dream (before her birth) in which a man called Maung Hla Maung said that he was coming to live with U Han Maung. Maung Hla Maung had been a youth who was fatally injured in a bomb explosion 2 or 3 years before Ma Tin Yee's birth. Daw Nyi Ma died when Ma Tin Yee was only about 3 years old, and her father lived in the inaccessible (to us) village of In-Lai. U Win Maung and I therefore learned nothing further about Daw Nyi Ma's dream.

When Ma Tin Yee was born, her right hand was markedly malformed (Figures 17-23 and 17-24). She also had some birthmarks on her leg, although U Win Maung saw only one of these, on her calf.

When Ma Tin Yee was about 3 years old, she began to speak about the life of Maung Hla Maung. She said that she was Maung Hla Maung and had been killed in the explosion of a bomb. She said this explosion accounted for the defects of her right hand.

The case came to the attention of U Win Maung in February 1978 through his barber, U Aung Kyaw, who was from a village near In-Lai and a relative of Ma Tin Yee. U Win Maung obtained some information from U Aung Kyaw and then, also in February 1978, met, interviewed, and photographed Ma Tin Yee during one of her rare visits to Rangoon.

During two of my visits to Burma in 1980 (in March and in November) U Win Maung and I traced and interviewed several other informants for the case who were then living in Rangoon; and we also interviewed U Aung Kyaw again.

Persons Interviewed during the Investigation

In Rangoon we interviewed the following persons:

Ma Tin Yee
U Aung Kyaw, a second cousin of Ma Tin Yee
Daw Ma Gyi, a second cousin of Ma Tin Yee's mother, Daw Nyi Ma
Ven. U Adicca, a first cousin of Maung Hla Maung
Ven. U Thuriya, maternal uncle of Maung Hla Maung (formerly U Tha Hsaing before his ordination)

Relevant Facts of Geography and Possibilities for Normal Means of Communication between the Two Families

The families immediately concerned in the case were distantly related. According to genealogies that U Win Maung and I derived from the informants, Maung Hla Maung was a third cousin of Ma Tin Yee.

In-Lai, where Ma Tin Yee was born, is in Aunglan Township, which is approximately 70 kilometers north of the city of Prome. Maung Hla Maung lived and died at the village of Tintaw, which is about 12 kilometers from In-Lai.

The families certainly knew each other before the case developed. Not having obtained testimony from either of Ma Tin Yee's parents, I am not in a position to say how well acquainted with each other the two families were.

The Life and Death of Maung Hla Maung

Maung Hla Maung was born in the village of Tintaw in about 1932. His parents were U Lu Pu and Daw Sein Pu. He and his family were peasant farmers. At the time of his death Maung Hla Maung—still a teenager—was in love with his own cousin, who was the daughter of his father's older brother, U Pu Kan. I learned almost nothing else about Maung Hla Maung apart from how he died, when he was about 17 years old.

During the period of insurgency in Burma (see Appendix B), the Communists intermittently controlled the area of Aunglan Township where this case occurred. Among their arms they had numerous hand grenades, and when they were not using these for attacking their enemies, they would sometimes blow fish out of the rivers with them. Maung Hla Maung and a friend, Maung Nyunt, watched this style of fishing and decided to try it for themselves. They somehow obtained some grenades that a group of insurgents had left behind when they had moved away from Tintaw. Maung Nyunt claimed some expertise in dismantling grenades, and he and Maung Hla Maung apparently hoped to take the explosive from one grenade and with it make several smaller grenades, thus economizing their resources for more fishing.

When Maung Nyunt tried to dismantle a grenade, Maung Hla Maung stood nearby to assist him. A small crowd of curious villagers remained around them in a circle prudently removed from the two men working on the bomb.

Something went wrong. As soon as Maung Nyunt removed the cap from the grenade, smoke began to issue from it, giving warning of the danger of an imminent explosion. The circle of onlookers quickly dispersed. Maung Hla Maung had time to take shelter behind a post. Maung Nyunt remained near the bomb, and when it exploded he was "blown to pieces." The post behind which Maung Hla Maung had tried to shelter saved his life, but he was horribly wounded.

U Win Maung and I recorded the foregoing account of the grenade and its explosion from the Ven. U Thuriya, who at the time had been a layman, U Tha Hsaing, and living in Tintaw. When the explosion occurred, he was in his house, which was located about 125 meters from Maung Nyunt's house, where the experiment in dismantling a grenade failed. U Tha Hsaing, as he then was, heard the explosion and soon saw Maung Hla Maung being carried and brought toward his (U Tha Hsaing's) house. Thinking that some more fighting had started or was about to start, U Tha Hsaing emerged from his house with a rifle that he had been given as a reward for his work in mopping up the remnants of the retreating

Japanese Army a few years earlier. Some of the men carrying Maung Hla Maung were Communists, or friends of Communists, and when they saw U Tha Hsaing with his rifle, they dropped their burden and fled. Others picked up the wounded Maung Hla Maung and carried him to his father's home. He was being transported from there to the nearest hospital when he died (before he reached the hospital), presumably of hemorrhage and shock.

As mentioned, Maung Hla Maung died during the period of insurgency in Burma. According to the estimations and calculations that U Win Maung and I made—and I have already emphasized their imprecision—we can be reasonably confident that he died during the years 1949-51.

The Wounds on Maung Hla Maung. While the wounded and dying Maung Hla Maung was lying briefly in front of U Tha Hsaing's house, U Tha Hsaing had a chance to see how badly wounded he was and where. He provided us with the only firsthand account we obtained of the location of the wounds on Maung Hla Maung's body. They were all on the right side of the body, which must have protruded in some way outside the shelter of the post behind which he had tried to hide when he saw the blast impending. According to my notes: "There was a little skin left on the right elbow. On the right hand there was some skin left, but the bones seemed to have gone with skin and muscle [left] dangling." The bones under the right buttock were exposed and there were some wounds and "bones missing" on the right side of the right leg.

U Tha Hsaing did not appreciate the gravity of his nephew's wounds. He said later that if he had done so, he would certainly have gone with him to the hospital. (Ma Tin Yee later made his failure to accompany Maung Hla Maung to the hospital a matter for reproach.)

Comment on U Tha Hsaing's Observation of the Wounds on the Right Leg. The Ven. U Thuriya (U Tha Hsaing) said that he did not examine Maung Hla Maung's hand closely, and he probably examined his leg less. There is only one bone (the fibula) on the lateral side of the leg below the knee and above the ankle. So "bones" (plural) could not have been "missing" here. I conjecture that the Ven. U Thuriya may have intended to say—as he had with regard to the buttock—that bones were exposed in this area by the blasting away of the overlying skin and muscle.

Statements Made by Ma Tin Yee

As mentioned, we did not interview Ma Tin Yee's parents and only talked with our other informants many years after Ma Tin Yee's early childhood, when she had talked most about the previous life. It is perhaps surprising that they seemed to remember as much of what she had said as they did. In the following paragraph I have assembled the various statements she made to different informants. Some, but not all, were made to more than one informant.

She said that she was Maung Hla Maung and that she had been killed when a bomb exploded. She attributed her birth defects to that explosion. She recalled

the name of Maung Hla Maung's father, U Lu Pu, and also that of the man, Maung Tin Maung, who had carried Maung Hla Maung to his father's house after he had been wounded. She also remembered that U Tha Hsaing had not gone with Maung Hla Maung to the hospital, and she wept over this abandonment, as she saw it. She said that Maung Hla Maung was unmarried.

Ma Tin Yee talked with U Aung Kyaw from time to time about the previous life. In addition to some of the details mentioned in the last paragraph, she also spoke with him about pranks that Maung Hla Maung had played on other people. One of these that Ma Tin Yee particularly remembered was that of dropping the pigtailed hair of sleeping girls through cracks between the floor boards on which they slept. The pigtails of two neighboring girls would then be tied together beneath the boards so that they could not stand up.

Ma Tin Yee's Statements Made in 1978. By 1978 Ma Tin Yee, who was then a young married woman of about 25, had had many opportunities to learn normally details about the life of Maung Hla Maung. However, she said that she could still remember the previous life, although with an effort that sometimes made her faint and gave her a headache.[28] What she thought were original imaged memories that had persisted might have been such; but they might also have been memories of what she had said when younger, memories of what her parents or other adults had told her she had said when younger, and information about the life of Maung Hla Maung that she learned normally. Nevertheless, there may be some value in recording what Ma Tin Yee claimed to remember about the previous life in 1978.

She recalled that Maung Hla Maung had been about 20 years old. (This was several years older than informants about Maung Hla Maung had thought he had been when he died.) He was about to marry Ma Pu Sein, a girl of Tintaw village. He had been trying to extract explosive powder from a bomb or hand grenade, which they were planning to use for blowing fish out of streams that ran about a mile east of Tintaw.[29] He was badly wounded when the bomb exploded. An effort was made to carry him on a makeshift stretcher to the dispensary at Swetone, about 10 kilometers south of Tintaw. However, he died 3 or 4 hours after the accident and was buried beside the road.[30] Ma Tin Yee particularly remembered the

[28]Other subjects who have experienced physical symptoms when recalling previous lives include Salem Andary, Marta Lorenz, Ma Mu Mu, Daw Aye Than, Shiv Shankar Sengar, Chanai Choomalaiwong, Faris Yuyucuer, Maung Zaw Win Aung, and Sunita Singh.

[29]According to the Ven. U Thuriya—whose memory we have no reason to doubt, because he was near the scene of the accident and learned about it immediately afterward—not Maung Hla Maung but Maung Nyunt was trying to dismantle the grenade. Maung Hla Maung might have regarded himself as assisting Maung Nyunt. Even so, the grenade had not been in his hands. Other cases in which a subject has remembered correctly the previous personality's mode of death, but been confused about the identities and roles of the persons present include Maung Hla Hsaung, Maung Than Htay, and (possibly) Maung Aung Htoo.

[30]This did not reflect indifference toward the deceased Maung Hla Maung; instead it expressed the superstitious belief of many Burmans that a body of a person who has died outside a village should not be brought into it.

last hours of Maung Hla Maung "when he was being carried to Swetone village on an improvised stretcher."[31]

Ma Tin Yee's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

Circumstances and Manner of Ma Tin Yee's Speaking about the Previous Life. According to U Aung Kyaw, Ma Tin Yee had begun speaking about the previous life when she was about 3 years old and continued speaking about it "quite frequently" until she was 8 or 9.

Although Ma Tin Yee spoke about the previous life with U Aung Kyaw, Daw Ma Gyi, and U Tha Hsaing (later the Ven. U Thuriya), she talked about it most with her grandmother (who was not one of our informants).

Ma Tin Yee's Attitude toward Maung Hla Maung's Family. When Ma Tin Yee met Daw Ma Gyi, she addressed her by a familiar term meaning "grandmother," but we can attach no significance to this, because Daw Ma Gyi was an elderly woman of the extended family that included both Maung Hla Maung and Ma Tin Yee, each of whom could have appropriately addressed her in this manner.

As a young child, Ma Tin Yee felt attracted toward Maung Hla Maung's father, U Lu Pu, and she used to go and live with him from time to time.

Ma Tin Yee was about 5 or 6 years old when she first met U Tha Hsaing (Ven. U Thuriya). He had come over to her village of In-Lai. She wept when she saw him without saying anything. He asked her why she was crying, and she said: "You did not come with me to the hospital." U Tha Hsaing (who had probably heard from adults about Ma Tin Yee's memories) replied: "I did not know that you were dying; otherwise I would have gone with you to the hospital." Ma Tin Yee then talked with him about having been Maung Hla Maung and how he had died after the explosion of a bomb.

Ma Tin Yee's Masculine Behavior. As I mentioned, the Ven. U Thuriya had lived as U Tha Hsaing in Tintaw village before he became ordained. He had met and talked with Ma Tin Yee at least once, and possibly more often, when she was a young child. He had not observed any masculine traits in her. However, U Aung Kyaw, who also lived in Tintaw and may have had more opportunities to meet and observe Ma Tin Yee, remembered that she had had some masculine traits when young. As evidences of this he cited her ability to work hard like a man and a tendency to "speak like a boy." With regard to her boyish speech U Aung Kyaw was referring to the use of (presumably boys') slang and word forms in the Burmese language that male speakers use and female ones do not. However, none of these traits

[31]The events occurring just before death in the concerned previous lives occur frequently among the memories of the subjects of these cases. In the report of Sunita Khandelwal's case I compared this feature to the "flashbulb memories" of events that are only remembered because of their temporal connection with an unusual and important event, such as learning about the assassination of a political leader. In that case report I also listed other cases having this feature.

Figure 17-23 Dorsal view of the hands of Ma Tin Yee as they appeared in February 1978, when she was about 25 years old. The right hand shows an extreme form of brachydactyly with the thumb markedly shortened and the other fingers mere stumps for all fingers. Constriction rings can be seen near the ends of the middle and fourth fingers. The finger ends have partially developed nails. (A dark shadow crossing the right hand and wrist was caused by U Win Maung's camera strap falling in front of the lens just as he exposed the film.)

seemed prominent or persistent. Certainly Ma Tin Yee did not have anything like the degree of masculinity that many other subjects of sex-change cases have shown.[32]

Ma Tin Yee's Birth Defects

Figures 17-23 and 17-24 show that Ma Tin Yee's right hand had a severe degree of brachydactyly. The thumb was markedly shortened, and all the four fingers were mere stumps. The distal ends of the middle and fourth fingers had constriction bands. Rudimentary nails were present at the ends of the thumb, the index, and the middle finger. The left hand was normal.

Ma Tin Yee also had birthmarks on the thigh and calf of the right leg. U Aung Kyaw saw the birthmarks on her thigh and calf when she was a young child, and when U Win Maung met Ma Tin Yee in 1978, she showed him the mark on her calf, which was then a large area of distinctly puckered skin (Figure 17-25).

[32]Subjects of sex-change cases who have shown marked behavior typical of the sex of the previous personality include Ma Tin Aung Myo, Dolon Champa Mitra, Daw Tin Hla, Ma Khin Ma Gyi, Ma Myint Myint Zaw, and Rani Saxena.

Figure 17-24 Palmar view of Ma Tin Yee's hands as they appeared in February 1978. (The strap of U Win Maung's camera case fell across the lens as he took this photograph, causing the black line across Ma Tin Yee's right palm.)

Figure 17-25 Right calf of Ma Tin Yee as it appeared in February 1978. A large area of puckered skin can be seen near the line of the raised longyi.

Other Relevant Medical Information. Daw Ma Gyi was, as mentioned, a second cousin of Ma Tin Yee's mother, Daw Nyi Ma. She had some familiarity with the family's genealogy, although she was not as knowledgeable about it as Daw Nyi Ma would have been, had the latter lived into the period of our investigation of the case. According to her, Ma Tin Yee's parents (Daw Nyi Ma and U Han Maung) were not closely related; however, as they came from the same village (In-Lai) it is probable that they were distantly related. Daw Ma Gyi knew of no other case of a birth defect in Ma Tin Yee's family.

Comment. This case of unilateral brachydactyly should be compared with that of Lekh Pal Jatav. In connection with the report of his case I pointed out that unilateral brachydactyly is an extremely rare birth defect.

Accepting the Ven. U Thuriya's statement that Maung Hla Maung's right leg was so injured when the grenade exploded that bones were exposed, I find it puzzling that Ma Tin Yee had only a comparatively small birthmark visible on her right calf in 1978. (She may have had a more prominent birthmark on the thigh that she did not invite U Win Maung to examine.)

Ma Tin Yee's Later Development

Ma Tin Yee's masculine traits were, compared with subjects of other cases who have remembered a previous life as a member of the opposite sex, only faintly expressed.

In adulthood she married and became the mother of two children. She fully accepted her role as a woman, although she expressed (to U Win Maung in 1978) a preference for being a man. Burmese women, however, often express such a wish, whether they remember a previous life as a man or do not (Stevenson, 1983).

THE CASE OF THE VEN. U SANDIMAR

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

The Ven. U Sandimar was born in the village of Thangone in Mahlaing Township, Upper Burma, on March 31, 1950. His parents were U Nyi Nge and his wife, Daw Sein Tint. During childhood and before he became a monk, the Ven. U Sandimar was known as Maung Soe Myint, and he was the ninth of his parents' 12 children. I did not learn U Nyi Nge's occupation, but his family's economic situation was poor. Daw Sein Tint engaged in trading.

When Maung Soe Myint was born, he was immediately seen to have severe birth defects of his hands and one foot (Figures 17-26 to 17-28). He also had groovelike depressions on his arms and legs (Figures 17-29 to 17-35). In addition, he had a birthmark on his neck, which later faded.

Figure 17-26 Dorsal view of hands of the Ven. U Sandimar as they appeared in 1980, when he was 30 years old. The right thumb and index finger and the left middle finger were markedly shortened. The left middle finger had a small nail, but the other two defective fingers had no nails.

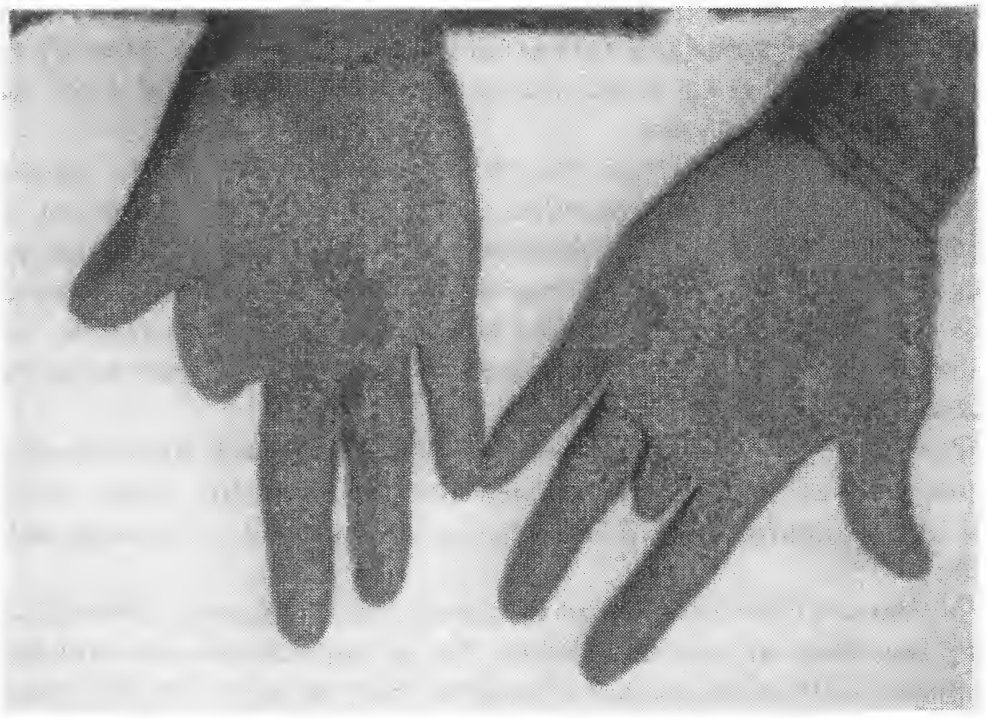

Figure 17-27 Palmar view of the Ven. U Sandimar's hands, as they appeared in 1980.

When Maung Soe Myint was between 4 and 5 years old, he claimed that his name had been Maung Gyi, and he said that he wanted to go back to a place called Yonebinsauk, where he had a wife and children. A little later, Maung Soe Myint went with his mother to Yonebinsauk. She was going there on some business of her own, and while they were there, Maung Soe Myint left her without her noticing at first, and went to the house of U Maung Gyi. U Maung Gyi had been a close friend and trading partner of Daw Sein Tint. He had been killed by Communist insurgents in about 1949. U Maung Gyi's family accepted Maung Soe Myint's claim to be U Maung Gyi reborn, and he thereafter maintained friendly relations with them.

When Maung Soe Myint was 10 years old, he expressed a wish to become a monk, and his mother placed him in the care of an elderly monk in a monastery. He was later ordained and assumed the religious name of Sandimar. The Ven. U Sandimar told me that he was about 23 years old when he decided to be a monk; this is not necessarily discrepant with what his mother said, because as a boy of 10 he could not even have become a novice, and he would not ordinarily have taken his final vows until he was a young man.

Our manner of learning about this case convinces me as much as anything that we have so far only investigated a small number of the cases that exist, at least in Burma. In 1978 U Win Maung and I went to the small town of Yanaung to investigate a case of twins, Ma San San Nyunt and Ma Nyunt Nyunt San. (I refer to their case in Chapter 24 and give its details in Chapter 25.) From Yanaung we returned to our base in Pyawbwe in a bus. My presence in such a remote area of Burma aroused the curiosity of one of the passengers on the bus, and she asked U Win Maung what we were doing. Upon learning about our investigations, she immediately informed us about the case of the Ven. U Sandimar. Although by this time we had been working in this part of Burma for more than 8 years, we had never before heard of this case.

On February 20, 1979, U Win Maung went to the Ven. U Sandimar's monastery (near Meiktila) and recorded a preliminary statement from him. About a year later, on March 14, 1980, I met him, also at his monastery. I learned that his mother, Daw Sein Tint, was then living in the area of Meiktila, and I was able to meet her also on the same day. U Win Maung was unable to accompany me for these interviews, and instead U Nu and his niece Ma Kyin Si Soe helped me as, respectively, interpreter and note-taker.

Daw Sein Tint was born in about 1910 and so was approximately 70 years old in 1980. However, she seemed to me a sufficiently reliable informant for the information she gave. Unfortunately, her husband, U Nyi Nge, had died by 1980.

In February 1986 we resumed work on the case. This time U Win Maung, U Nu, and Daw Hnin Aye accompanied me. We had another interview with the Ven. U Sandimar and then met and interviewed his older brother, U Tun Gyi. After that we went to Yonebinsauk village, where we were able to interview one of U Maung Gyi's daughters and one of his nieces.

Figure 17-28 Right foot of the Ven. U Sandimar as it appeared in 1980. The great toe was abnormally short and had no nail. (See also Figure 17-35.)

Figure 17-29 Left forearm of the Ven. U Sandimar as it appeared in 1980. There was a linear depressed area of altered pigmentation crossing the forearm. The birthmark had an inner area of normal or slightly decreased pigmentation with borders of increased pigmentation.

Figure 17-30 Another view of the Ven. U Sandimar's left forearm which shows that the birthmark was slightly depressed below the surrounding skin. The depression can be seen against the dark background near the lower border of the photograph.

Figure 17-31 Right hand and wrist of the Ven. U Sandimar showing a linear depressed area of altered pigmentation. This photograph was taken in 1979.

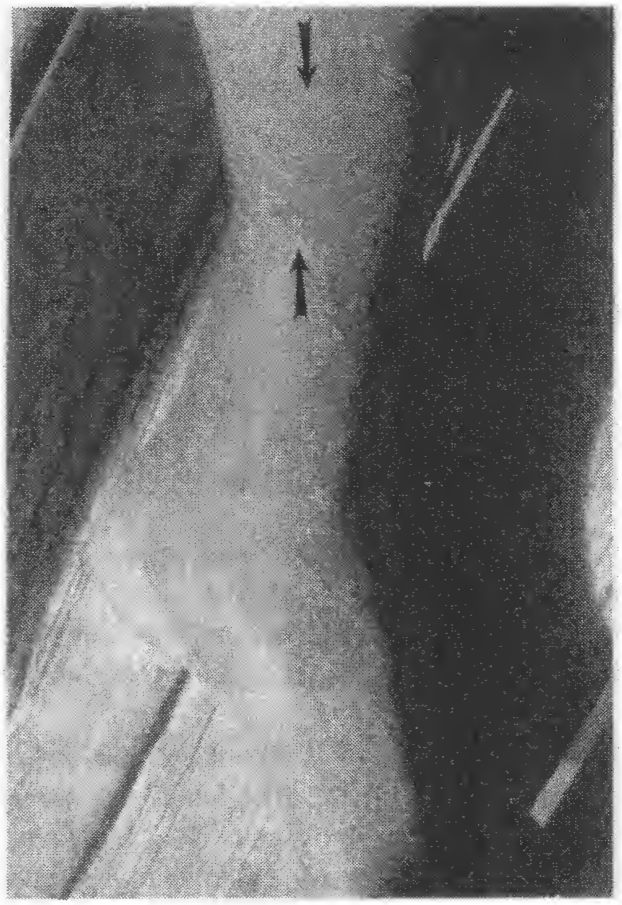

Figure 17-32 Medial aspect of the left lower leg of the Ven. U Sandimar as it appeared in 1979. Two linear depressed areas crossed the inferior part of the calf.

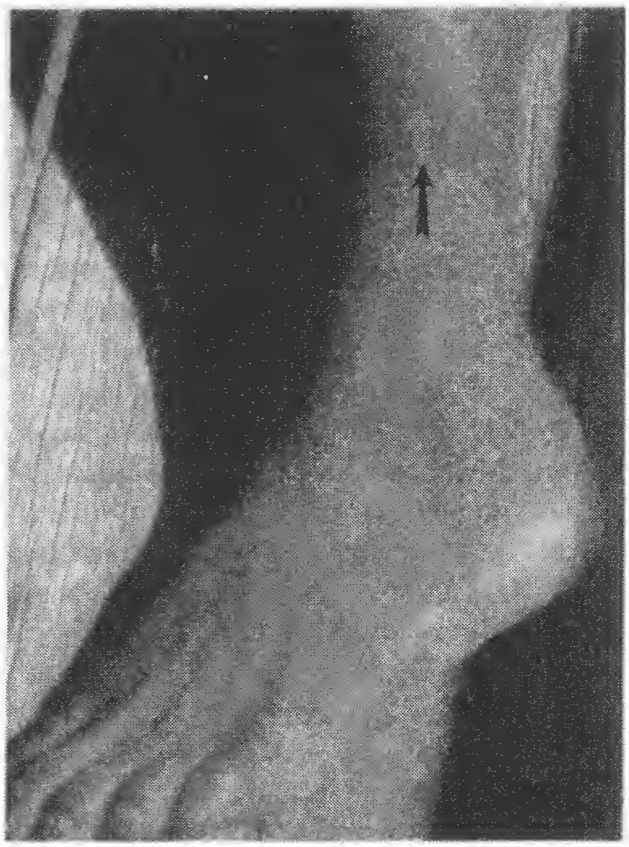

Figure 17-33 Lateral aspect of the left lower leg of the Ven. U Sandimar, also as it appeared in 1979. One horizontal line of increased pigmentation can be seen clearly. Another, about 2 centimeters superior to the first, was much less distinct.

Persons Interviewed during the Investigation

In Meiktila we interviewed:

Ven. U Sandimar

Daw Sein Tint, the Ven. U Sandimar's mother

In Thangone we interviewed:

U Tun Gyi, the Ven. U Sandimar's older brother

In Yonebinsauk we interviewed:

Ma Than Nyunt, U Maung Gyi's daughter

Ma Shwe Ma, U Tha Gyi's daughter and U Maung Gyi's niece

Our interview with the Ven. U Sandimar in 1986 took place at the monastery in Thangone village to which he had moved since 1980.

U Tun Gyi was 6 years older than the Ven. U Sandimar, and he seemed a reliable additional informant for what his brother had said as a young child about the previous life.

It is difficult to be certain about the ages of Ma Than Nyunt and Ma Shwe Ma. However, Ma Shwe Ma was probably in her teens and Ma Than Nyunt was a young mother in her early 20s when U Maung Gyi was murdered. They were necessarily secondhand informants for how U Maung Gyi was killed, but they had obtained some information that seems admissible.

The Life and Death of U Maung Gyi

U Maung Gyi was a resident of the village of Yonebinsauk (in the region of Mahlaing). He was probably born around 1909-10. In adulthood, he worked as a trader, married, and had children.

U Maung Gyi and Daw Sein Tint were close friends and sometimes traded together. Daw Sein Tint also sometimes supplied U Maung Gyi with cotton, which he traded further. Her village of Thangone (the Ven. U Sandimar's birthplace) was only about 1.5 kilometers from Yonebinsauk.

As I have already explained (particularly in Appendix B), large parts of Upper Burma were controlled by Communists during the period of insurgency that followed independence from Great Britain. One day the local and then controlling Communists arrested U Maung Gyi, accused him of being a spy (which he was not), and executed him along with his brother, U Tha Gyi. Daw Sein Tint learned about U Maung Gyi's death the day after he was killed. Rumors were available about how he had been killed, but Daw Sein Tint, although mentioning these, said she did not know how U Maung Gyi had actually been killed. Daw Sein Tint also did not tell me exactly where U Maung Gyi had been killed, and she may not have known. It was clearly somewhere in the area of her village of Thangone and of U Maung Gyi's village of Yonebinsauk. (The Ven. U Sandimar said that U Maung Gyi had been killed about

Figure 17-34 Lateral aspect of the right lower leg and foot of the Ven. U Sandimar as they appeared in 1979. A well-defined groove can be seen running obliquely across the lower calf. It was about 3 millimeters wide and 1-2 millimeters deep. In this groove outer bands of increased pigmentation border a central area of lessened pigmentation.

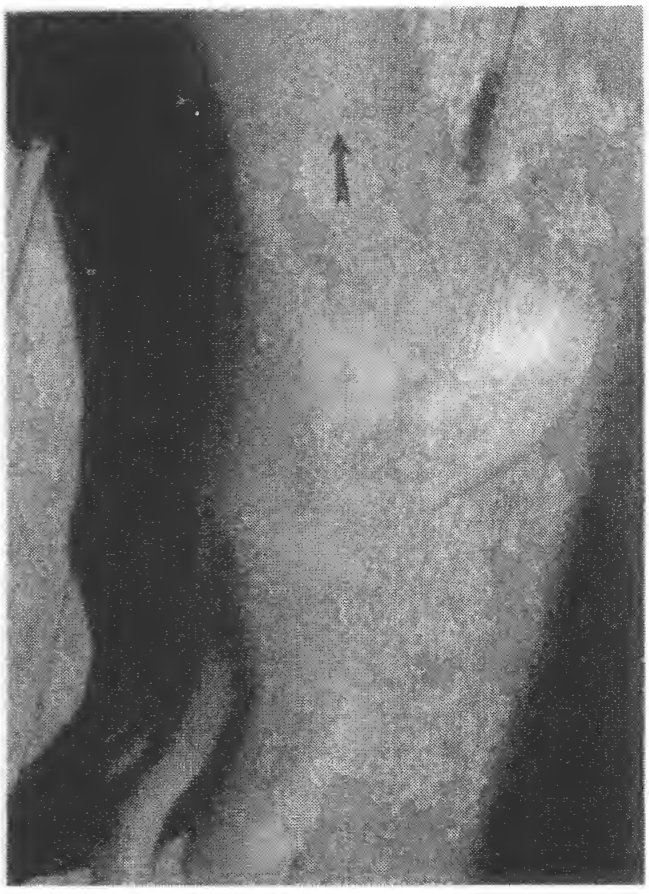

Figure 17-35 Medial aspect of the right lower leg of the Ven. U Sandimar as it appeared in 1979. A line of increased pigmentation crossed the lower leg more or less horizontally. The anterior part of this line joined the anterior part of the deeper groove seen in Figure 17-34. The great toe was markedly shortened and had no nail.

1.5 kilometers southeast of Yonebinsauk, which would have been less than 1 kilometer from Thangone; this may have been information he learned normally.)

Daw Sein Tint thought that U Maung Gyi had been killed in 1949 and that he was then about 40 years old. She described him as "a very simple, good man."

Ma Than Nyunt thought that villagers jealous of her father's prosperity had falsely told the Communists that U Maung Gyi was a government informer. This was the opinion also of U Tun Gyi, who, however, was a young boy at the time—perhaps only 5 years old—so that his information on this point must have been secondhand. This may also be true of Ma Than Nyunt's explanation for the murder; because she had recently given birth to a child, she was not told about her father's death immediately, and what was known about the motive was concealed from her even longer.

Statements and Recognitions Made by Maung Soe Myint, later the Ven. U Sandimar

Daw Sein Tint remembered that when Maung Soe Myint was between 4 and 5 years old, he said that he was Maung Gyi and that he had a wife and children in Yonebinsauk. He wanted to go there and see them.

U Tun Gyi remembered that the young Maung Soe Myint had said he was U Maung Gyi from Yonebinsauk and also that he was tied up with a rope and cut with a sword. He said he was asked questions and then tortured by having his hands and feet cut with a sword. The murderers accused him of being a government agent. Eventually they beheaded him. Maung Soe Myint did not say who had killed him. U Tun Gyi said that Maung Soe Myint first talked about the previous life when he was about 2, a younger age than his mother had remembered for his first speaking about the previous life.

When Maung Soe Myint was about 4, his mother had to go to Yonebinsauk, and Maung Soe Myint accompanied her. He had never been there before. In Yonebinsauk, when she was attending to her business, Maung Soe Myint slipped away unnoticed. Daw Sein Tint became aware of his absence, searched in the village for him, and discovered that he had gone by himself to U Maung Gyi's house. He had found his way there unaided. When she reached this house, she found U Maung Gyi's family weeping. Maung Soe Myint introduced them to her. In doing this he used possessive pronouns, saying: "This is my wife, my children." He also showed his mother "my property."

Ma Than Nyunt said that she remembered Maung Soe Myint's first visits to Yonebinsauk. He remarked that the house (of U Maung Gyi) had been changed. This was at first denied in order to mislead him, but then the family admitted to having had the house repaired. Ma Than Nyunt remembered that Maung Soe Myint said: "This is my house," and refused to leave it and return to his family's house. She did not remember that Maung Soe Myint had recognized by name any members of the family, but she said he wept on seeing them all. On his second visit, they decided to test the boy's knowledge of U Maung Gyi's property. To do

this they mixed U Maung Gyi's clothes with someone else's, and Maung Soe Myint was able to sort them correctly. Ma Than Nyunt witnessed this herself.

The Ven. U Sandimar's Statements in 1979-80. In 1979 the Ven. U Sandimar made a comparatively short statement about his memories to U Win Maung; in 1980 he made a longer one to me. He remembered the episode (at the time he was between 4 and 5 years old) when he accompanied his mother to Yonebinsauk and slipped away by himself to U Maung Gyi's family. He remembered that he asked U Maung Gyi's wife (Daw Thi Lah) to give him some clothes and the horse that had belonged to U Maung Gyi.

The Ven. U Sandimar furnished us with the names of members of U Maung Gyi's family and some other details about his life. He could have learned these normally during his numerous contacts with the family, and we have no way of saying now that they formed part of his original imaged memories of the life of U Maung Gyi.

The memories that the Ven. U Sandimar said he had of the arrest and execution of U Maung Gyi are in a somewhat different category. The whole region certainly learned afterwards that the Communists had killed U Maung Gyi. He was, we should remember, killed at a place less than 1 kilometer from where the Ven. U Sandimar was born. However, the execution was carried out at night, and it is unlikely that many persons other than the few directly involved knew what happened or afterwards talked about the matter. Nevertheless, some information appears to have leaked out, and Ma Than Nyunt (U Maung Gyi's daughter) said that she eventually learned, at second hand, that her father "had been tied up and cut up."

The Ven. U Sandimar said that he remembered that U Maung Gyi had a younger brother and that they collected foods around the region of their village and, with a horse, took them into Mahlaing, where they traded. (In 1980 the Ven. U Sandimar incorrectly remembered the name of U Maung Gyi's younger brother as Maung Nge; it was U Tha Gyi.)

In the years 1948-49 the Communists overran the area. One day they came and accused the brothers of being spies for the government. He (as U Maung Gyi) was coming out of his village (Yonebinsauk) on his horse when the Communists arrested him. They took him to a place called Na Shin, where there was a tamarind tree, and questioned him at length. He was unable to give satisfactory answers. They tied him up and then killed him with a sword.[33] The Communists asked him to say his prayers just before they killed him. The Ven. U Sandimar remembered that he prayed that he would be reborn soon, as a human.[34] He remembered nothing after that moment until he was 4 years old.

[33]My notes of 1980 leave me uncertain as to whether the Ven. U Sandimar still remembered being tortured (before being killed) in the previous life; but I think he did.

[34]Strictly speaking there is nothing in Buddhism that corresponds to petitionary prayer in Christianity. Nevertheless, Buddhists frequently express their aspirations for this or a future life in a form that corresponds to Christian prayer.

Buddhists expect that rebirth as a nonhuman animal is a result of unmeritorious conduct that they hope to avoid. Thus most Burmese Buddhists, conscious of grave shortcomings, expect to be reborn as nonhuman animals while hoping not to be. *(continued)*

He said that in early life he had remembered six of the persons who were involved in the killing of U Maung Gyi. They had all since died.

The Fading of the Ven. U Sandimar's Memories

In 1979 the Ven. U Sandimar told U Win Maung that he remembered little of the previous life. However, in 1980 he said that his memories were then as clear as they had ever been. Again, in 1986 he said his memories had not faded and that he still sometimes thought about the previous life "during free moments." The statement of 1979 and the later statements are not necessarily incompatible; the first could refer to the total sum of the memories, the later ones to the persistence of a few clear memories in the Ven. U Sandimar's consciousness.

The Ven. U Sandimar's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

I mentioned in connection with visits of the young Maung Soe Myint to the home of U Maung Gyi how he had wept on seeing U Maung Gyi's family and had been reluctant to return to his own home. Afterward he continued interested in U Maung Gyi's family, and Ma Than Nyunt said that he used to bring to her small parcels of rice as expressions of his affection for her.

Subsequently, he remained on friendly terms with Daw Thi Lah and also with the children she and U Maung Gyi had had. When I met him in 1980, he was getting ready to travel the next day to Yonebinsauk for a visit to Daw Thi Lah, who, then 70 years old, had recently fallen and injured herself. (By the time our team went to Yonebinsauk Daw Thi Lah had died.)

The Ven. U Sandimar told us that Daw Thi Lah had given him U Maung Gyi's clothes and some property that had belonged to him. However, he returned everything to her, except for one towel.

Comments by the Ven. U Sandimar about His Experiences and Attitudes

The Ven. U Sandimar told me in 1980 that he had decided to become a monk because he did not care for the life of a trader (his mother's main occupation). He said: "I wanted peace, so I became a monk. People are otherwise in trouble. I do not want that or married life."[35]

[34] (*continued*) To such wishes some Buddhists add the expression of a hope that they will be reborn as a man instead of as a woman, a status considered to have fewer possibilities for attaining Nibbana. I have given some further information on these topics in my book on cases in Thailand and Burma (Stevenson, 1983).

[35]U Maung Gyi, although a harmless trader, had found himself embroiled in the politics of Burma after independence and was ultimately killed unjustly. The Ven. U Sandimar's decision to withdraw from the ordinary world into that of a monastery has a parallel in that of Som Pit Hancharoen, who remembered a turbulent previous life that ended in a violent death; he became a monk in order to avoid a repetition of such events in his life. Nai Soey, whose life Som Pit remembered, had a different character from that of U Maung Gyi, and the similarity of the two cases lies solely in the motive of becoming a monk in order to avoid the harshness of a layman's life.

The Ven. U Sandimar's Birth Defects

Figures 17-26 and 17-27 show the defects on the Ven. U Sandimar's hands. The thumb and forefinger of the right hand and the middle finger of the left hand were markedly shortened, the thumb by one phalanx, the two other defective fingers by two and a half phalanges. There were no fingernails on the defective thumb and finger of the right hand, but the middle finger of the left hand had a small fingernail. The other fingers of both hands were normal.

The toes of the left foot were normal, but the great toe of the right foot (Figures 17-28 and 17-35) was markedly shortened and had no nail.

Figures 17-29 through 17-35 all show grooves on the skin of the forearms and calves that apparently correspond to indentations left by the ropes binding U Maung Gyi between the time he was made a prisoner and his death.

Figures 17-29 and 17-30 show a deep mark running completely across the palmar aspect of the left forearm, just above the wrist. Figure 17-31 shows a groovelike depression running across the medial aspect of the right wrist. The linear depressions on both arms showed altered pigmentation.

Figures 17-32 and 17-33 show two similar groovelike marks on the left leg; the inferior of these was deeper and more prominent than the superior one. Figures 17-34 and 17-35 show similar groovelike marks on the right leg. All these groovelike depressions were about 2-3 millimeters wide.

Examination of Figures 17-32 through 17-35 suggests to me that a binding rope was wound twice around the left leg (Figures 17-32 and 17-33) and then carried behind the right leg and down on its lateral side (Figure 17-34) before being wound transversely around the medial side of that leg (Figure 17-35) and secured. The upper end of the deep groove on the lateral aspect of the right leg (Figure 17-34) is at about the same level as the lower of the two grooves on the left leg. It is equally possible that the right leg was secured first and the rope carried over to the left one.

Daw Sein Tint said that when the Ven. U Sandimar was born, there was bleeding from all his birth defects: the areas of the defective toe and fingers and also those of the grooves that seemed to correspond to depressions left by ropes. She treated her son's wounds with "bone powder"—I did not learn anything about this remedy—and they healed up in about a month. U Tun Gyi remembered that the birth defects of the hands were bleeding when his brother was born. He also remembered the treatment with "juice of a bone," but he said that healing had taken 2 months.

Daw Sein Tint said that her son also had a birthmark on his neck, but this, unlike those we could photograph, faded away when he was about 10 years old. U Tun Gyi remembered the birthmark on the back (only) of the neck. It also was bleeding when the Ven. U Sandimar was born and took 4 months to heal.

Other Relevant Medical Information. Daw Sein Tint said that she and her husband were not related. No other member of the family—she was referring to her 12 children, as well as to herself, her husband and their two sets of parents—had birth defects like those of the Ven. U Sandimar.

She had no illness during her pregnancy with the Ven. U Sandimar.

THE CASE OF U AUNG GYI

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

U Aung Gyi was born on June 21, 1941,[36] in the village of Po Khaung in the township of Taikkyi, near Insein, Burma. His parents were U Naing and his wife, Daw Mya Hsinn. U Aung Gyi was their third child and third son. He also had two younger brothers. U Naing was assistant manager of a traveling theatrical troupe, which was owned and managed by his older brother, U Kyaing.

At birth U Aung Gyi had a severely malformed left arm (Figure 17-36), which I shall describe later. Soon after his birth, the lower part of this arm was amputated, and he was left with the stump of the upper arm as shown in Figure 17-37. In addition, he had a groove around the middle phalanx of his right hand (Figures 17-38 and 17-39) and somewhat similar grooves around several of the toes of his left foot (Figure 17-40), the great toe of which was markedly smaller than the right great toe. He also had a hyperpigmented groove that ran almost completely around his lower left leg above the ankle (Figures 17-41, 17-42, and 17-43).

U Aung Gyi did not speak clearly until he was between 3 and 4 years old. At almost the same time, he said that he had been the headman of a village. He mentioned the name of Paukkhaung and said that he had had two children. He gave the name of the headman's wife, but not the headman's name. He said that he had been killed by dacoits.

U Win Maung learned about this case in 1979, and on February 24, 1979, he recorded a statement from U Aung Gyi. In the following year, on March 3, 1980, I interviewed U Aung Gyi and also his oldest brother, U Thoung. U Thoung was born in 1931 and hence was 10 years older than U Aung Gyi. These interviews took place in Rangoon.

In February 1984, U Win Maung and I resumed work on the case and were able to interview U Thoung Than, a cousin of U Aung Gyi, and U Aung Gyi's other older brother, U Aung Than. (We were unable to meet U Thoung Than's wife, Ma Mya Nyunt, who, as will be seen, obtained some secondhand verifications of the murder of a headman in the area of Paukkhaung.) We also interviewed U Thoung again. Unfortunately, these interviews did not yield as much new evidence as we had hoped.

Other potentially useful witnesses, such as U Aung Gyi's parents, had died before 1979. Daw Mya Hsinn died in 1961 and U Naing in 1965. The investigation of this case requires for its satisfactory completion someone to go to the village of Paukkhaung in the Prome District, there to undertake verifications of U

[36]U Aung Gyi's older brother, U Thoung, said that U Aung Gyi altered his birthyear to make himself seem 2 or 3 years older than he was "for purposes of school," which he started late. However, as U Aung Gyi did not mention such a change to me, I have used the date of birth that he himself gave us.

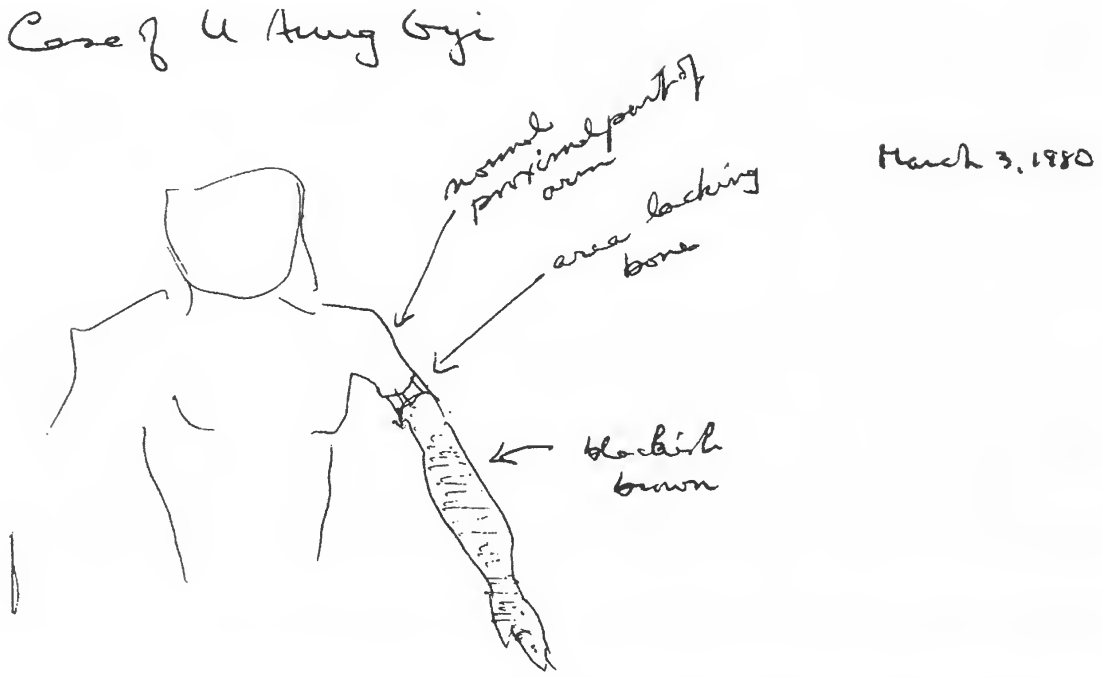

Figure 17-36 Sketch made by U Win Maung from the description by U Thoung of the appearance of U Aung Gyi's left arm when he was born.

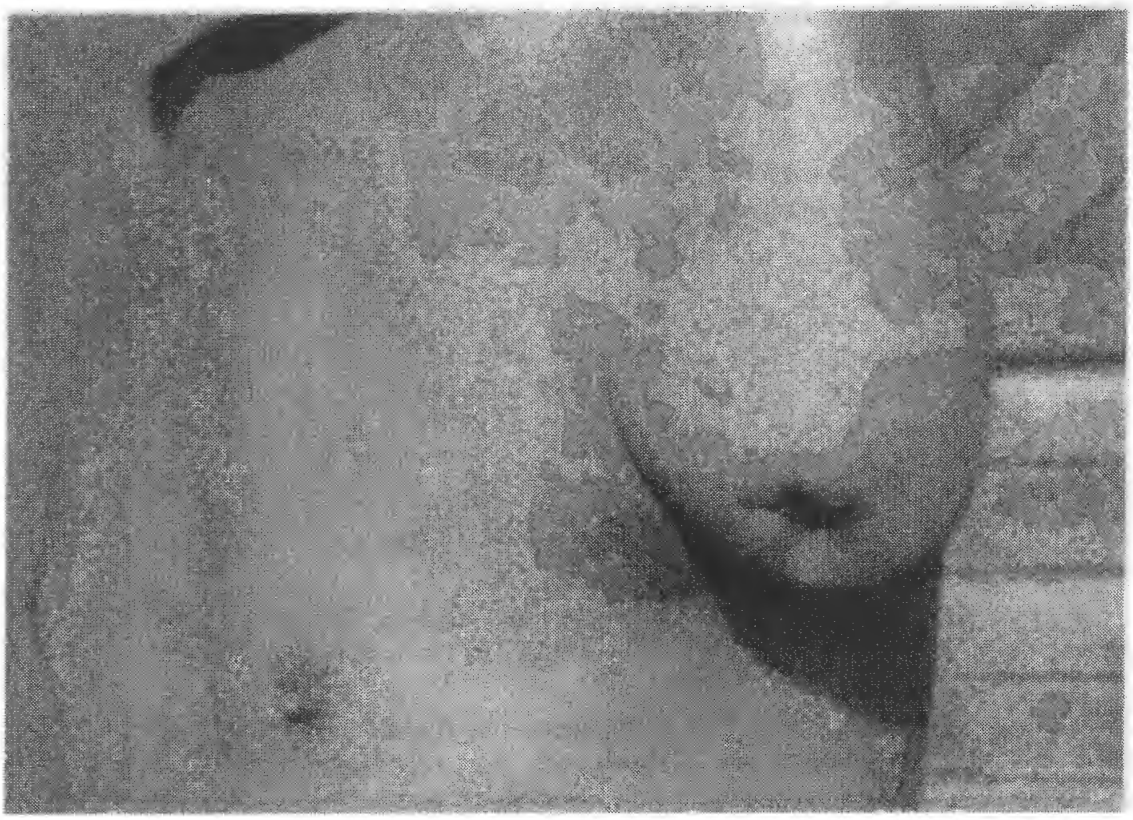

Figure 17-37 Upper left arm of U Aung Gyi as it appeared in February 1979, when he was 37½ years old. Soon after U Aung Gyi's birth the distal part of the arm, which was dangling without a bony connection, was amputated.

Aung Gyi's statements. Unfortunately, this is a particularly inaccessible part of Burma, and no member of our team has yet gone there.

U Aung Gyi graduated with a B.A. degree from Rangoon University. Subsequently he entered government service and by 1980 had advanced to become the assistant manager of his department.

An Announcing Dream

U Aung Gyi said that his mother dreamed, before she became pregnant with him, that a man with sword wounds rushed into her and her husband's bed. Daw Mya Hsinn said to him: "You must be a runaway convict. Don't come here." But the man replied: "No. I am not a convict. They are chasing me. I must stay with you."

I have not corroborated U Aung Gyi's account of this dream from any other informant. As I mentioned, his mother had died by the time we investigated the case.

Connections between U Aung Gyi's Family and Paukkhaung

Insein, in the region of which U Aung Gyi was born, is about 20 kilometers north and slightly west of Rangoon. Broadly speaking, it is almost within greater Rangoon. Prome, in the district of which Paukkhaung is located, is 240 kilometers north and also slightly west of Rangoon; and Paukkhaung is about 38 kilometers east of Prome. Thus Po Khaung, where U Aung Gyi was born, and Paukkhaung are approximately 200 kilometers apart "as the crow flies," but about 225 kilometers apart by road.

U Thoung said that the traveling troupe of players, of which U Naing was the assistant manager, had been in Paukkhaung at about the time U Aung Gyi was conceived. Daw Mya Hsinn had accompanied her husband and other members of the troupe to Paukkhaung.[37]

Statements Made by U Aung Gyi

When U Aung Gyi was between 3 and 4 years old, he said that he had been headman of a village at Paukkhaung and had had two children. He spoke of longing for Ma Mai Hsine. He said that he had been captured by dacoits, bound hand and foot, and then killed with a sword.

Our informants did not say that U Aung Gyi had said that he had been tortured in the previous life before being killed. U Aung Than remembered that U

[37]The two families concerned in this case had no previous connection with each other, so far as we have learned. The case, therefore, appears to have what I call a geographical factor. By this I mean that if we favor reincarnation as the best interpretation of the case, the visit of the subject's parents to the area where the previous personality died may help to explain why the headman reincarnated as the child of U Aung Gyi's parents. Other cases in which we can identify a geographical factor include those of Bongkuch Promsin, Maung Aye Kyaw, Maung Win Aye, Bir Sahai, Thusitha Silva, and Subashini Gunasekera.

Aung Gyi had said the dacoits had killed him after "they cut off his arm." (This suggests torture, but I offer another possible explanation later.)

U Aung Gyi also gave no motive for the dacoits to have killed the headman whose life he remembered. (Dacoits would need no special reason for killing an efficient headman who had been enforcing the law.)

In 1979 and 1980 U Aung Gyi had still preserved the memories mentioned in U Thoung's account of what he had said when a young child. But U Aung Gyi could add almost nothing to these, and he could not remember the name of the headman whose life he was recalling; nor did he remember the names of the two children he mentioned. He thought that he had been between 45 and 50 when he was killed in the previous life. U Aung Gyi said that his memories of the previous life were becoming fainter and that sometimes they seemed like a dream—so much so that he at times doubted whether they were true. He could no longer bring into consciousness an image of Ma Mai Hsint. (In talking with us he used the name "Ma Mai Hsint," not "Ma Mai Hsine," the name he had used as a child.)

Verifications of U Aung Gyi's Statements

As I mentioned, it has not so far been feasible to attempt to verify U Aung Gyi's statements in Paukkhaung. However, U Thoung said that Ma Mya Nyunt, the wife of U Thoung Than, learned from an aunt who lived in Prome that a woman called Ma Mai Hsint had been the wife of a headman of the area of Paukkhaung who had been killed by dacoits. Ma Mya Nyunt had said that the "Ma Mai Hsine" to whom U Aung Gyi referred was really called "Ma Mai Hsint."

The family of the deceased headman on two occasions made some effort to meet U Aung Gyi, but he avoided this, and he had never gone to Paukkhaung.

U Aung Gyi's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

Circumstances and Manner of U Aung Gyi's Speaking about the Previous Life. According to U Thoung, U Aung Gyi was first heard talking to himself about the previous life he remembered. He would be heard saying that he was longing for Ma Mai Hsine. (U Aung Than remembered the name as a slight variant: "Ma Mai Hsaing.") As I mentioned, this name should probably have been "Ma Mai Hsint," but if so, U Aung Gyi at that age could not pronounce the name correctly, or perhaps did not correctly remember it.

U Aung Gyi had a memory of how he first spoke of his memories to members of his family. He said that at about the time he began to speak, he carried on his shoulder a small pillow and shouted: "Here wife. I have brought a duck for you." His parents, astonished at this remark, asked him who his wife was. It was then that he first spoke the name "Ma Mai Hsine."

U Aung Gyi's Attitude toward the Previous Family. U Aung Gyi said that when he had been young he had wished to meet Ma Mai Hsint, but later lost

this desire. He was afraid of the strong emotion that he might show if he met her, and this appears to have been why he avoided meeting members of the previous family when they made moves to visit him.

U Aung Gyi's Phobias. When U Aung Gyi was young, he had a fear of being restrained. He described a fear of policemen, but when I tried to clarify this, he explained that what he really feared in this connection was the attention and public scrutiny that occurs when one is involved with the police.

U Aung Gyi was averse to seeing blood, but he had no fear of such small knives as he would see around a house. He had never seen a sword and could not tell whether he would react with fear if he did.

U Aung Gyi's Authoritarian Attitude. U Thoung said—in reply to a leading question—that U Aung Gyi had some of the attitudes of a headman. He acted in a somewhat superior manner and liked to give orders to other people. We asked the same leading question of U Aung Than, and he agreed that U Aung Gyi was "rather authoritative."[38]

U Aung Gyi's Attitude toward his Memories. Although U Aung Gyi was completely cooperative with our inquiries, he said that he did not like to discuss his memories of the previous life. He told us: "Sometimes I feel afraid to tell about the previous life. Something inside keeps me from talking about it."

Although U Aung Gyi was raised as a Buddhist, his education at Rangoon University had led to his becoming a materialist. This made him disbelieve, on what he thought were rational grounds, in rebirth. But this in turn involved him in constant conflict, because he had by no means entirely forgotten the memories he had had of the previous life. Perhaps this conflict explained his reluctance to discuss his memories with other people. (Another reason would be, I conjecture, the strong emotion that accompanied the memories.)

U Aung Gyi's Birth Defects

U Thoung, who was 10 years old when U Aung Gyi was born, described the appearance of U Aung Gyi's left arm at that time. U Win Maung made a sketch of the arm from U Thoung's description (Figure 17-36). The arm was more or less fully present. However, at about the midpoint of the upper arm, the humerus had a substantial gap and only muscle and some skin connected the lower portion of the arm to the upper one. Most of the attachment between the parts seems to have been by muscle with little or no skin in the area of the defect in the humerus. Furthermore, the distal portion of the arm was a blackish-brown, although not actually gangrenous. This part had normal skin. Doctors who examined the arm considered the lower part of the arm not viable, and they amputated it within a week of U Aung Gyi's birth. Thereafter, as U Aung Gyi grew up, the stump of the amputated humerus grew out beyond the skin of the stump and protruded unpro-

[38]Other subjects who have remembered the previous lives of village headmen and who have shown authoritarian attitudes include Maung Aung Than, Daw Tin Hla, and Suleyman Andary.

tected. The bone was rather soft, and U Aung Gyi from time to time broke off a piece by himself. He miraculously escaped infection of the area, and eventually, when he stopped growing, the skin healed over.

U Aung Gyi had a marked groove around the second phalanx of the middle finger of his right hand. The groove was about 2 millimeters deep and 2 millimeters wide (Figures 17-38 and 17-39). He had similar, but somewhat smaller grooves on the great toe, second toe, and third toe of the left foot. The great toe of that foot was markedly smaller and had a much smaller nail than the great toe of the right foot (Figure 17-40). There was no edema distal to any of the grooves.

Figures 17-41, 17-42, and 17-43 show the groove around U Aung Gyi's lower left leg. Within the area affected one can discern alternating areas of depression and elevation of the skin, suggesting a pattern in a rope or perhaps in a chain. Figures 17-41 and 17-43 show this pattern.

U Thoung said that when U Aung Gyi was born "there were fiberlike strands attached to the area where the birth defects of the toes were. These had an appearance of threads."

Comment. The "strands" U Thoung described suggest amniotic bands, which are sometimes found attached to the sites of constriction rings and are thought by some authors, as I explained in Chapter 16, to be the cause of constriction rings. I think no other informant has mentioned such amniotic bands—if that is what U Thoung observed—in connection with constriction rings in these cases.

Other Relevant Medical Information. U Aung Gyi's other limbs were normal. No other members of his family were known to have birth defects. His parents were not related.

U Thoung was, as I mentioned, 10 years older than U Aung Gyi, and I thought him qualified to remember whether his mother had been ill during her pregnancy with U Aung Gyi. He said that she was then perfectly healthy and did not take any medicines.

Comment. We obtained no verification of the details of the murder of the headman of the village near Paukkhaung whose life U Aung Gyi recalled. The case, however, resembles several others, particularly that of Maung Aung Than. He, also, remembered the life of a headman who was killed by dacoits.

Assuming that U Aung Gyi's account of the death of the headman is correct, the groove on his left lower leg would correspond to the mark of a rope or perhaps chain where he was tied after being captured. The grooves on the middle finger of his right hand and several of the toes of the left foot would correspond to slashes with a sword inflicted on the victim as torture before he was killed. The groove on the hand might also correspond to a wound made when the headman lifted his hand to ward off a sword stroke. Readers will note the similarity of this groove to that on the finger of Yusuf Köse (Figures 17-76 and 17-77), who said that his was due to an effort he had made (in the previous life) to push away an enemy's knife with his hand. Maung Hla Hsaung had similar grooves on two of his fingers that may have derived from sword cuts in a previous life (Figures 17-66 and 17-67).

Figure 17-38 Dorsal view of the fingers of U Aung Gyi's right hand as they appeared in March 1980, when he was nearly 39 years old. There was a deep groove approximately over the last interphalangeal joint of the right middle finger.

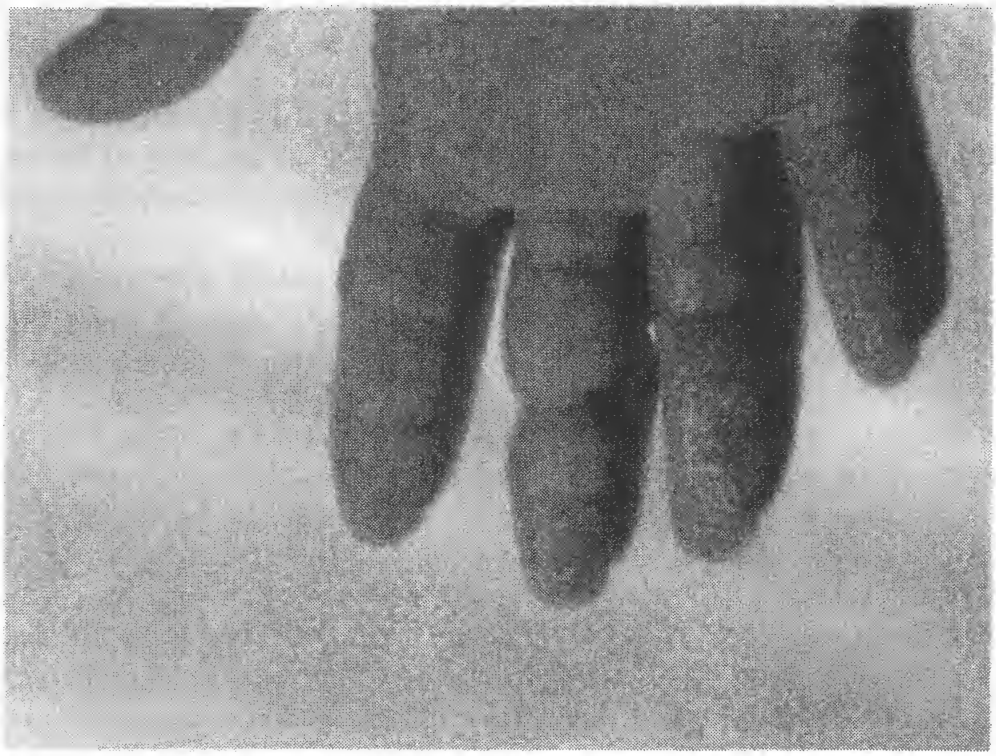

Figure 17-39 Palmar view of the fingers of U Aung Gyi's right hand. The deep groove can be seen to extend around the entire finger.

Figure 17-40 Feet of U Aung Gyi as they appeared in 1979. The first three toes of the left foot have prominent grooves. The left great toe was much smaller than the right one, and its nail was rudimentary.

Figure 17-41 Medial aspect of U Aung Gyi's lower left leg as it appeared in 1980. A slightly hyperpigmented groove can be seen running around the leg about 5 centimeters above the ankle. The groove was about 4 millimeters wide. The groove had alternating depressed and elevated areas suggesting the pattern that a rope or chain might make when held tightly against skin.

Figure 17-42 Posterior view of U Aung Gyi's lower left leg as it appeared in 1980. The grooved line of hyperpigmentation can again be seen.

Figure 17-43 Lateral aspect of U Aung Gyi's lower left leg as it appeared in 1980. The linear groove of hyperpigmentation can be seen more prominently posteriorly and appears fainter or absent anteriorly.

The major defect in the upper left humerus might correspond to a sword slash made by the executioner. If the latter aimed to strike at the headman's neck, and if the headman ducked or wriggled just as the sword fell, he could have received a deep cut on the arm. This was how Daw Tin Hla explained the deep indentation on her lower right arm, above the wrist (Figures 17-9 and 17-10). If this happened, the deep wound of the headman's arm, together perhaps with loss of blood from preceding torture, would have caused him to lose consciousness, and the executioner would then have dealt him a further, fatal blow (probably at the neck) with the sword.

THE CASE OF THE VEN. U NARADA

Introduction

This is another case that happened "long ago" in relation to the time of the investigation. When U Win Maung and I met the Ven. U Narada in 1972, he was (about) 65 years old. He still had some memories of a previous life as a man called U Khone Min, who had been murdered in about 1904. We did not meet any person able to provide firsthand verification of the details of U Khone Min's death as stated by the Ven. U Narada, but from several informants we could obtain what seem to me concordant and reliable secondhand information about it.

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Maung Tun Pe (later to become the Ven. U Narada) was born in the village of Dahattan in Upper Burma in about 1907. His parents were U Shwe Hpee and Daw Bu Ma, and Maung Tun Pe was the eighth of their 10 children. U Shwe Hpee was a cultivator, and Daw Bu Ma helped him in the fields. Maung Tun Pe was left in the care of his older sister, later known as Daw Phwa Chone, who became our principal informant for what he had said about a previous life when he was young. The family lived in comparatively poor circumstances when the Ven. U Narada was young.

Maung Tun Pe was born with birth defects of his right forefinger and middle finger (Figures 17-44 and 17-45).

When he was a young child, he began to talk about a previous life. (The Ven. U Narada told us in 1972 that he began speaking about the previous life when he was about 2 years old; but other evidence indicates that he may have been somewhat older.) He said that he had lived in the village of Kyauktan, and he described how he had been murdered near another village of the area, to which he had gone for trading. He was also credited with recognizing some property and at least one person known to U Khone Min.

At the time of his death, U Khone Min (who was a young man) had been married, and he and his wife had had one son. This son, who later became U San

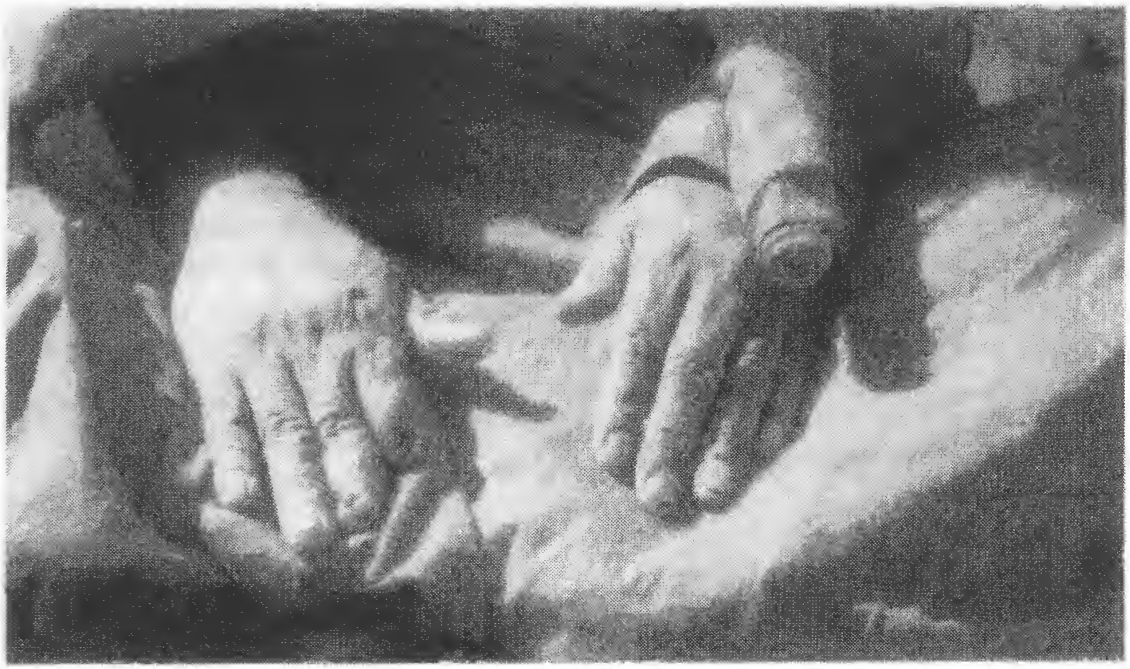

Figure 17-44 Dorsal aspect of the Ven. U Narada's hands as they appeared in 1972, when he was about 65 years old. The index and middle fingers of the right hand were markedly shortened, and the nail of the middle finger was much smaller than that of the middle finger of the left hand.

Figure 17-45 Palmar aspect of the Ven. U Narada's hands as they appeared in 1972. The right index and middle fingers were markedly shorter than the corresponding fingers of the left hand. There was a constriction ring near the end of the middle finger of the right hand.

Tin, was barely a year old when his father was killed, and he had not even been given an official name at that time. When he grew up, U San Tin made some inquiries on his own into the claim of the Ven. U Narada to be his father reborn. These convinced him that the Ven. U Narada was indeed his father, U Khone Min, reborn. Later, U San Tin discussed the case with two of his children, Daw Tin Tin Myint and Maung Aye Kyaw, and in 1972 they told U Win Maung and me about the case. We investigated it almost immediately after learning about it.

As a child, Maung Tun Pe showed a strong bent toward a religious vocation. He became a novice in a monastery at the age of 17 and later, at 20, a fully ordained monk. His religious name was Narada. He eventually became presiding monk or abbot of his monastery, Shwe-Bone Tha Kyaung, which is in the general area of Dahattan. He had spent his entire life, since childhood, as a Buddhist monk.

Persons Interviewed during the Investigation

At the Shwe-Bone Tha Kyaung, near Dahattan, we interviewed:

Ven. U Narada

Daw Phwa Chone, the Ven. U Narada's older sister

In Mahlaing we interviewed:

U San Tin, U Khone Min's son

We obtained some subsidiary information from U San Tin's children, Maung Aye Kyaw and Daw Tin Tin Myint. The Ven. U Narada's parents had died before 1972, and so had U San Tin's wife, Daw Oo, who had also made some inquiries about the case.

Relevant Facts of Geography and Possibilities for Normal Means of Communication between the Two Families

Kyauktan, where U Khone Min lived, is in Mahlaing Township about 13 kilometers from the town of Mahlaing. (Kyauktan has figured in three other cases described in this work.)

Dahattan village, where the Ven. U Narada was born, is about 32 kilometers from Kyauktan by road, but only about 20 kilometers as the crow flies.

Yargyigone, near where U Khone Min was murdered, is some 9 kilometers from Dahattan, and about 25 kilometers from Kyauktan, again, as the crow flies. The site of the murder was thus about 10-11 kilometers from Dahattan, where the Ven. U Narada was born.

Shawgan, where Maung Tun Pe (later the Ven. U Narada) said that the discarnate U Khone Min had become associated with U Shwe Hpee (according to Daw Phwa Chone's conversation with Maung Tun Pe that I describe later), is about 2 kilometers from Yargyigone.

Daw Phwa Chone could not say whether the two families immediately concerned in the case had known each other before the case developed; but she said that some relatives of U Khone Min lived in a house in Dahattan on the same lane as her and Maung Tun Pe's (the Ven. U Narada's) family. There must, therefore, have been some knowledge by each family of the other family, although this does not mean that the families immediately concerned were personally acquainted before the case developed.

The Life and Death of U Khone Min

U Win Maung and I did not interview any member of U Khone Min's family except U San Tin. He was a crawling infant when his father died, and so cannot count as more than a secondhand informant for events in his father's life. We obtained some other information about U Khone Min's life from the Ven. U Narada himself. For this also we have obtained no independent verification.

Despite these limitations I think it will be helpful to give a short summary of what we learned about U Khone Min's life. If readers will remember my disclaimer, the summary may help them in their understanding of what the Ven. U Narada said about the previous life as a child. The various years I shall mention in this section are only accurate to within 2 or 3 years of the real dates concerned.

U Khone Min was born in Kyauktan in approximately 1881. His parents were U Pein and Daw Kha Yar, and he was the fourth of their five children.

When he grew up, he worked as a cultivator and as a petty trader. He married Daw Phwa, and she gave birth to the baby who later became known as U San Tin. (U San Tin told us that he was born in 1903.) While U San Tin was still an infant and had not yet been given an official name, his father went to another village for some trading and while on the way was attacked by robbers and killed.

At the time of her husband's murder, Daw Phwa was visiting her relatives in her native village, Yone Sin Gyi. (It is about 13 kilometers from Kyauktan and nearly 30 kilometers from where U Khone Min was killed.) She knew nothing about her husband's death, nor was he even known to be missing until Daw Phwa had a seemingly paranormal communication from the discarnate U Khone Min.[39] This led to a search for his body, and it was found at a place between the two villages I have mentioned above, Yargyigone and Shawgan.

From the information I could obtain I believe that U Khone Min was killed in about 1904.

His widow, Daw Phwa, married a second husband and had other children who were U San Tin's half siblings.

[39]According to the necessarily secondhand account of this episode that U San Tin gave us, his mother went into a kind of trance, somewhat like that of a Western medium. The discarnate U Khone Min communicated through her and announced that he was now dead.

U San Tin first learned of this incident not from his mother, but from members of her family who had witnessed it in Yone Sin Gyi.

U Khone Min's family was prosperous compared with other villagers of Upper Burma. After he grew up, U San Tin was the headman of Kyauktan for a time.

Years later, U San Tin, as a young man, made inquiries in Yargyigone about his father's death. He talked to some persons who had been eyewitnesses of the wounds inflicted on his father. They told him the wounds had been on the neck, head, and fingers. U San Tin could not remember (in 1972) whether his informants had mentioned wounds on one hand or both. He learned that the motive for the murder was robbery.

Statements and Recognitions Made by Maung Tun Pe, later the Ven. U Narada

In 1972 we reckoned that the Ven. U Narada's older sister Daw Phwa Chone was about 75 years old and so born in about 1897. She said that she was 8 or 10 years old when she learned of U Khone Min's death, which suggests that she may not have heard about it immediately after the event, if it happened in about 1904, as I calculated.

Statements Remembered by Daw Phwa Chone. If the Ven. U Narada was born in about 1907 and began to speak about a previous life when he was between 3 and 4 years old, Daw Phwa Chone was herself then about 13 years old. (I mentioned above that she was in charge of the younger children while her parents worked in the fields.) In 1972 she seemed to have a satisfactory memory of what her brother had said many years earlier, and I think I cannot give her account of his statements better than by quoting (in English translation) from notes that U Win Maung made in Burmese while she talked:

> I used to look after him [Maung Tun Pe, as the Ven. U Narada then was] and our younger sister, when our parents went to work in the fields.
>
> One day, when he was 5 or 6 years old, he started crying. [The following exchange then occurred]:
>
> Q: Child, why are you crying?
>
> A: Because I yearn for my son.
>
> Q: What is your son's name?
>
> A: Not named yet. He was just crawling on [all] fours. We called him by the pet name of Khwe Tho [which means "dirty dog"].
>
> Q: Who are you and who was your wife?
>
> A: Khone Min. Ma Phwa.
>
> Q: Where are you from?
>
> A: Kyauktan.
>
> Q: How did you die?
>
> A: I was going to buy sessamun seeds[40] from Yargyigone village and Awzarchan village [close to Shawgan]. They [the murderers] chased me. I

[40]Sessamun seeds are the same as sesame seeds. In Burma they are principally used for the cooking oil that can be extracted from them.

> told them to take my cash of 100 rupees[41] and I promised to give them 299 rupees later. I was on my knees with my hands clasped as in prayer, entreating them to spare my life. However, they struck at me with their long swords, cutting my hands first, when I put them up in defence. Then they hacked at my neck, but it was severed only at the second stroke.
>
> I became a ghost for 7 days.[42] On the last day I followed U Shwe Hpee [the Ven. U Narada's father], who went to fetch a masseur from Shawgan village.[43]

In addition to the foregoing exchange, Daw Phwa Chone remembered some other statements her brother had made. He used to say that he had a horse and cattle at Kyauktan. (Daw Phwa Chone learned that this was true, but U Win Maung and I did not verify these details ourselves.) On an occasion when the cattle of his family was diseased, Maung Tun Pe said to his mother: "Mother, we own a pair of oxen at our village. Please let us go and get them." Daw Bu Ma said: "Where were you living to offer me something like that?" Maung Tun Pe replied: "I am from Kyauktan. Please come with me." When Daw Bu Ma refused, he continued insisting on being taken to Kyauktan. (In the event, he did not visit Kyauktan until after he had become a monk.)

Recognitions Attributed to Maung Tun Pe, later the Ven. U Narada. U Khone Min had a friend, U Kyet Thaw (of Kyauktan), who happened to visit Dahattan when Maung Tun Pe (later the Ven. U Narada) was still only about 3 years old. He later told Daw Oo, U San Tin's wife, about this meeting, and she told her husband and their daughter, Daw Tin Tin Myint. The following account was therefore narrated to U Win Maung and me at thirdhand by U San Tin and Daw Tin Tin Myint.

As U Kyet Thaw passed through Dahattan, the young boy (Maung Tun Pe) hailed him by his name of Kyet Thaw, without attaching the honorific that polite Burmans almost invariably use. U Kyet Thaw (who was then about 40) thus found

[41]During most of the period of British control in Burma (1885-1948), it was administered as a part of the British Indian Empire. The Indian rupee, not the Burmese kyat, was then the official currency.

[42]The word *ghost* is perhaps as close as one can come to representing in English the discarnate personalities called pretas (Pali: peta) by Buddhists. In accounts of pretas the 7th day after death is often mentioned as that on which the future destiny of a preta is determined: either toward a longer sojourn in a heavenly or hellish discarnate realm or toward a terrestrial rebirth. I have given some further information about pretas in my reports of the cases of the Ven. U Sobhana, Chanai Choomalaiwong, Maung Soe Tun, and Tong In Songcham, as well as in my book on cases in Thailand and Burma (Stevenson, 1983).

[43]This remark implies that by attaching himself to U Shwe Hpee the discarnate U Khone Min got himself reborn, perhaps 9 months later, as Maung Tun Pe (the Ven. U Narada). However, this account of events after U Khone Min's death and Maung Tun Pe's birth is completely unverified. If true, it would require some adjustment of our admittedly indefinite chronology, according to which Maung Tun Pe was born about 3 years after the murder of U Khone Min.

In connection with the case of the Ven. U Sobhana I remarked that the passage of time seems to be differently remembered for claimed experiences in a discarnate realm compared with the sense of the passage of time in relation to successive terrestrial events.

himself being addressed familiarly, not to say insolently, by a 3-year-old boy. So he stopped and asked the boy: "Who are you?" The boy replied: "I am Khone Min." U Kyet Thaw asked him: "Do you really know me?" The boy replied: "Yes, I do. We were friends and co-workers." U Kyet Thaw asked the boy who his wife was and whether he had children. The boy replied that he had a wife and a young son; he said the son had not been named yet.

As I mentioned earlier, some neighbors of the Ven. U Narada's parents in Dahattan were related to U Khone Min; and when they learned about the boy's statements concerning a previous life they came to visit him. Daw Phwa Chone, who told us about this meeting, was uncertain that her brother had recognized these relatives.

Daw Tin Tin Myint said that her mother, Daw Oo, had at first been skeptical concerning the Ven. U Narada's claims to be U Khone Min reborn. She favorably noticed, however, that the Ven. U Narada never attempted to solicit anything from her husband's family. She remembered hearing her mother say that an older brother of U Khone Min, who was a monk, had told her that the Ven. U Narada had come to the monastery where he was and identified there certain property that had been donated to the monastery after U Khone Min's death by his mother and sister. Daw Oo had been impressed by the report from U Khone Min's brother that the Ven. U Narada had not shown any possessiveness toward the property he had identified.

Statements of the Ven. U Narada in 1972. The Ven. U Narada appeared to have a clear memory of the robbery and killing of U Khone Min. However, he himself was diffident about the origin of what he seemed to remember. He said that he had almost forgotten about the previous life and could not be sure he was not to some extent remembering what he had earlier told to other persons. He said that he and his parents had discussed his memories during his childhood.

His account of the memories was not as full as the one Daw Phwa Chone gave us. However, where each referred to the same details there were only three discrepancies. First, the Ven. U Narada thought that he had first spoken with his older sister about the previous life when he was about 2 years old, not between 5 and 6, as she remembered. Second, the Ven. U Narada remembered the sum that U Khone Min was carrying with him when he was robbed as 180 rupees, not 100. Third, the Ven. U Narada thought that U Khone Min had been going to *sell* products in the villages to which he was traveling when robbed and killed; Daw Phwa Chone remembered his having said, when young, that he (in the previous life) had been going to those villages in order to *purchase* sessamun seeds.

Observations of the Ven. U Narada's Behavior

I remarked above that although the Ven. U Narada, as a young child, had asked, indeed clamored, to be taken to Kyauktan, he never did go to Kyauktan until after he became a monk, in young adulthood. Daw Phwa Chone thought that as her brother grew up and learned more about the economic circumstances of his

family compared with that of U Khone Min, he became embarrassed by the contrast and even ashamed of the poor situation of his family. She thought that this had kept him away from Kyauktan for some years.

Daw Phwa Chone also mentioned that the birth defects of her brother's hands made him of little help in work around the house. It may have been assumed that he would be unfit for manual labor, and he was allowed to enter a monastery when still a boy. At that time at least two of his brothers were in the monastery as novices. They later gave up the monastic life, but the Ven. U Narada persisted in it. He was known to be an unusually gentle person, and he reproved younger monks who showed any tendencies toward harshness.

The Ven. U Narada said that U Khone Min had been a pious person, and he seemed to think that his own monastic vocation was a continuation of the religiousness that U Khone Min had shown.

U San Tin did not meet the Ven. U Narada until the former was about 20. At that time the Ven. U Narada would have been in his late teens. He was already a novice. U San Tin said that the Ven. U Narada behaved in a somewhat reserved manner toward him, but he attributed this to the general expectation that a Buddhist monk should remain detached and not show personal affection to another person.

The Ven. U Narada's Birth Defects

Figures 17-44 and 17-45 show dorsal and palmar views of the Ven. U Narada's hands. Only two fingers were affected: the forefinger and middle finger of the right hand. The right forefinger was markedly shorter than the left one. It lacked the distal phalanx, but had a small fingernail. The right middle finger was also shorter than its left counterpart. It had a constriction band about 1 centimeter from its tip. The nail of this finger was also appreciably smaller than that of the left middle finger.

Daw Phwa Chone said that her brother's birth defects were not bleeding or oozing when he was born. Both she and her brother said that he had had no birthmark on his neck.

Comment

The absence of firsthand witnesses for the life and death of U Khone Min makes it difficult to appraise how much information about him might have passed by normal means of communication to the parents of the Ven. U Narada. It would be appropriate to assume that his family knew the essential facts of U Khone Min's murder, and probably also the name of his wife.

However, I do not think we should doubt that as a young child the Ven. U Narada made the statements about U Khone Min's life that both he and his older sister said he made; or, if he did not say exactly that, he said something close to what they remembered him to have said. His, and her, memories may have been

defective with regard to details, but I am confident that they did not deliberately embellish the case. I have remarked in connection with other cases that Buddhist monks make unusually reliable witnesses because of their concern about the truth; telling lies makes a mockery of their vocation.

THE CASE OF MA HSANN AYE

Introduction

In several of the preceding cases the subject has remembered the life of a person who was killed by dacoits, often after being tortured. The subject of the present case remembered the life of a dacoit who was captured and killed. Although Ma Hsann Aye's statements are unverified, she said that she, in the life of the dacoit, had been tortured before being killed. If so, the dacoit's captors may have believed, or may actually have known, that they were doing to him what he had been doing to his victims.

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Ma Hsann Aye was born in Nyaungnabin village, which is near Tatkon, in Upper Burma on January 13, 1970. Her parents were U Dway and his wife, Daw Khin Nyo. They had one other child, Ma Hsann Htay, who was younger than Ma Hsann Aye and also the subject of a case (unpublished). U Dway was a cultivator of extremely modest means.

Ma Hsann Aye was born with severe defects of both her hands (Figures 17-46, 17-47, and 17-48) and with some birth defects of her toes (Figure 17-49). In addition, she had grooves on her left calf that suggested the depressions left by a tightly bound rope (Figures 17-50 and 17-51).

Ma Hsann Aye began speaking about a previous life when she was between 2 and 3 years old. She said that she had been a dacoit leader who had been caught and killed, and she explained the birth defects of her hands by saying that she had been cut with a sword on the hands in the previous life. Ma Hsann Aye also had a quick temper, and she showed markedly masculine behavior.

U Win Maung learned of this case from U Kyaw Hlaing, one of his informants in Okshitgone, another village in the area of Nyaungnabin. On August 23, 1973, U Win Maung went to Nyaungnabin and recorded a statement about the case from Daw Khin Nyo. Ma Hsann Aye was about 3½ years old at the time, and this was therefore a case that we began to study when it was fresh. However, further work on the case was delayed for another 2 years. In November 1975, U Win Maung and I went together to Nyaungnabin. On this occasion we met Ma Hsann Aye's father, U Dway, as well as her mother.

According to U Dway, Ma Hsann Aye had been "a bit vague" about the name she gave for the person whose life she was remembering. Her mother, how-

Figure 17-46 Dorsal aspect of Ma Hsann Aye's hands as they appeared in March 1980, when she was a little more than 10 years old. Seven of the 10 fingers were either completely absent or markedly undeveloped. The rudimentary fourth and fifth fingers of the left hand were syndactylous.

Figure 17-47 Palmar aspect of Ma Hsann Aye's hands as they appeared in March 1980.

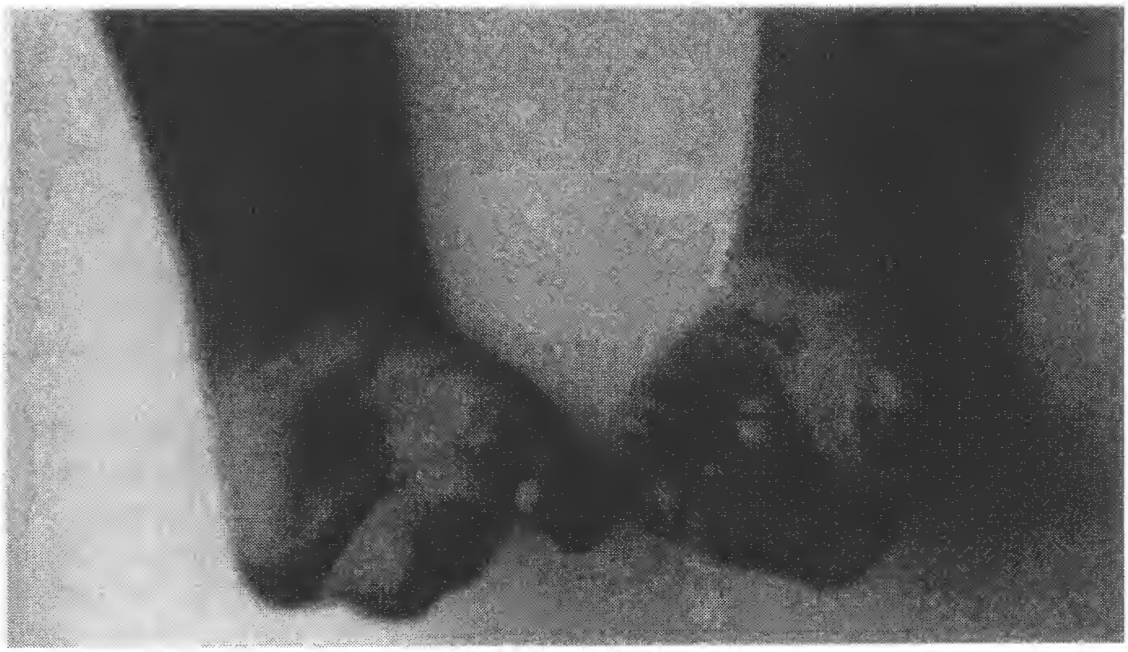

Figure 17-48 Flexed fingers of Ma Hsann Aye's left hand showing small nails growing at the ends of two of the defective fingers. This photograph was also taken in March 1980.

ever, said that Ma Hsann Aye had said she had been called "Chit Sein of Thazi Town." A friend of the family from Thazi, U Tun Shein, had told them there had been a dacoit called Maung Chit Sein who had been captured and killed. We have not met U Tun Shein, but we did interview (in 1980) a long-term resident of Thazi, U Tin Maung. He had never heard of a dacoit leader called Chit Sein.

This case, like some others, is not closed; we have still a possibility of tracing U Tun Shein through another informant. However, at the time of writing this report none of Ma Hsann Aye's statements about Maung Chit Sein have been independently verified.

U Win Maung and I (in March 1980) returned to Nyaungnabin for a further meeting with U Dway, at which time we obtained some additional information about Ma Hsann Aye's later development. She was then just over 10 years old.

Relevant Facts of Geography

Nyaungnabin is a small village in the region of Tatkon. Thazi is a small town about 80 kilometers north of Tatkon. Both Thazi and Tatkon are on the main line railway between Rangoon and Mandalay.

Thazi is noted for being an important railway junction and for not much else. I have been there several times, and the town seemed to be little more than an enlargement of the railway junction and associated works. It attracts villagers who have something to sell to the passengers halted at the station or changing trains there. Daw Khin Nyo often went to Thazi to trade in coconut oil, and while there she stayed in the home of U Tun Shein, who was a gateman on the railway line.

Statements Made by Ma Hsann Aye

According to Daw Khin Nyo (in 1973), Ma Hsann Aye said that she was Chit Sein of Thazi. Chit Sein had a wife and four children. (Ma Hsann Aye did not give their names.) He was the leader of a dacoit gang who was captured, bound hand and foot, and then killed with a sword. He had buried two pots of gold underneath a large banyan tree "near the Thazi gate." (This refers to a gate across the road where it crosses the railway tracks; Ma Hsann Aye did not specify which of several gates she might have been indicating.) In 1975 Daw Khin Nyo added that Ma Hsann Aye said she was killed near a gate.

U Dway (in 1975) said that he had heard Ma Hsann Aye making the statements I have given, except for the detail about the pots of gold. Also, as I mentioned, he did not have as clear a memory as Daw Khin Nyo about the name *Chit Sein* given by Ma Hsann Aye for the previous personality. He recalled several details of statements that Daw Khin Nyo had not mentioned earlier. He remembered that Ma Hsann Aye had said that in the previous life she had "hidden a gun and loot under a big tree by the railway line." (The reference to loot was perhaps a variant of the detail about pots of gold, but the hidden gun was an additional item.) When U Dway commented to Ma Hsann Aye that he was afraid of guns, she told him that he could leave the gun where it was and just recover the loot. He also recalled that Ma Hsann Aye had said that "the people of the town had caught and killed" Chit Sein. Ma Hsann Aye had also said that the persons who caught her (that is, Maung Chit Sein) had said "he" was getting "too bad," and so they cut his hands and toes. She could not tell how Maung Chit Sein was actually killed.

Ma Hsann Aye's Statements about Events after the Death of Maung Chit Sein and before Her Birth. Ma Hsann Aye said that she followed her mother home from Thazi. She said that in the discarnate state, after the death of Chit Sein, she had seen her mother near "the gate," under a tamarind tree, where she was trying to find fleas in her hair.

I have already mentioned that Daw Khin Nyo used to stay in Thazi with U Tun Shein, who was a railway gateman there and lived near the gate. Daw Khin Nyo remembered that on at least one occasion she had been trying to find fleas in her hair while under a tamarind tree by the gate tended by U Tun Shein.

Daw Khin Nyo had no dream related to her pregnancy with Ma Hsann Aye.

Secondhand Verifications of Ma Hsann Aye's Statements and Attempts to Verify Them Independently

As I mentioned earlier, U Tun Shein was a friend of U Dway and Daw Khin Nyo. He used to visit them in Nyaungnabin, and Daw Khin Nyo stayed with him when she went to Thazi to sell coconut oil.

I have also explained that U Win Maung and I have not met U Tun Shein, although I have not abandoned hope of doing so. Thus what I now report of what he said comes secondhand through U Dway.

Maung Chit Sein was the leader of a dacoit gang that was terrorizing the countryside. He was eventually caught by the police and executed. Here the word *police* refers to a coalition of official local police, volunteer posses, and surrendered insurgents who would cooperate to protect their area during the period of insurgency in Burma.

In those days—U Tun Shein thought Maung Chit Sein had been captured in the years 1951-53—dacoits who were caught were not brought to court, but were summarily executed. Maung Chit Sein was executed with a sword "under the big tree near the railway gate at Thazi." After Maung Chit Sein's death his gang became disorganized and disbanded.

In the course of our efforts to find U Tun Shein and interview him ourselves, U Win Maung and I did find and meet (in 1980) a man, U Tin Maung, who had been employed in the railway yards at Thazi for many years. He was 54 years old and was then living at Paleik, south of Mandalay. He had been employed at the Thazi railway yards in charge of the signal cabling between 1948 and 1973, when he had retired because of poor eyesight, at the age of 47. He said that he had never heard of a dacoit named Chit Sein who had been executed at Thazi. He thought that an episode such as U Tun Shein had described might have happened during the Japanese occupation (1942-45) or in the years immediately following, that is, between 1945 and 1948. U Tin Maung gave us the name of another railway employee at Thazi, who had been a gateman at Thazi and who, he thought, might be able to help us trace U Tun Shein; but I have not been able to meet him.

Ma Hsann Aye's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

Ma Hsann Aye showed some unusual behavior apparently or possibly related to the previous life.

She refused to wear girls' clothes and insisted instead on dressing like a boy. When I first met her in 1975, she was wearing a boy's shirt and shorts; but she also had on some earrings. She was not noted to have played at boys' games, and she did not play with boys. She was reserved and played only with her sister, Ma Hsann Htay.

Ma Hsann Aye was notably quick of temper and "absolutely fearless." She would boldly engage in fights with other children older and bigger than herself.

We ourselves did not observe Ma Hsann Aye's reported fearlessness. On the contrary, she was extremely shy and seemed frightened of U Win Maung and me. During most of our interviews in 1975, she clung tenaciously to her father; but she obligingly cooperated during what may have been for her tedious standing still for photography.

Other Observations of Ma Hsann Aye's Behavior

Dacoits earn their living by stealing; and in some other cases in which a child has remembered the life of a dacoit, the child, when young, has shown a tendency to steal. However, U Dway said that Ma Hsann Aye did not steal.

Daw Khin Nyo's Altered Behavior When Pregnant with Ma Hsann Aye

In other cases the subject's mother has sometimes reported altered behavior during her pregnancy with the subject, and this unusual behavior corresponded both to behavior the previous personality had shown and to behavior that the subject later showed. In most instances of this type the behavior in question consists of cravings or aversions to particular foods. I have also noted instances when the mother became more than ordinarily religious or showed other unusual behavior during her pregnancy with the subject.[44]

Without, I think, expecting a positive answer, I asked Daw Khin Nyo, in a leading question, whether she had shown any "dacoity habits" when she had been pregnant with Ma Hsann Aye. She replied that she was ordinarily a quiet person, not at all given to violence; when she was pregnant with Ma Hsann Aye, however, she had become quarrelsome with her husband. She also quarreled with her sister and during one quarrel fought with her sister physically. U Dway, who listened to his wife's description of this changed behavior, confirmed that she had been quarrelsome when she was pregnant with Ma Hsann Aye. Daw Khin Nyo did not show this unusual behavior when she was pregnant with Ma Hsann Htay.

Ma Hsann Aye's Birth Defects

Figures 17-46 and 17-47 show Ma Hsann Aye's hands. Of the ten fingers, only three were normal: the left thumb and first finger and the right fifth finger. All the other fingers were absent or represented by rudiments. Figure 17-48 shows that two of the rudimentary fingers of the left hand had small fingernails.

Figure 17-49 shows Ma Hsann Aye's feet. Both the fifth toes were virtually absent, although there was a suggestion of a syndactylous fifth toe on the left foot. The second and third toes of the right foot were partly syndactylous.

Figure 17-50 shows a groove around the left leg on its anterior aspect. Figure 17-51 shows another groove around the back of the calf of the left leg. It is inferior in position to the groove of Figure 17-50. These grooves may have been continuous around the leg. Unfortunately, I failed to make a note or a sketch, as I usually do now, that would have recorded whether there was one continuous groove on Ma Hsann Aye's leg or two partial grooves at different levels of the leg.

Other Relevant Medical Information. Ma Hsann Aye had no known birth defects other than those that I have already noted.

U Dway and Daw Khin Nyo were related, a fact that led me to draw a somewhat extensive genealogical plan. This showed that Daw Khin Nyo's father and U Dway were third cousins.

There were no other cases of birth defects in U Dway's family or in that of Daw Khin Nyo.

[44]Examples of such unusual behavior (apart from food preferences) on the part of a pregnant mother occurred in the cases of Disna Samarasinghe, Ornuma Sua Ying Yong, and Maung Myint Tin.

Figure 17-49 Ma Hsann Aye's feet as they appeared in November 1975, when she was almost 6 years old. The fifth toes were absent, although there was a suggestion of a fifth toe on the left foot. The second and third toes of the right foot were partly syndactylous.

Daw Khin Nyo's pregnancy with Ma Hsann Aye was normal and of normal duration. She had no complications and no difficulties during the delivery, which took place at home with the help of a midwife. During her pregnancy she took no drugs or medicines.

Ma Hsann Aye's Later Development

In 1980 Ma Hsann Aye was just over 10 years old. She had started school late—I do not know why—and despite her age, she was still in a higher level of kindergarten.

U Dway said she had accidentally fallen into a fire and been burned when she was 5; after that she had stopped talking about the previous life.[45]

[45]Subjects frequently begin to stop speaking spontaneously about the previous life at around 5 years of age, although the average age in a small series of Burmese children was 8.5 years (Cook et al., 1983). Even in 1975, Daw Khin Nyo had said that Ma Hsann Aye was becoming shy about speaking about the previous life. Daw Khin Nyo said that when Ma Hsann Aye did then talk about it, she repeated what she had said before and was adding nothing new. This does not necessarily mean that fading was beginning, but it may have been.

However, informants have commented in connection with other cases about the setting in of amnesia after a subject has been seriously ill, burned, or injured. Other examples of this association occurred in the cases of Maung Sein Win, Ma Win Tar, Maung Tin Win, Maung Tin Tun, and the Ven. U Sobhana.

Figure 17-50 Anterior aspect of Ma Hsann Aye's legs as they appeared in November 1975. A groove can be seen crossing the upper part of the left leg, more or less horizontally, about 6 centimeters below the knee.

Figure 17-51 Posterior aspect of Ma Hsann Aye's legs as they appeared in November 1975. A groove can be seen crossing the left leg, more or less horizontally, about halfway between the knee and the ankle.

She still wore "her clothes like a boy." I presume this meant that she was wearing boys' clothes. When we met her in 1980, she was wearing a plain green longyi and a T-shirt or singlet. The latter part of her costume could be considered somewhat masculine, since girls and women usually wear a blouse with the longyi.

U Dway said that Ma Hsann Aye was still quick of temper and fearless.

THE CASE OF MA WIN TAR

Introduction

This is the first of the four cases in this chapter in which the subject remembered the previous life of a Japanese soldier killed in Burma during World War II. None of these cases is verified, but they have common features, such as birth defects and the unusual behavior of the subjects—different in important ways from that of their families and similar in the same ways to that of Japanese people. The present case is one of two in the group that are of the sex-change type.

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Ma Win Tar was born on February 17, 1962, in Pyawbwe, Upper Burma. Her parents were U Aye Kyaw and his wife, Daw Khin Win. Ma Win Tar was their second daughter and the fifth of their six children. U Aye Kyaw worked as a government inspector of rice. He died in 1971 before the investigation of the case began. He was a Burman, but his wife, Daw Khin Win, was Chinese.

There was nothing unusual about Daw Khin Win's pregnancy with Ma Win Tar. She had no announcing dream, was not ill during her pregnancy, and took no drugs or alcohol. The pregnancy and delivery were uncomplicated.

At Ma Win Tar's birth she was found to have severe defects of both hands (Figures 17-52 and 17-53). Their appearance at her birth was somewhat different than what could be seen in photographs taken when she was in her late teens. I shall describe these differences later. Apart from the defects of her hands, Ma Win Tar was a healthy infant. She did, however, (according to Daw Khin Win) "cry continuously."

Ma Win Tar started walking when she was about 10 months old and speaking when she was about 1½ years old. She first began to refer to a previous life when she was about 3. She then said that she had been a Japanese soldier and that she had been captured by Burmese villagers, tied to a tree, and burned alive.

Not long after Ma Win Tar had made these and some other statements about the previous life, she was scalded with some boiling water. This accident diminished her memories, as did, apparently, a disease of her ear that she developed when she was about 7. Her ear hurt and bled; a mastoidectomy was performed, so presumably she had had an intractable mastoiditis. (This disease seems to have had no connection with the previous life that she was claiming to remember.)

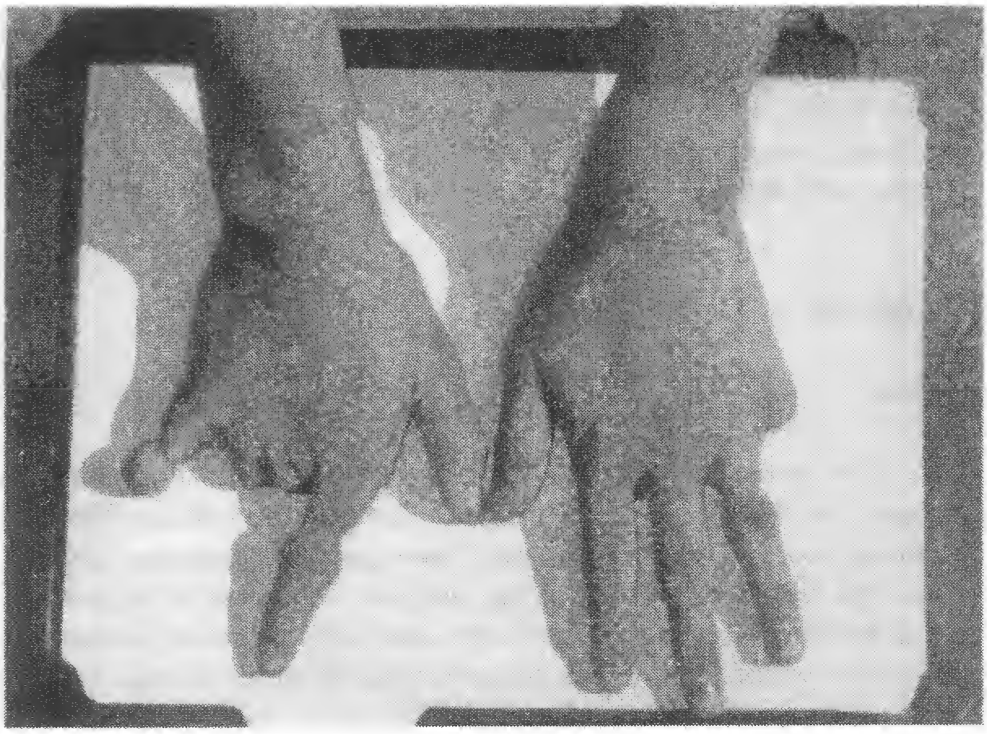

Figure 17-52 Dorsal view of Ma Win Tar's hands as they appeared in March 1978, when she was 16 years old. Three fingers were completely missing. Three that were present had constriction rings. Typical edematous swelling can be seen in the right fifth finger distal to the constriction ring. A constriction ring can also be seen on the left forearm, proximal to the wrist.

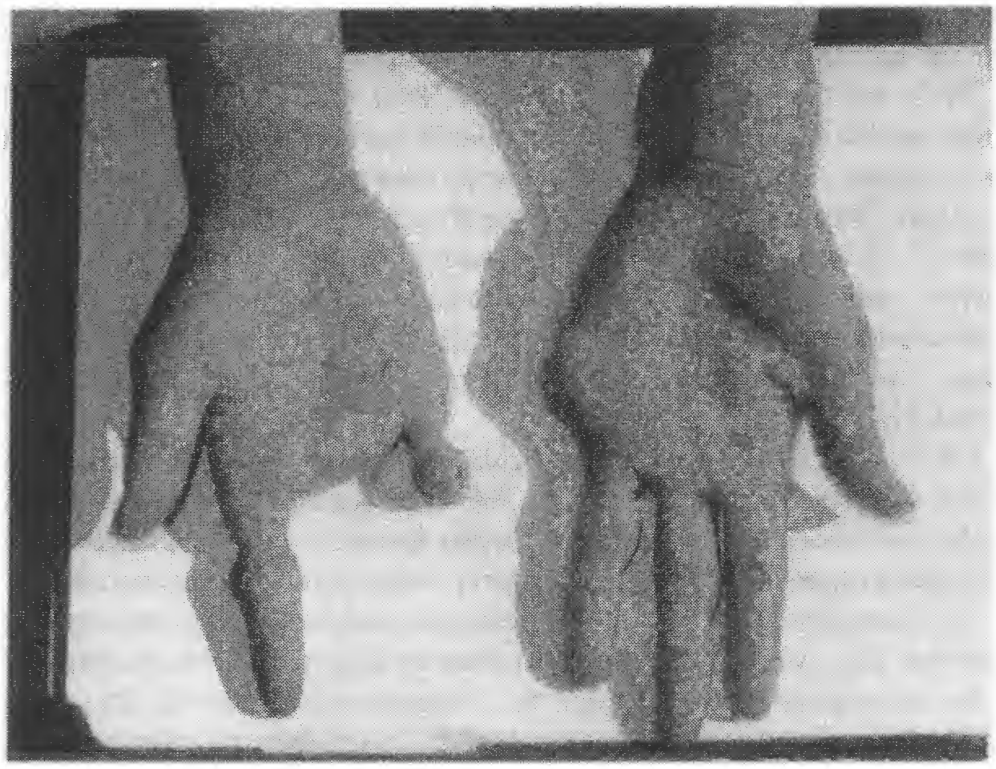

Figure 17-53 Palmar view of Ma Win Tar's hands as they appeared in 1978.

When Ma Win Tar was young, she showed behavior that was distinctly unusual for her family. Its outstanding features were masculine traits and habits and attitudes that are much more characteristic of Japanese people than of Burmese. I shall describe this behavior later. Some of it persisted up to the time of the investigation of the case.

U Nu, our valuable associate in these investigations in Upper Burma, learned of this case in 1977. In July 1977, he recorded statements from Ma Win Tar, her mother, Daw Khin Win, and one of Ma Win Tar's classmates, Ma Choe Mar. I have used notes that U Nu gave me in this report. In March 1978, U Win Maung and I continued the investigation in Pyawbwe, where Ma Win Tar's family had continued to live after her birth. We had lengthy interviews with Ma Win Tar and her mother, Daw Khin Win. Ma Win Tar's older sister, Ma Win Mar, also furnished some additional and corroborating information. As I mentioned, U Aye Kyaw had died in 1971. All our information about the case therefore derives from the four informants I have mentioned.

U Win Maung and I were not satisfied with the photographs we had taken of Ma Win Tar's birth defects in 1978, and so in 1979 we visited her and her family again. At that time we obtained some additional information about the case.

In March 1984, I met Ma Win Tar and her mother again, this time mainly to learn of her further development. Daw Hnin Aye was my interpreter at this meeting.

Ma Win Tar's statements about the life of the Japanese soldier she claimed to have been are unverified, and I can say nothing factual about the soldier she claimed to have been. I shall next describe Ma Win Tar's statements when she was a young child and then what she later remembered about the previous life at the time of our investigation.

Statements Made by Ma Win Tar

Ma Win Tar's Statements before 1977. Older persons, such as Ma Win Tar's mother, remembered little of what she had said when she was a young child. Her family had decided (almost immediately after her birth) that her birth defects derived from a previous life, and they adopted the policy of not asking her about them so as to "spare her feelings," that is, avoid bringing up memories that would distress her. Nevertheless, Ma Win Tar managed to communicate that she had been a Japanese person. And when listeners showed a sympathetic attitude toward her, she would say that she had been burned alive in the previous life. Ma Win Tar told her classmate, Ma Choe Mar, that she had been a Japanese soldier who had been captured by Burmese people, tied to a tree, and burned alive. She gave no details of proper names of the soldier, his family, or the place where he lived in Japan.

Ma Win Tar's Statements When She was 15 Years Old. In 1977 Ma Win Tar said that before she had been scalded (at the age of about 3) "I could remember most of my past life." We have no way of knowing whether this was true or not. As I mentioned, the scalding must have occurred soon after she had begun to communicate fluently about the previous life.

Ma Win Tar said that she remembered trying to speak to her parents when she was just a few days old. She did not know whether they had understood her or not.[46] (They had not; from their point of view Ma Win Tar was "crying day and night," to use Daw Khin Win's expression.)

In 1977 Ma Win Tar had two groups of residual memories of the previous life: a few details of life in Japan before the Japanese soldier enlisted; and some details of how the soldier was killed.

About the life in Japan Ma Win Tar remembered no names of persons or places. She did not know how much education the person she remembered had had. She recalled that he had left his parents and gone to live with his grandfather, who was a farmer. The grandfather had died, and after that—she did not specify how long—the person whose life she recalled joined the army. At that time he was 20 years old and unmarried.

Concerning the life of the Japanese soldier in Burma before he was killed, Ma Win Tar knew only that he was just an ordinary private. She could not remember even the name of the enemy the Japanese Army was fighting or the name of the place of last engagement after which the soldier was captured.[47]

Ma Win Tar remembered that about 10 Burmans managed to catch the Japanese soldier and tied him to a tree. The soldier pleaded for his life, but in vain. Ma Win Tar recalled that there were no Burmese women among the group of villagers executing the Japanese soldier.[48] The Burmese put faggots around the tree, set fire to them, and burnt the Japanese soldier alive. Ma Win Tar never said where the Japanese soldier had been killed.

Ma Win Tar never expressed any memories of events during the interval between the soldier's death and her birth. (As explained below, the interval between the Japanese evacuation of Burma and Ma Win Tar's birth was just under 17 years.)

The General Plausibility of Ma Win Tar's Statements. Let us assume that Ma Win Tar recalled events that had actually occurred and, further, that the Japanese soldier died in or near Pyawbwe. In that case he was killed in about April 1945 as the Japanese Army was retreating from Pyawbwe before the advancing British Army. In retreating, the Japanese Army left numerous stragglers behind. If Burmese villagers (or town dwellers) killed a Japanese soldier during the period of Japanese dominance in Burma (1942 to early 1945), the Japanese Army imposed severe penalties and would execute the responsible person if they could find him. The case of Maung Hmat Tun illustrates this severity. In their turn,

[46]Other subjects have claimed that they had memories of previous lives in the early months of infancy before they could adequately express them in words. The Ven. Chaokhun Rajsuthajarn and Ma Par were two of these.

[47]The enemies of the Japanese Army in Burma were the British, Americans, and Chinese; but in the Pyawbwe sector they were confronting British troops, which had advanced south and east after capturing Meiktila on March 3, 1945. They captured Pyawbwe on April 10. (See Appendix B.)

[48]Burmese women might have persuaded their menfolk to spare the life of the Japanese soldier.

Burmese villagers concerned in such an episode would welcome an opportunity for repayment if any such presented itself.

If the Japanese soldier had been formally captured by the British Army, he would have been treated as a prisoner of war and his life spared. In general, the Burmese villagers made no attempt to harass the retreating Japanese soldiers; but their attitudes and actions toward the Japanese varied widely. Villagers who believed that Japanese soldiers had treated them badly would watch for stragglers from the Japanese Army as it retreated; and they captured and killed some of them. U Nu, who lived in the area of Pyawbwe throughout the Japanese occupation, including the battles of early 1945 and the subsequent retreat of the Japanese Army, had heard that the Burmans had burned alive some stragglers from the Japanese Army. However, U Nu did not know the details of any particular case of this kind. No Japanese soldier had been identified as corresponding with Ma Win Tar's statements. This would have been almost impossible even if she had—before the age of 3—given out proper names before her memories diminished after she was scalded. The retreating hordes of the Japanese Army contained few soldiers individually identified by the Burmese or the British. In the chaos of the spring of 1945 in Burma, it was hardly to be expected that anyone would remember the fate of individual Japanese soldiers, although some Japanese veterans did later attempt to reconstruct what had happened to whom and where.

I asked Daw Khin Win why she thought that a Japanese soldier might have been reborn in her family. She had no definite idea. She herself had been in China during World War II. She was born in 1931 and was a girl of 14 when World War II ended. However, U Aye Kyaw, her husband, was a native of Pyawbwe, where the fighting in 1945 between British and Japanese had been particularly heavy. When the British Army entered Pyawbwe, they found many dead Japanese soldiers, and Daw Khin Win said that the bones of Japanese soldiers were commonly found in the Myothit Quarter of Pyawbwe, where Ma Win Tar was born.[49]

Ma Win Tar's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

Circumstances and Manner of Ma Win Tar's Speaking about the Previous Life. I have already said almost everything I know about this topic. Ma Win Tar early became sensitive about her "foreignness" and, perhaps a little later, about the defects of her hands. She confided the account of the previous life she remembered only to persons who treated her sympathetically. U Nu was one such person, and I like to think that U Win Maung and I were others. However, by the time we met her, she had, she said, forgotten nearly everything of what she had formerly remembered.

[49]The Burmese believe that persons killed violently often remain, in a discarnate state, near the place where they have been killed. Daw Khin Win's statement implied that the Japanese soldier whose life Ma Win Tar recalled had stayed near the dead body (and then the bones) of that soldier until afforded an opportunity for rebirth as Daw Khin Win's baby. This opportunity did not come quickly. Daw Khin Win's first child was born in 1953, and she had three more children before Ma Win Tar was born.

Ma Win Tar's Masculine Behavior. As a young child and later, Ma Win Tar wished to dress like a boy and to wear shirts and trousers.[50] She wore trousers regularly until the age of 11 or 12. She probably would have continued to wear boys' clothes longer, but eventually her family forbade her to wear them and insisted that she dress as a girl. She liked to keep her hair short, like a boy's; and at the age of 16, when U Win Maung and I met her, her hair was slightly shorter than that of her older sister, Ma Win Mar.

Ma Win Tar was exceedingly aggressive as a young child. She was described as "rather wild" in those years. She had a tendency to resort to physical violence and beat people who annoyed her. Daw Khin Win considered such behavior just as "masculine" as Ma Win Tar's cross-dressing. It was certainly not "feminine," but I think it contained some other element additional to mere masculine roughness, and so I shall refer to it again below.

Ma Win Tar's "Japanese" Traits. Ma Win Tar complained that ordinary Burmese food was too spicy, and she did not eat spicy foods when she was young. She liked sweet foods and was fond of pork. Ma Win Tar herself recalled in 1978 that she had liked raw food when she had been younger. She had gradually adjusted to eating Burmese food, or at least she accepted that she had no choice but to eat it.

I have already referred to her preference in clothes. This was not just a matter of cross-dressing as a male. Her older sister, Ma Win Mar, said that Ma Win Tar preferred "anything but Burmese clothes." She would, for example, prefer Chinese or Western dresses to the longyis worn by Burmese women.

Ma Win Tar was relatively insensitive to pain compared with other Burmese children. Her mother said that "she ignores all pain." (But this was not invariably true, because Ma Win Tar had complained of pain at the time of the ear disease she had when she was about 7 years old.) She was also noted to have a streak of cruelty that is rare among Burmese people. Burmese Buddhists try to avoid killing insects, but Ma Win Tar would kill them. Furthermore, she slapped her playmates on the face at times. This was a habit that Japanese soldiers often showed when Burmese villagers annoyed them; Burmese people slap faces very rarely. She was also observed to be relatively more hardworking than the average Burmese child.

Ma Win Tar resisted learning the customs followed in Burmese Buddhism. This includes for laymen an obeisance on meeting Buddhist monks, but Ma Win Tar refused to perform this gesture despite the urgings of her parents.

When Ma Win Tar was young, she would sit on the ground with her knees forward and her buttocks resting on her heels, as Japanese people do and Burmese people do not, except briefly, sometimes, when worshipping.

[50]A Burmese boy would ordinarily wear not full-length trousers, but short pants or, at an older age, a longyi. The trousers preferred by Ma Win Tar correspond more to Japanese and Chinese male clothes than to Burmese ones. However, the shirt is Burmese; the women in Burma wear blouses. I have given further details about differences between male and female clothes in Burma in my reports of the cases of Ma Tin Aung Myo and Ma Myint Myint Zaw; and I make further comments on the differences in clothing between Burma and Japan in my report (later in this chapter) of the case of Maung Aung Htoo.

Ma Win Tar's Glossophobia. Certain features of Ma Win Tar's speech strongly suggested that she might be remembering the Japanese language and that this in turn interfered with her learning the Burmese language. However, because we have not verified her statements and do not know that she was trying to speak Japanese when young, I have not included the remarks of the present section under the heading of "Japanese" traits. Nevertheless, the following observations were reported to U Win Maung and me.

When Ma Win Tar was young, she would sing songs in a language her parents could not understand. It seemed a foreign one to them. Moreover, the music of these songs also seemed strange to members of her family. When Ma Win Tar was learning to speak and they would point to something and—for her instruction—give its name in Burmese, she would say a foreign word, instead of repeating the Burmese word that she had just been told. She seemed resistant to learning the Burmese language.

Ma Win Tar's older sister, Ma Win Mar, said that even at the age of 16 (as Ma Win Tar was in 1978), her Burmese would occasionally develop a slight foreign accent; this would happen when she became angry. Otherwise, in her ordinary conversation, Ma Win Tar spoke Burmese with a normal accent.

Ma Win Tar's Interest in Becoming a Soldier. On two occasions Ma Win Tar said that she wished to become a soldier.

Her mother said that she was fond of firearms. When her older brother once brought back to the house part of a firearm and explained it to her, she immediately understood how the mechanism worked. This was considered unusual for a Burmese girl.

Ma Win Tar's Sense of Alienation from Her Family. Their belief in reincarnation buffers Burmese Buddhists to some extent from many of the frictions that the presence of a child like Ma Win Tar in an otherwise normal Burmese family may provoke. Nevertheless, a sense of alienation did develop to some extent between Ma Win Tar and the other members of her family. One cannot avoid thinking that Ma Win Tar contributed a half share to the difficulties. For example, when she became angry, she would cry and leave the house, going out onto the street. If punished, she would say: "I am going home." She never actually said she was going to Japan, and she did not pine for Japan (as have some Burmese subjects who have remembered previous lives as Japanese soldiers) when things were going along well. The thought of going elsewhere cannot have been far from her mind, however, because she was observed to jump up and down and clap her hands with joy whenever an airplane flew over. (Her family inferred that Ma Win Tar believed the airplane was going to take her back to Japan.)

At times there was almost a note of defiance in Ma Win Tar's attitude. When she was young, she would sometimes say: "I am Japanese. What do you think of me?" as if challenging her family to make an issue of the fact. When members of a Japanese Commission seeking to identify the graves of Japanese soldiers killed in Burma came to Pyawbwe, Ma Win Tar told her playmates: "They are our nationals."

These attitudes led to quarrels in the home, and Ma Win Tar formed the idea that "because she is a foreigner" the other members of the family were aligned against her. I do not believe that this was at any time true, but it was her conviction nevertheless, and Ma Win Tar's sense of being considered a foreigner added to whatever combativeness we might attribute to elements of masculinity in her makeup.

Other Relevant Behavior of Ma Win Tar

Ma Win Tar had, as I have explained, a philia for firearms and for airplanes. She had a phobia for hot objects, but this was explained as due to her being scalded with boiling water when she was about 3 years old. Before that time she had not shown a phobia for hot objects, such as fires. Such a phobia might perhaps have been expected in view of her statement that she had been burned alive in the previous life.

Ma Win Tar's Birth Defects

Figures 17-52 and 17-53 show Ma Win Tar's birth defects as they appeared in 1978. The appearance of her hands when she was born closely resembled that shown in the figures, but there were, according to Daw Khin Win, several important differences.

When Ma Win Tar was born, the middle and ring fingers of her right hand were present, but only loosely attached to the rest of the hand. They were webbed together. Like three of Ma Win Tar's other fingers, these two loose fingers had grooves (constriction rings) on them. A doctor who examined Ma Win Tar after her birth recommended amputation of these dangling fingers, which were likely to be dysfunctional if they remained attached. Her parents agreed to this, and the fingers were amputated when she was 3 days old.[51]

Daw Khin Win told U Nu (in 1977) that when Ma Win Tar was born, she had grooves not only on her fingers, but on *both* wrists. However, in 1978 U Win Maung and I could see a groove only on Ma Win Tar's left wrist and none whatever on her right wrist.

Daw Khin Win also said that when Ma Win Tar had been younger, one could distinguish a pattern in the birthmarks that corresponded to the strands of a rope. One can see such a pattern in the photograph reproduced by Moody (1946) (see Figure 2-6), but I am unable to convince myself that I can see it in our photographs of Ma Win Tar's fingers and wrist. (Daw Khin Win did not claim that this pattern was still visible in 1978, only that it had been visible when Ma Win Tar had been younger.) What I *can* see, however, is the pattern of the rope having been wound three times around the wrist. Figure 17-54 brings out this detail best.

[51]The distal portion of a finger was similarly dangling when Yusuf Köse was born, and it was similarly amputated soon after his birth. Similarly, the distal part of U Aung Gyi's left arm was amputated soon after his birth. Dangling parts of two of Maung Hla Hsaung's fingers were amputated when he was about 18 months old.

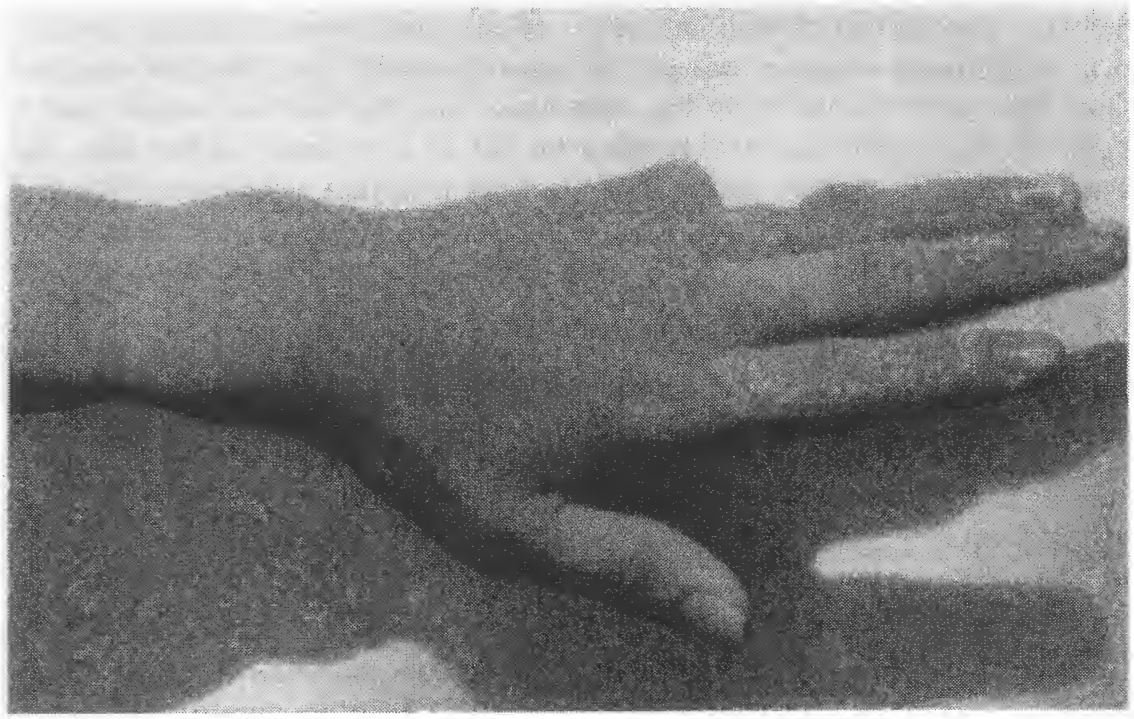

Figure 17-54 Close-up view of Ma Win Tar's left forearm as it appeared in 1978. In this photograph one can see a pattern of three separate depressions extending around the arm and corresponding to the grooves that a rope might make if wrapped tightly around the arm three times.

Comment. The grooves on Ma Win Tar's fingers as well as that on her left wrist were regarded by members of her family as "rope marks." If the Japanese soldier whose life Ma Win Tar claimed to remember had been tied up with a rope, as he probably was, then he would have had ropes around his wrists. But would the ropes also have been wound around his fingers? It seems to me somewhat unusual for a captured soldier to be bound by the *fingers*. I should have thought that binding him by the wrists would have sufficed to restrain him adequately. It has therefore occurred to me that the grooves on Ma Win Tar's fingers (but not that on her left wrist) may correspond to wounds received by the Japanese soldier she was remembering when he resisted capture. If he put his hands up, either held together to supplicate for mercy or ward off a first disabling blow from a sword, the weapon would have struck first the fifth, fourth and third fingers, which were the most defective ones on Ma Win Tar, particularly of her right hand.[52] After this, the Japanese soldier would have been

[52]Daw Tin Hla and Ma Myint Thein said they remembered raising their hands in a gesture to plead for mercy before they were killed. They said they received the first cut of the sword on their fingers. The birth defects on Daw Tin Hla's fingers showed a somewhat similar pattern to those of Ma Win Tar with the fifth, fourth, and middle fingers being more affected than the others. The birth defects of Ma Myint Thein's hands, however, did not show this pattern. In these conjectures I am reasoning backward from birth defects to the presumably corresponding wounds. (*continued*)

helpless, tied (by the wrists), attached to a tree, and burned. It is also possible that the Burmese villagers tortured the Japanese soldier after they had captured him. They were known to do this sometimes, and Ma Win Yee (whose case is reported next in this section) recalled the life of a Japanese soldier who, she said, had had his fingers and toes chopped off as torture before being killed. I make these conjectures, even though Ma Win Tar herself said nothing about being cut by a sword before or after the soldier's capture by the Burmese who executed him.

Other Relevant Medical Information. Daw Khin Win said that she and U Aye Kyaw were not related in any way. She also said that to the best of her knowledge no one else in the family (immediate or extended) had had any birth defects.

Ma Win Tar's Later Development

By 1977-78 Ma Win Tar had become completely adapted to life in Burma, but some residues of her former masculine behavior remained. Some degree of alienation between her and other members of the family also persisted. Her mother even described her to U Nu (in 1977) as "almost unmanageable." And her older sister, Ma Win Mar, expressed concern over her still being "so masculine."

Ma Win Tar attended school until about 1977. She then failed twice in the eighth grade and instead of trying to continue in school, she dropped out. In 1979 she was staying at home and keeping house for her mother. When U Win Maung and I discussed her leaving school in 1979, we were told that she had been teased at the school about the appearance of her hands, and this, perhaps combined with her difficulties in mastering the academic assignments, made her unwilling to continue.

Ma Win Tar's menarche did not occur until she was more than 16 years old, an age appreciably older than the average age of menarche in Burmese girls, which is 13.2 years (Foll, 1961).

In March 1984, when I last met Ma Win Tar, she was 22 years old. She was then working as a seamstress and in good health. She said that she had no memories of the previous life. She still had a phobia of fire (which, as I suggested earlier, may have derived from being scalded when she was 3 and also, perhaps, from the previous life of a soldier who was burned alive).

At this time Ma Win Tar had adjusted fully to life in Burma and said that she did not wish to "return" to Japan. She still showed some masculine traits, and her mother, Daw Khin Win, said that Ma Win Tar asked her to make trousers for her. On the day of our visit she was wearing a boy's khaki shirt.

[52] (*continued*) Other examples of birth defects of the fingers attributed to sword cuts of a previous personality's fingers just before his or her death occurred in the cases of the Ven. U Narada, Daw Oo, Maung Aung Than, and Ma Win Yee.

THE CASE OF MA WIN YEE

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Ma Win Yee was born in Shweda village, Yamethin Township, Upper Burma, in August 1954. Her parents were U Htun Khin and his wife, Daw Aye. They were second cousins. U Htun Khin had died by the time we studied this case. Daw Aye worked as a trader. Ma Win Yee was the fifth of six children in the family.

When Ma Win Yee was born, her mother noticed that she had defects of her left hand (Figures 17-55 and 17-56 and of the toes of both her feet (Figure 17-57). Ma Win Yee began to speak when she was about 2 years old and almost immediately began referring to a previous life in Japan. She said that she had been fighting in the Japanese Army and had been killed at Shweda village.

U Nu, who identified many cases in Upper Burma, informed us about this one and accompanied U Win Maung and me (with Daw Hnin Aye) to Shweda for its investigation. We interviewed informants for it on December 5-6, 1980. By this time, Ma Win Yee was 26 years old, and other potential informants besides her father had died. She and her mother were therefore our main informants, but two villagers of Shweda gave some additional information, especially concerning the conditions when the Japanese retreated through central Burma in the spring of 1945.

Ma Win Yee told us that a township judge, U Than Nyunt, might be able to give us more information about what she had said about the previous life when a young child. Accordingly, we returned to Shweda in March 1984 and interviewed U Than Nyunt as well as a villager from Lepyintha, a nearby village. We also had a further interview with Ma Win Yee herself at this time.

Persons Interviewed during the Investigation

In Shweda village we interviewed:

Ma Win Yee
Daw Aye, Ma Win Yee's mother
Daw Aye Yee, villager
U Aung Tin, villager
U Than Nyunt, retired township judge
U Maung Maung, villager of Lepyintha, north of Shweda

Relevant Facts of Geography and Military History

Shweda village is 13 kilometers north of Yamethin, which is a town in Upper Burma (with a railway station) on the main road and main railway line between Rangoon and Mandalay. The area was strategically important during the fighting in Burma in the spring of 1945, when the British Army advanced and reconquered Burma from the Japanese.

Figure 17-55 Dorsal aspect of Ma Win Yee's hands as they appeared in December 1980, when she was 26 years old. The right hand was normal, except for an unusually short fifth finger. The middle, fourth, and fifth fingers of the left hand were markedly shortened and had no nails.

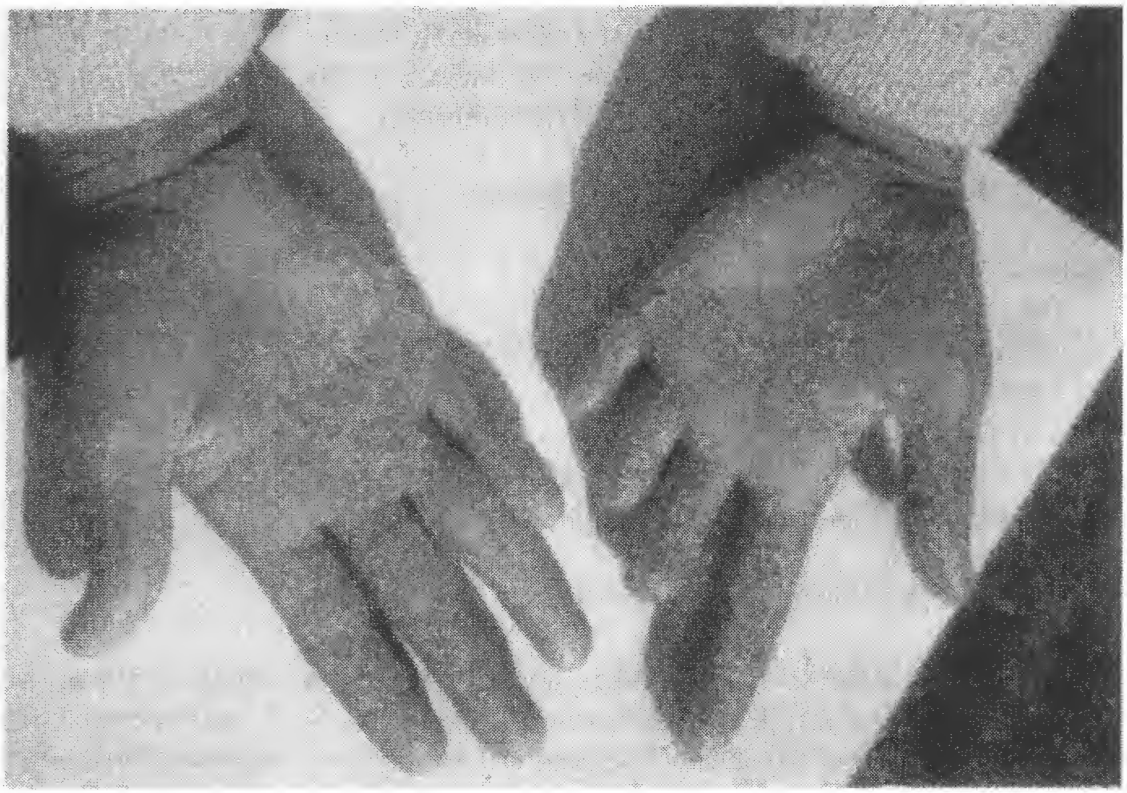

Figure 17-56 Palmar aspect of Ma Win Yee's hands. This photograph was also taken in 1980.

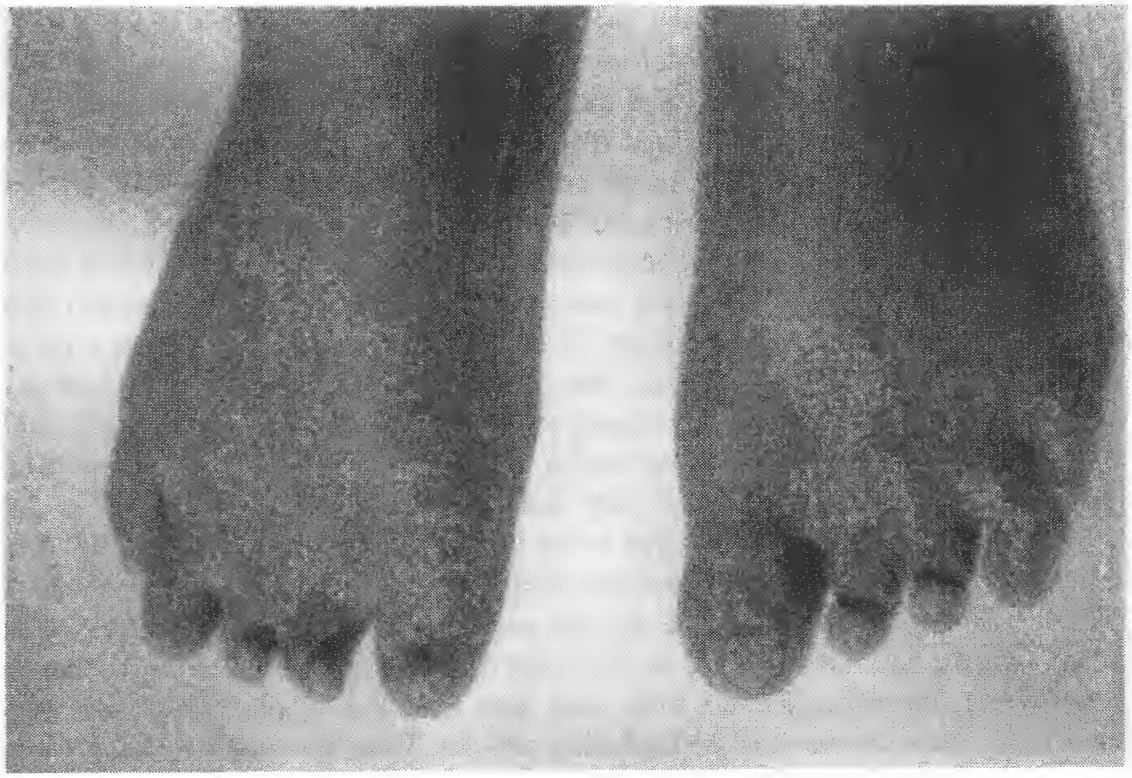

Figure 17-57 Feet of Ma Win Yee as they appeared in December 1980. All the toes were markedly defective, being short and often poorly separated from each other. Several of the toes had constriction rings with some edematous swelling distal to the rings. Only the fifth toes (and possibly the fourth toe of the left foot) had nails.

The Japanese Army was in Shweda during this period, and Daw Aye Yee said that she was there during the fighting and afterward saw "a lot of Japanese dead" at the north end of the village. U Aung Tin was a boy in 1945, and he recalled seeing the body of only one Japanese soldier, who had committed suicide (by hari-kari) with his bayonet. Daw Aye was also in the village at that time. She said that she had not gone near the bodies of the Japanese soldiers.

The British Army captured Pyawbwe on April 10, 1945. Yamethin is the next large town on the road and railway line to Rangoon south of Pyawbwe. It is 20 kilometers south of Pyawbwe. It and the villages of its area, of which Shweda was one, were captured soon after the fall of Pyawbwe, that is, in the middle of April 1945.

Statements Made by Ma Win Yee

Daw Aye said that when Ma Win Yee tried to talk about the previous life, she (Daw Aye) was extremely busy with her work as a trader and had no time to listen to what Ma Win Yee wanted to say. Moreover, she went out of the house much of the time for trading and left Ma Win Yee with her mother and sister. Consequently, she remembered nothing of what she had said beyond her having

referred to a life in Japan. Ma Win Yee spoke about the previous life to her grandmother, but the latter had died before 1980, as had also Ma Win Yee's maternal aunt. A villager, U Soe Maung, had questioned Ma Win Yee about her memories of the previous life, but he too had died before 1980. I suggested that Ma Win Yee's older sister, Ma Win Kyi, might be a helpful informant, but we learned that she had been away at school during Ma Win Yee's early childhood.

U Than Nyunt, whom we interviewed in 1984, remembered little of what Ma Win Yee had told him when she was a child of between 4 and 5. She had said that she had been a Japanese soldier from Tokyo, and she showed him a place where she said the soldier had died. She also showed him the birth defects of her fingers and toes. U Than Nyunt vaguely remembered that as she did this she said that she had been "chopped" (presumably with a sword) on the fingers and toes. That was all he remembered of her statements.

It is possible that Ma Win Yee never had much detail in her memories. She may have made the same few statements repeatedly, as have some other subjects of these cases. She said in 1980 that she had never told anyone else about the life in Japan that she had remembered, but had only described fighting as a Japanese soldier. In fact, she remembered a little more than that, and, when younger, she may have remembered more than she told other persons. To us she said that in the previous life she had been married and had had three children in Japan. But she did not remember the sexes of the children, the occupation of the Japanese soldier before he joined the Japanese Army, his rank in the army, or where he had lived in Japan.

Ma Win Yee recalled that she (as a Japanese soldier) had been captured and killed at Shweda. She said she had died at the north end of the village and claimed that she could point out the exact place where the soldier had died. She recalled being tortured before being killed by having her fingers and toes chopped off (she did not specify with what kind of weapon). She recalled thinking before dying that she would never return home to Japan, but would die there in Burma. She did not recall how the Japanese soldier was actually killed.

In 1980 Ma Win Yee could not recall anything about the interval of more than 9 years between the presumed date of death of the Japanese soldier (in the spring of 1945) and her birth in August 1954. However, she said that she had been told that she used to say, when she was younger, that the discarnate Japanese soldier began following Ma Win Yee's mother immediately after his death. (This was presumably with the intention of being reborn as Daw Aye's child.)

Comment. In the report of the case of Ma Win Tar, I described the attitude of the Burmese villagers in 1945 toward the retreating soldiers of the Japanese Army. In general, they were content to let the stragglers escape, and some even hid them from the advancing British Army and fed them. However, if villagers had had unhappy experiences with Japanese soldiers during the occupation, or if a Japanese soldier had shown cruelty toward them, they might capture the stragglers and kill them, sometimes after torturing them. Burmese troops, of whom a number began fighting on the side of the British in the spring of 1945, might also have tortured prisoners before killing them. U Maung Maung, who was a youth of 15 in

1945, had heard of Burmese soldiers chopping off the fingers of Japanese prisoners elsewhere, but said that "it was not done here," that is, in the area of Shweda. U Aung Tin found Ma Win Yee's account of being tortured before being killed plausible. Thus, although no Japanese soldier whose life corresponds to her statements has been identified—or is likely ever to be identified now—what she said is credible in the light of what is known about the last phase of World War II in Burma.

Ma Win Yee's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

Unlike most of the Burmese children who claimed to remember previous lives as Japanese soldiers killed in Burma, Ma Win Yee showed almost nothing of what observers in Burma might regard as typical "Japanese" behavior. When U Win Maung and I questioned her and her mother about any unusual behavior that she might have shown, the only relevant trait about which we learned concerned tea. Ma Win Yee said that she liked to drink strong tea. The Burmese normally drink tea that is, even by Western standards, weak; the Japanese, in general, drink strong tea.

Ma Win Yee said that she had no nostalgia for Japan, but she longed to be reunited with the children of the previous life.

Ma Win Yee was feminine in her behavior. She had never asked for boys' clothes, tried to dress as a boy, or played boys' games. In this respect also she differed from most of the Burmese girl subjects who remembered previous lives as Japanese soldiers. Nearly all of them, when young, showed markedly masculine traits in addition to the unusual behavior more typical of Japanese than of Burmese persons. (Ma Tin Aung Myo and Ma Win Tar provided examples of such masculine behavior in this group.)

Ma Win Yee's menarche was late and did not come until she was 16. She married, and although for a time she was separated from her husband, she was living with him in 1984 and had one child. Her pregnancy and delivery had been normal. Nevertheless, Ma Win Yee told us that, although she "did not mind" being a woman, she would prefer to be a man. (This is a common wish of Burmese women, not just of those who remember a previous life as a man.)

Other Relevant Behavior of Ma Win Yee

Daw Aye said that Ma Win Yee was notably pious. Ma Win Yee herself told U Win Maung and me that she would like to become a nun. I did not learn the origins of this wish, which may have arisen from the unhappy outcome of her marriage. I also do not know whether her piety had any connection with the previous life.

Ma Win Yee's Birth Defects

Figures 17-55 and 17-56 show defects of the third, fourth, and fifth fingers of Ma Win Yee's left hand. These fingers were all markedly shortened and they

had no nails. Ma Win Yee's right hand appeared normal, apart perhaps from the fifth finger, which seemed shorter than it should have been; but it had a nail.

Figure 17-57 shows the extensive malformations of the toes of both of Ma Win Yee's feet. Most of the toes had no nails, although there were small nails on both fifth toes and a rudimentary one on the fourth toe of the left foot. All of the toes, with the possible exception of the left great toe, were shorter and smaller than normal. Several of them were poorly separated from their neighbors, and the second and third toes of the right foot were partially involved in a syndactylous fusion. Several of the toes, particularly the second and third ones of the left foot, showed constriction rings. Constriction rings appeared also to have occurred on the hypoplastic second and third toes of the right foot. The ends of these toes seemed to be nubbins distal to constriction rings.

Ma Win Yee had no other birth defects and no birthmarks.

Other Relevant Medical Information. In our first interview with Daw Aye, she said that she had been "rather sick" during her pregnancy with Ma Win Yee. During a second interview (the following day), however, she said that she had been "fairly healthy" at the time. She denied taking any drugs or drinking any alcohol during the pregnancy. Ma Win Yee's delivery was normal. No other member of the family had a birth defect.

Ma Win Yee's Facial Appearance

Ma Win Yee had received at some time the nickname of "Japan Ma," which means "the Miss from Japan."[53] But her family and other villagers must have given her this nickname because of her claim to have been a Japanese soldier in a previous life, not because of any behavior markedly suggestive of a Japanese person. Daw Aye Yee thought that Ma Win Yee looked "different" from her brothers and sisters, but she did not—perhaps could not—say in what way she was different.[54] U Than Nyunt also thought that Ma Win Yee looked "different" from other Burmese people and that her complexion was fairer and closer to that of Japanese people than to that of Burmese ones. Perhaps this noted difference of appearance contributed to the choice of the nickname "Japan Ma," or made it seem appropriate. Figure 24-10 shows Ma Win Yee's facial appearance in 1980.

[53]There is nothing distinctive about the nickname "Japan Ma." It was given also to another subject whose case we studied, Ma Khin Yin, who was a much more celebrated Japan Ma. Ma Khin Yin claimed that she had been a Japanese soldier killed in the fighting at Tamargone (near Pyawbwe) and that she had subsequently been reborn there. She met a group of veterans of the Japanese Army who came to visit the battlefields of upper Burma many years after World War II, and she astonished one ex-soldier from Japan by her detailed knowledge of the fighting around Tamargone in which he himself had participated. I have not published her case in detail.

[54]Informants for the case of Maung Sein Win, who also remembered the previous life of a Japanese soldier, said that he looked more like a Japanese than a Burmese person. (Figure 24-9 shows his facial appearance in 1978.) In my report of his case I commented on the desirability of making such observations more objective.

THE CASE OF MAUNG AUNG HTOO

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Maung Aung Htoo was born on January 28, 1962, in the town of Koonlon in the Southern Shan States of Burma. His parents were U Lane Han and his wife, Daw Khin Kyi. U Lane Han, who died in 1980, was a lance-corporal in the Burmese Army. He was a Chin, and Daw Khin Kyi was Burmese. They had five other children born after Maung Aung Htoo.

Daw Khin Kyi thought (in 1980) that she had had a dream during her pregnancy with Maung Aung Htoo, but she could no longer remember it.

When Maung Aung Htoo was born, he was observed immediately to have severe birth defects of his right foot and both his hands. He also had some noticeable grooves on the thigh and the calf of the left leg.

U Lane Han and his family lived in various Army camps for the first 6 years of Maung Aung Htoo's life. Eventually they settled in Yamethin in Upper Burma, where they established themselves as weavers. Their weaving appears to have been a continuation of a trade that Daw Khin Kyi's family had followed from at least the early 1940s.

The family also had some tradition of military service. Both Daw Khin Kyi's husband and father had been soldiers, and so had her brother-in-law.

Maung Aung Htoo started to speak coherently around the age of 2, and when he was about 3 he began to speak about a previous life. He said that he had been a Japanese Army officer and that during the retreat of the Japanese Army in Burma (presumably in 1945) the soldiers in his command had mutinied and tortured him, so that he died. From early childhood Maung Aung Htoo showed behavior that was unusual in his family, but characteristic of some Japanese people, especially Japanese soldiers. I shall describe this behavior later.

U Win Maung learned of this case in September 1980 from an informant in the village of Okshitgone, near Tatkon. Okshitgone is 25 kilometers south of Yamethin.

U Win Maung and I went to Yamethin and investigated the case on November 20, 1980. I have not seen Maung Aung Htoo and his family since then.

Persons Interviewed during the Investigation

In Yamethin I interviewed:

Maung Aung Htoo
Daw Khin Kyi, Maung Aung Htoo's mother
Daw Khin Ma, Maung Aung Htoo's maternal aunt (Daw Khin Kyi's older sister)
Daw Than Kyi, Maung Aung Htoo's maternal grandmother

I have already mentioned that Maung Aung Htoo's father, U Lane Han, died in 1980, before we began our study of the case.

During our interviews we had the capable assistance of U Nu, who, a long-time resident of Pyawbwe, a town only 20 kilometers north of Yamethin, was thoroughly familiar with the whole area. In connection with the case of Ma Win Tar, I mentioned that he was living in Upper Burma during the Japanese occupation of Burma and during the battles associated with the British advance and the Japanese retreat in the spring of 1945. For this case, as for many other cases, he gave us valuable background information.

Relevant Facts of Geography and Military History

Yamethin is a town in Upper Burma on the main road and main railway line between Rangoon and Mandalay. Maung Aung Htoo's mother and aunt lived in the village of Kywetat, 5 kilometers west of Yamethin, during the years of the Japanese occupation of Burma (1942-45). Daw Khin Kyi was too young to remember the Japanese, but her older sister, Daw Khin Ma, could recall them a little. According to her memory, her family had been friendly with the Japanese. As I mentioned, the family had a weaving business, and Daw Khin Ma remembered that the Japanese would sometimes come and watch them weaving.

During the retreat of the Japanese Army in Burma in the spring of 1945, some of their units took refuge in the monastery at Kywetat, but they had no permanent encampment there.

Statements Made by Maung Aung Htoo

Statements Made by Maung Aung Htoo as a Young Child. Daw Khin Kyi remembered that Maung Aung Htoo as a young child had said that he had killed members of his family and joined the Japanese Army. When the Japanese Army was defeated, the troops that he was commanding thought he was incompetent and mutinied. They bound him to a tree and tortured him by cutting his toes and fingers.

Statements Made by Maung Aung Htoo in 1980. In 1980 Maung Aung Htoo said that his memories of the previous life had not faded.

He said that he had been an officer in the Japanese Army. He could not remember his rank, but recalled having insignia with three bars. He said that he had been married and had five children, but he did not remember their sexes. He said that before he left Japan he had killed the members of his family—his parents, wife, children, and two sisters—because he did not wish thoughts of them to distract him while he was fighting.

He could not remember his army training in Japan, but did remember coming to Burma by air. He could not say where he had fought in Burma, but it was somewhere in a jungle. The Japanese Army frequently conscripted Burmese villagers to work for them. (Examples of this occurred in the cases of Maung Hmat Tun and Maung Thein.) Maung Aung Htoo recalled that he intensely disliked Burmese villagers. (He seemed to regard them as the enemy more than the British

and Americans, whom the Japanese were fighting militarily.) He said that after making the Burmese villagers work for him he would kill them.

He remembered the retreat of the Japanese Army. There were 22 soldiers in his unit. They ran short of food and became convinced that they would be captured and killed. Some of his men committed suicide by hari-kari. Others accused him, their officer, of incompetence. They mutinied, tied him to a tree, and then tortured him by chopping off his fingers and toes. The mutineers placed a bomb behind the tree to which he was bound. (They had apparently intended to kill him with this bomb.) However, the bomb did not explode. He remained tied to the tree for 5 days before he died.

Maung Aung Htoo did not recall the final hours and moment of death in the previous life. He had no memories of being in a discarnate state and no knowledge of how or why he had been born in his family.

Comment. One can suppose that the soldier would have died from hemorrhage, shock, and dehydration, and it is somewhat surprising that he lived for 5 days after being tortured, if he did in fact live as long as that. However, Maung Aung Htoo's memory of the interval between the soldier's being tortured and his death may be defective, as—I need hardly say—may be his memory for other details of his narration, which are all unverified.

None of the informants for this case had heard of a Japanese officer whose troops had mutinied and tortured him. This does not mean that this could not have happened, but it would have been unusual for the ordinarily well-disciplined Japanese soldiers to mutiny, even in the desperate circumstances that some of them experienced during the retreat of their army in 1945. U Nu thought that Maung Aung Htoo's description of the last days of the Japanese soldier was more typical of what Burmese villagers might have done to stragglers of the Japanese Army whom they could capture. Other Burmese subjects who have remembered previous lives as Japanese soldiers said they were captured and killed (and sometimes tortured) by angry Burmese villagers. (Ma Win Tar and Ma Win Yee were examples of such subjects.) Their statements are also unverified, but are nevertheless plausible. If the Japanese officer whose life Maung Aung Htoo recalled had been as brutal to the Burmese as he said he was, he would have been the sort of Japanese soldier whom the Burmese villagers would have been likely to capture and torture once the Japanese Army began to disintegrate and left stragglers to fend for themselves. The mode of torture—chopping fingers and toes—also seems to me more typical of Burmese than of Japanese people.[55]

Maung Aung Htoo's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

Circumstances and Manner of Maung Aung Htoo's Speaking about the Previous Life. Daw Khin Kyi said that Maung Aung Htoo first spoke about the previous life as a Japanese soldier when he was a little more than 3 years old. His

[55]Subjects who said that their birth defects of the hands and feet corresponded to the chopping (by swords) of fingers and toes as part of torture inflicted by Burmese people include Ma Khin San, Ma Win Yee, Ma Hsann Aye, Maung Aung Than, Daw Oo, U Aung Gyi, and the Ven. U Sandimar.

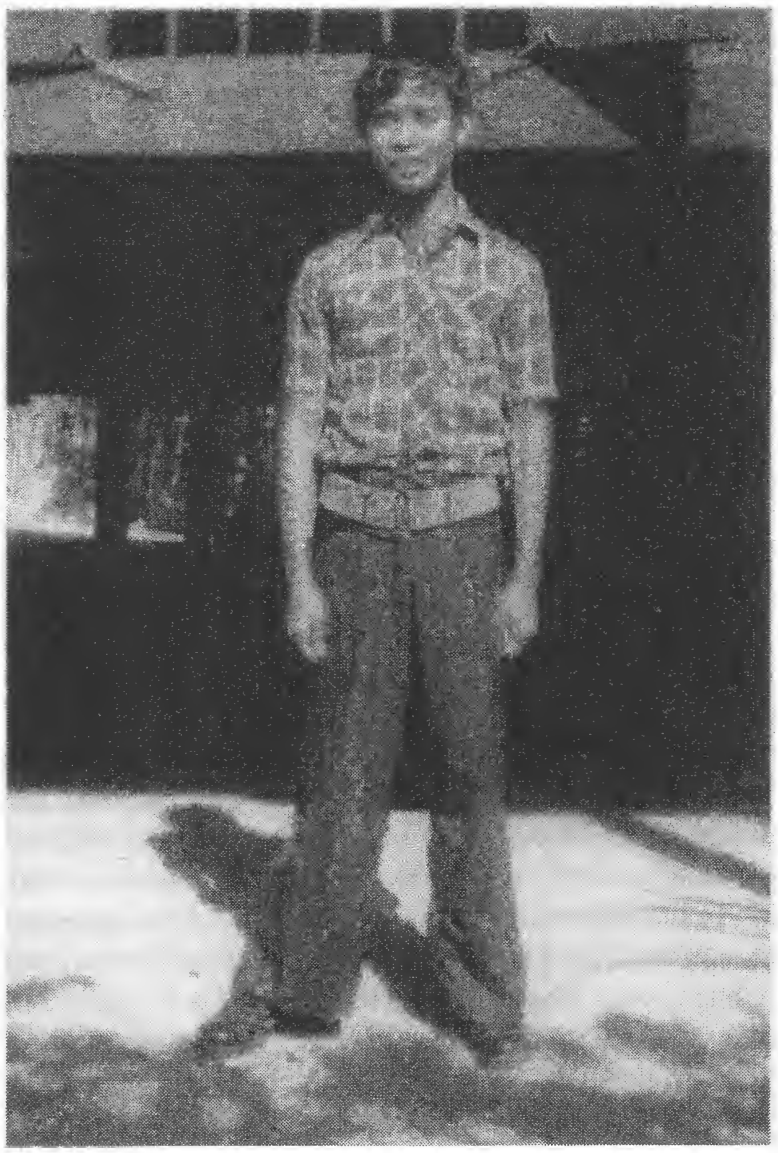

Figure 17-58 Maung Aung Htoo dressed in trousers, belt, and boots, such as a Japanese soldier of World War II would have worn.

parents had then asked him what had happened to him in a previous life. (They apparently thought that he would explain his birth defects, which he did.)

Maung Aung Htoo said that he tended to think about the previous life on cloudy days more than on sunny ones. (In this respect he resembled many other subjects in Burma.) I did not learn of any other stimuli for his memories or expressions of them. He had never suffered from nightmares.

Maung Aung Htoo's "Japanese" Traits. In several respects, Maung Aung Htoo showed behavior that was unusual in his family and that could be regarded as typical of Japanese people. The most obvious of these traits, for which U Win Maung and I needed no source of information other than our own eyes, was his preference in clothing. Figure 17-58 shows Maung Aung Htoo (in 1980) dressed as he liked to be: wearing trousers, a large army belt, and boots. This costume differed markedly from that of the ordinary young Burmese man, who wears

Figure 17-59 U Win Maung, my interpreter and assistant in Burma for almost two decades, as we were about to cross the Irrawaddy River in 1972. He was wearing typical clothing for a male Burmese: shirt, jacket, longyi, and sandals.

a longyi (tied around the waist, without a belt) and sandals (not boots). Figure 17-59 shows U Win Maung wearing this usual clothing of Burmese men. Maung Aung Htoo had shown from early childhood his preference for the clothes he wore when we met him.

Maung Aung Htoo also had "Japanese" tastes in food. He objected to the chilies and other hot spices used liberally in Burmese cooking. He preferred sweet foods, although he also used more salt than other members of the family. He liked to eat raw or partly cooked fish and meat.

When he was a young child, Maung Aung Htoo showed some difficulty in learning to speak Burmese. His mother said that he had this difficulty up to the age of 10. However, at the time when we met him he had no foreign accent to his Burmese. His mother had never overheard him speaking any language other than Burmese.

Maung Aung Htoo did not complain about the hot climate in Burma; in this respect he differed from most of the Burmese subjects who remembered previous lives as Japanese soldiers. He also did not become angry whenever the British or Americans were mentioned, as have some of these subjects.

Daw Khin Kyi said that Maung Aung Htoo was hardworking and, compared with other children, insensitive to pain. She said that he put salt on wounds he received. (This was apparently his personal test and proof of his capacity to overcome physical discomfort; we might compare it to the wearing of hair shirts and other mortifications of the flesh practiced by medieval saints in Europe.)

Along with these traits Maung Aung Htoo showed, not surprisingly, a longing to go to Japan. He expressed no interest in seeing his family (who were all dead anyway, according to his memories), but he did miss Japan. When members of the Japanese War Graves Commission visited Burma, Maung Aung Htoo learned about their visit only after they had left. He said that he would have liked to return to Japan with them. No reader, after considering the catalogue I have given of "Japanese" traits shown by Maung Aung Htoo, will feel surprise that he was nicknamed "Japangyi," which in Burmese means, roughly, "the big fellow from Japan."

Maung Aung Htoo's Other Behavior Related to the Previous Life. Maung Aung Htoo had a prominent streak of cruelty in his character. I hesitate to characterize this as "Japanese," because, although some Japanese soldiers were harsh and cruel to Burmese, many were not. However, I think I can relate it, at least provisionally, to the previous life, since Maung Aung Htoo described his previous personality as being just as cruel as he claimed to be himself.

He had a quick temper, and when angered he would slap and kick his younger brothers. He liked to hunt and kill small animals such as insects, frogs, fish, and birds. He told us that if he caught a frog he would take its legs off one by one, while it was still living. He stopped going to school after the sixth grade, partly to help his family in their weaving business, but partly also in order to have more time for hunting.

Maung Aung Htoo described unabashedly his zest for hunting and his cruelty toward other living things. He even said that he would kill human beings if the law did not prohibit this. U Win Maung and I thought that his statements about his cruelty might be mere boasting, or even a pulling of our legs, and we taxed him with this. He denied that he was exaggerating anything, and his maternal aunt (who listened to our question) agreed that he was not.

Maung Aung Htoo's attitude toward Buddhism matched his tendency to cruelty, which Buddhism censures. His family seems not to have been markedly religious, and they did not take him to a temple until he was about 10. But Maung Aung Htoo then showed some resistance to Buddhism. For example, he would not prostrate before monks (as Burmese Buddhists ordinarily do) unless he was asked, or even forced, to do this.

Between the ages of 2 and 5, Maung Aung Htoo played at being a soldier. Daw Khin Ma said that his younger brothers also played at being soldiers, but not

with the keenness for this activity that Maung Aung Htoo showed. However, judgments about Maung Aung Htoo's playing at being a soldier must weigh the possible importance as models for him of the several soldiers in his family.

Other Relevant Behavior of Maung Aung Htoo

Maung Aung Htoo had no phobias.

His maternal aunt, Daw Khin Ma, said that he was not only industrious, but quick-witted and intelligent. He was straightforward in his relations with others.

The Attitudes of Maung Aung Htoo's Family toward his Memories

The summed effect of Maung Aung Htoo's behavior was that he became something of an outcast, even in his own family. His mother, aunt, and grandmother all seemed to like and love him. But his "Japanese" ways were strange to them. And they could not conceal—did not try to conceal—their dismay over his cruelty. Maung Aung Htoo's father, we were assured, provided no model for such behavior; he had been a pious person and kind to animals.

The women of Maung Aung Htoo's family whom we interviewed said that they had tried to train him out of his habits of cruelty and to inculcate in him the precepts of Buddhism; but they acknowledged that they had failed. He would not reform. He continued to harbor a strong animosity toward Burmese people.

Maung Aung Htoo's Attitude toward the Previous Life

Maung Aung Htoo had no hatred toward the Japanese soldiers who, he said, had tortured and (directly or indirectly) killed him in the previous life. He appeared to acknowledge the incompetence of the Japanese officer that he thought he had been and to think that this man had perhaps got what he deserved.

Maung Aung Htoo's Birth Defects

Figures 17-60 and 17-61 show the birth defects of Maung Aung Htoo's hands. Both his thumbs seemed to be normal, but all the other fingers showed defects. The fourth and fifth fingers of the right hand were more or less normal in shape and had fingernails; but they were abnormally short. The other fingers were markedly shortened. They lacked fingernails, except for the middle finger of the right hand, and its nail was rudimentary. Two of them—the forefinger and middle finger of the left hand—were syndactylous.

Despite the malformation of many of his fingers, Maung Aung Htoo worked well with his hands and was a skillful weaver.

Figure 17-62 shows marked malformations of all the toes of the right foot, except the fifth. It had a nail and seemed normal. The third toe of the right foot was either missing or absorbed in a syndactylous process with the second toe.

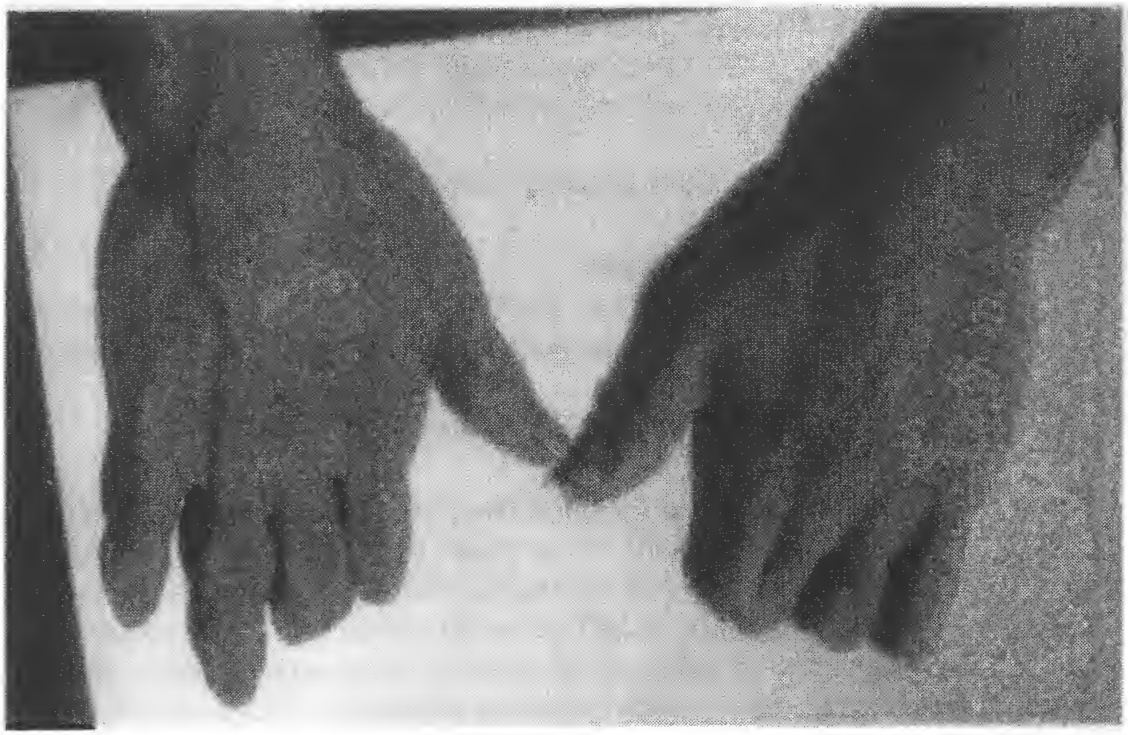

Figure 17-60 Dorsal aspect of the hands of Maung Aung Htoo as they appeared in November 1980, when he was almost 19 years old. The thumbs appeared normal, but all the other fingers were markedly defective. They were shortened, and the middle and index fingers of the left hand were syndactylous. Only the fourth and fifth fingers of the right hand had nails.

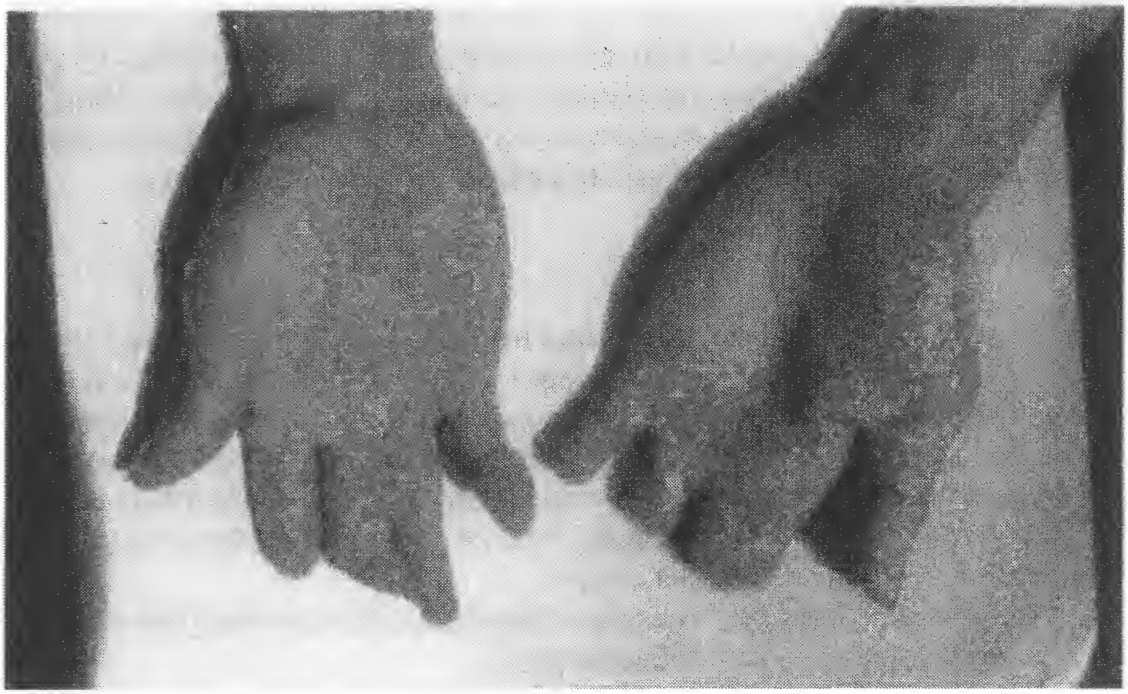

Figure 17-61 Palmar aspect of Maung Aung Htoo's hands. This photograph was also taken in November 1980.

Figure 17-62 Feet of Maung Aung Htoo as they appeared in November 1980. The toes of the left foot appeared normal, although the fourth and fifth toes appeared to be abnormally short. Of the right foot only the fifth toe had a nail. All the other toes lacked nails and were markedly shortened. The third toe was either absent or partly absorbed in a syndactylous process with the second toe.

None of the toes of this foot had nails. On the left foot the first three toes appeared to be normal, but the last two seemed abnormally short.

Figure 17-63 shows a horizontal, linear area of increased pigmentation that extended around the calf of the left leg at approximately the junction of the lower third and upper two-thirds. This area was about 1 centimeter wide. About 2 centimeters below this line, there was a second, much fainter horizontal, linear area of increased pigmentation, also encircling the calf.

Figures 17-64 and 17-65 show two views of an abnormal area around the left lower thigh, near the knee. The affected area consisted of two parts. Superiorly there was an area of decreased pigmentation that encircled the anterior part of the thigh. This was about 1 centimeter wide, and it was depressed about 1 millimeter below the surrounding skin. Adjoining this area, inferiorly, was an area of increased hairiness that also ran around the anterior part of the thigh.[56]

Comment. The small pit between the forefinger and middle finger of Maung Aung Htoo's left hand—warranting the term acrosyndactyly—shows

[56]Other examples of birthmarks corresponding to marks said to have been made by ropes on a previous personality occurred on Maung Than Htay, Ma Hsann Aye, U Aung Gyi, Ma Win Tar, Maung Hla Hsaung, Ma Htwe Win, Cordelia Ekouroume, and the Ven. U Sandimar.

The left leg of Ma Khin Ma Gyi showed a groove that she said derived from the behavior of the man whose life she remembered, who had tied domestic fowl to houseposts by their legs.

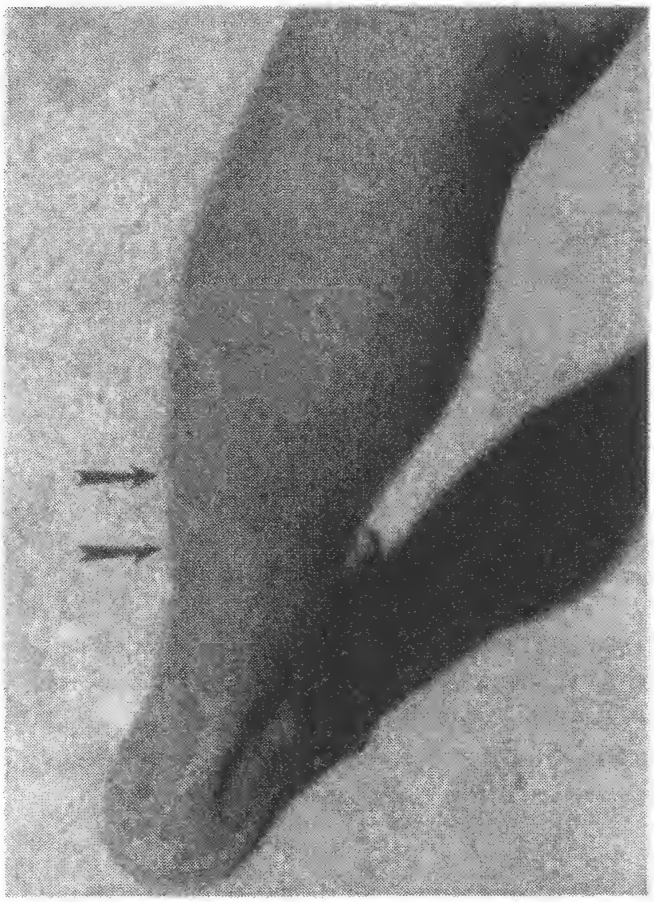

Figure 17-63 Posterior aspect of the left calf of Maung Aung Htoo. A horizontal line of hyperpigmentation ran around the lower part of the calf. It was about 1 centimeter wide. About 2 centimeters inferior to this prominent line a second, much fainter, horizontal line of hyperpigmentation is barely discernible. It also encircled the calf.

that the fusion between these fingers occurred after they had been formed and differentiated from the limb bud for the hand.

Other Relevant Medical Information. I learned of no information suggesting the occurrence of any of the common proximate causes of birth defects in this case. Maung Aung Htoo's parents were not related. No other member of the family had a birth defect. Daw Khin Kyi had good health throughout her pregnancy with Maung Aung Htoo.

Other Observations of Maung Aung Htoo's Physical Appearance

Maung Aung Htoo belongs to a group of subjects of whom informants said that their physical appearance—especially of the face—differed from that of other members of their family to a degree that the informants found worthy of comment. His aunt said that he "looked and acted differently from the rest of the family." She did not further specify this difference, although she mentioned that Maung Aung Htoo had been fairer, when he was younger, than he was when we met him. At that time his complexion seemed to me normal for Burmese people. Figures 17-58 and 24-11 (the latter giving a closer view) show his facial appearance in 1980.

I may here mention that Maung Aung Htoo expressed to us a wish to be hairy and to have a beard. He did not amplify this remark, and I cannot explain it.

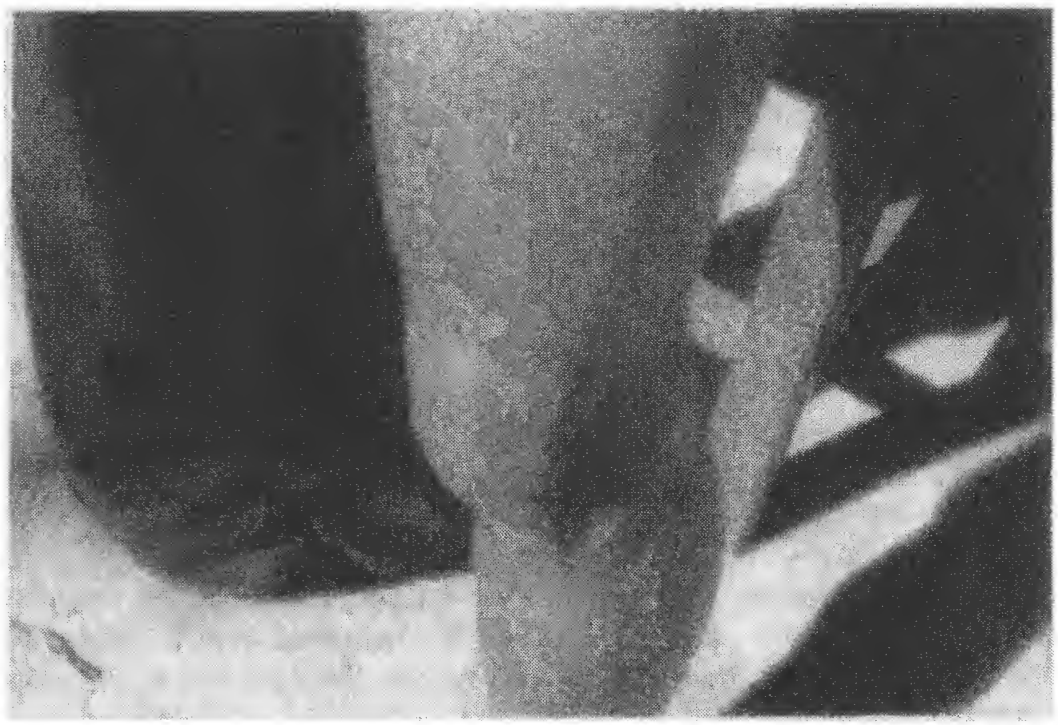

Figure 17-64 Left lower thigh of Maung Aung Htoo. There was a slightly depressed line of hypopigmentation running around the thigh above the knee. Inferior to this area a line of increased hairiness can be seen parallel to the line of hypopigmentation.

Figure 17-65 Another view of the line of hairiness running around Maung Aung Htoo's left thigh above the knee. This photograph shows the line of increased hair better than Figure 17-64, but the adjoining depressed area of hypopigmentation is less distinct.

Burmese men have a sparse growth of facial and bodily hair, as have other Mongolian people, including Japanese men (Coon, 1966). The Ainu, who live mostly in Hokkaido and Sakhalin Island, are notoriously hairy, and some of them have married with Japanese people. Was the Japanese soldier whose life Maung Aung Htoo remembered a person of mixed Ainu and Japanese ancestry? If so, perhaps he was hairier than most Japanese men are. There is perhaps a hint that the soldier may have been hairy in the unusual line of hair that forms part of the groove on Maung Aung Htoo's left thigh.

THE CASE OF MAUNG HLA HSAUNG

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Maung Hla Hsaung was born in Nan-U-Lwin village, in the Mandalay District of Upper Burma, on October 30, 1960. His parents were U Pu and Daw Hla Nyein. Maung Hla Hsaung was the fifth of their seven children. U Pu worked as a masseur and died in 1970.

One or two months before Daw Hla Nyein became pregnant with Maung Hla Hsaung, she dreamed of a man who had defects of his hands and feet as if they had been chopped off with a knife or sword. I shall return to this dream later and will only mention here that she did not recognize the man in the dream, or even his nationality.

When Maung Hla Hsaung was born (at home), the midwife immediately noticed severe birth defects of his hands (Figures 17-66 and 17-67) and one foot (Figure 17-68). She wrapped the baby up in an effort to conceal the malformations from Daw Hla Nyein and told her to nurse the baby without unwrapping it. In doing this she seems to have warned other members of the family that Daw Hla Nyein might be shocked when she saw the baby's birth defects. It was some days—I do not know exactly how long—before Daw Hla Nyein saw her newborn son unwrapped.

Maung Hla Hsaung started speaking when he was about 2 years old, and when he was less than 3 years old, he began referring to a previous life in Japan. He spoke mostly with his father, who, as I have mentioned, had died before U Win Maung and I studied this case in 1984. At that time other members of the family remembered only a little of what Maung Hla Hsaung had said when young. He spoke in a strange language for a time, but then learned Burmese normally. He also showed a number of unusual behaviors that accorded with his claim to have been Japanese (presumably a Japanese soldier) in a previous life. He explained the defects of his fingers and toes as a result of torture after he had been captured.

U Win Maung and I learned about this case in December 1980 from an informant in Mandalay, Maung Swe Myint Oo. However, it was more than 3 years before we were able to undertake its investigation, in February 1984.

Figure 17-66 Dorsal surface of the hands of Maung Hla Hsaung as they appeared in February 1984, when he was about 23 years old. The fifth finger of the right hand was markedly shortened and had no nail. The other fingers of this hand were normal, apart from pronounced grooves at the bases of the middle and fourth fingers. On the left hand, only the thumb was normal. The other fingers were markedly shortened and had no nails.

Figure 17-67 Palmar surface of Maung Hla Hsaung's hands as they appeared in 1984. The grooves at the bases of the middle and fourth fingers of the right hand can be seen, but are less prominent than they are in the dorsal aspect.

Figure 17-68 Maung Hla Hsaung's feet as they appeared in 1984. The left foot was normal, but the toes of the right foot were, with one exception, markedly defective. The fourth toe appeared normal, but the others were markedly shorter than their counterparts of the left foot and had no nails. The first three were involved in a syndactylous process. The right great toe was almost absent.

Persons Interviewed during the Investigation

In Nan-U-Lwin village we interviewed:

Maung Hla Hsaung
Daw Hla Nyein, Maung Hla Hsaung's mother
U Yan Aye, Maung Hla Hsaung's older brother
Ma Kyi Hla, Maung Hla Hsaung's older sister

At the time of our interviews Maung Hla Hsaung was about 23 years old. U Yan Aye was about 35 years old, and Ma Kyi Hla about 32. They had heard (or remembered) almost nothing of what Maung Hla Hsaung had said about the previous life; but they were sufficiently old at the time of his birth and during his early childhood to have observed some of his unusual behavior, which they still remembered.

Relevant Facts of Geography and Other Background Information

Daw Hla Nyein conceived Maung Hla Hsaung at Ponnagone, which is a district in the southern part of Mandalay; the airport is about 2 miles farther south. During World War II, Mandalay was an important city—for both strategy and

prestige. The British Army finally pushed the Japanese Army out of it in the spring of 1945. The city was captured after a fierce contest on March 20, 1945. Maung Hla Hsaung's family later heard many accounts of Japanese soldiers having been killed in the area of Ponnagone.

During World War II, Daw Hla Nyein, who was then unmarried, lived in Nga-Zun, a town west of Mandalay that has figured in several other cases of this work. After the war she married, and she and her husband lived first at Ponnagone. During her pregnancy with Maung Hla Hsaung, they moved to Nan-U-Lwin village, where he was born. Nan-U-Lwin itself is on the outskirts of Mandalay, about 2 kilometers from its center.

Daw Hla Nyein said that she saw Japanese during World War II, but had little to do with them. She said that she was unfamiliar with their customs.

An Announcing Dream

In Daw Hla Nyein's dream (1 or 2 months before becoming pregnant with Maung Hla Hsaung) a short, stout man appeared to her. He had defects of his fingers and toes as if they had been chopped off. She did not recognize the man and could not later tell whether he was of Burmese or some other nationality. In the dream the man appearing did not draw attention to the defects; she noticed them spontaneously herself.

As soon as she awoke, Daw Hla Nyein told her husband that their next baby would be defective. When I asked her what made her connect the dream with a pregnancy and think that the man in the dream was wanting to be her child, she said that the dream had particularly impressed her and that she had had no dreams with previous pregnancies. When I then asked her whether the dream had seemed more vivid than her usual dreams, she said that it had.

Statements Made by Maung Hla Hsaung

When Maung Hla Hsaung was a young child, he said that he wanted money so that he could go back to Japan. He said he had a wife named Ma Thoung[57] and that he had three sons. He had lived near an airfield in Japan. He did not give the name of the village or town in Japan from which he came or the name of the person whose life he was remembering.

Daw Hla Nyein did not mention that Maung Hla Hsaung had said that he was a Japanese *soldier* in the previous life; she may have forgotten to mention this detail if he had said this. However, the family obviously assumed that he was referring to the life of a soldier from his references to having been captured, tortured, and killed, and from his play at being a soldier when he was young.

Concerning the death in the previous life, Maung Hla Hsaung said that he had been killed by the English. He said he was tied at the back and buried when

[57]*Ma Thoung* is a Burmese name, not a Japanese one.

still half-alive. About his birth defects he said that they were due to his having been tortured in the jungle. He said that the English had tortured him.

Comment. Here I should emphasize that none of Maung Hla Hsaung's statements have been verified. However, since his statements accorded with the unusual behavior that he showed, I have permitted myself to conjecture—in later sections of this report—what might have happened to a real Japanese soldier whose life Maung Hla Hsaung was remembering. It was, Maung Hla Hsaung said, the manner of this soldier's death that explained his birth defects.

Maung Hla Hsaung's Statements in 1984. By 1984 nearly all of Maung Hla Hsaung's memories had faded. (We did not learn when he stopped speaking about the previous life; but we were told that the family did not suppress him.) He said he had a vague memory of his fingers being chopped off *after* his death, so that whoever killed him could have his rings.

Comment. This statement differed from what Maung Hla Hsaung had said when young, although the two statements, examined closely together, are not incompatible. For example, it is possible to imagine that the Japanese soldier may have been tortured to reveal information or "on general principles"; and while this was happening one of the torturers might have said to another: "We may as well take his rings and keep them." One can imagine also that while being tortured the soldier might have lost consciousness, with the later consequence that Maung Hla Hsaung thought he had already died when the rings were removed. I defer to a later place a discussion of whether *British* troops would have tortured a Japanese soldier in the manner described by Maung Hla Hsaung and suggested by his birth defects.

Maung Hla Hsaung's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

Circumstances and Manner of Maung Hla Hsaung's Speaking about the Previous Life. Daw Hla Nyein said that when Maung Hla Hsaung was young he used to sit facing the west and talk about Japan. He did this on rainy days. If given some money he would say that he was going to Japan, and sometimes he asked for money so that he could go there.

Comment. Daw Hla Nyein seemed not to understand the significance of the boy's facing west when he talked about Japan, and neither do I. If such a young boy was geographically oriented, which is unlikely, he would turn to the northeast (in the Mandalay area) if he wanted to face Japan.

Maung Hla Hsaung's Strange Language Spoken as a Child. As a young child Maung Hla Hsaung sometimes spoke a language that members of his family did not recognize or have anyone else identify for them. However, he was not backward in learning Burmese, and (unlike a few subjects who have remembered previous lives as Japanese soldiers) he had no foreign accent in his Burmese at the time we met him.

Maung Hla Hsaung's Play at Being a Soldier. Daw Hla Nyein recalled that Maung Hla Hsaung as a young child had played at being a soldier. In doing this he wore a Japanese army cap that he must have found somewhere. (Maung

Hla Hsaung himself still remembered in 1984 that he had played at being a soldier while wearing a Japanese army cap.)

Maung Hla Hsaung was the only child of the family who played at being a soldier; his two brothers did not do so.

Maung Hla Hsaung's "Japanese" Traits. Maung Hla Hsaung showed a congeries of behaviors that were unusual in his family and that are more common among Japanese people, although not specific to them.

He liked to wear long trousers (instead of the Burmese longyi).[58] He had a preference for sweet foods (but not for strong tea as the Japanese usually like it). He liked pork cooked with sugar. He was comparatively insensitive to pain. He was hardworking and independent compared with Burmese children or adults of his age. And, finally, he had some tendency to cruelty, not toward humans, but toward insects.[59] (Maung Hla Hsaung gave this last item of information himself.)

Other Relevant Observations of Maung Hla Hsaung's Behavior

Maung Hla Hsaung had no phobias of swords, knives, or anything else. He was indifferent to the British and expressed no strong feelings about them.

Daw Hla Nyein said that Maung Hla Hsaung "gobbled" his food, eating much more rapidly than other members of the family. (This is not necessarily a "Japanese" trait; U Win Maung suggested that it might instead be a military one, because soldiers on campaign must often eat quickly.)

Despite the birth defects of his hands, Maung Hla Hsaung was a skilled mechanic, and he ably assisted his brother in the conduct of a shop for repairing bicycles. (No informant claimed that this mechanical aptitude derived from a previous life.)

Maung Hla Hsaung's Birth Defects

Figures 17-66 and 17-67 show the defects of Maung Hla Hsaung's hands. The fingers of the right hand were all present. However, the fifth finger was short by one

[58]In the report of the case of Maung Aung Htoo, who also remembered the previous life of a Japanese soldier, I include a photograph (Figure 17-58) showing Maung Aung Htoo wearing trousers in the style of a Japanese man.

[59]Burmese Buddhists disapprove of killing any living thing, including insects. They may eat meat if someone else has already killed the animal providing the meat, and in fact most Burmese Buddhists are not vegetarians. I have given some information about Buddhists' attitudes toward the killing and eating of animals in the report of the case of Ratana Wongsombat, a Thai Buddhist.

Maung Hla Hsaung did not say in what way he was cruel to insects, but he may have meant only that he crushed them when he caught them. The case of Ma Khin Ma Gyi provides a more detailed illustration of attitudes toward cruelty to insects among Burmese Buddhists (and contrasting attitudes among Moslems).

Many Japanese are Buddhists, but we do not know whether the Japanese soldier whose life Maung Hla Hsaung seemed to be remembering was a Buddhist or not. The Japanese soldiers occupying Burma were notorious among the Burmese for their cruelty, but this is a generalization to which there were many exceptions.

phalanx and lacked a fingernail. The middle and fourth fingers each had grooves clearly visible near their bases. These grooves were about 1 millimeter wide and extended fully around the dorsal surface of the fingers (Figure 17-66). The grooves may be discerned also on the palmar surfaces of the same fingers (Figure 17-67); however, on that side they are with difficulty distinguishable from the normal folds of skin at the junction between the fingers and the palm of the hand.

The thumb of the left hand was normal, but the other four fingers of that hand were markedly defective. The index finger and middle finger were represented by mere rudiments and had no nails. The fourth and fifth fingers were markedly shortened compared with their expected lengths, and they also had no nails.

When Maung Hla Hsaung was born, the fourth and fifth fingers of his left hand had distal portions that "were dangling as if by thin strings." These parts were amputated when he was about 18 months old.[60]

Figure 17-68 shows that Maung Hla Hsaung's left foot was normal; but the toes of his right foot were, with one exception, markedly defective. The fourth toe seemed more or less normal, but the others were shortened, without nails; and the first three were involved in syndactylous processes. The right great toe was virtually absent.

Figure 17-69 shows a nearly horizontal line of hyperpigmentation around the calf of Maung Hla Hsaung's right leg. There were two similar, but much fainter lines of hyperpigmentation inferior to the more visible one on the same leg; but these are barely distinguishable in the photograph. These marks were said to correspond to indentations left by ropes used for tying up the Japanese soldier after he was captured.

Other Relevant Medical Information. Ma Kyi Hla and U Yan Aye told us that there were no other instances of birth defects in the family. Ma Kyi Hla spoke with apparent confidence of the entire family back to her (and Maung Hla Hsaung's) great-grandfather.

U Pu and Daw Hla Nyein were not related. They came from separate villages in the area of Nga-Zun.

I failed to ask Daw Hla Nyein about the course of her pregnancy with Maung Hla Hsaung, and when I returned to ask her later, she was not available at Nan-U-Lwin. However, Ma Kyi Hla and U Yan Aye were there, and, as I explained earlier, they were old enough to remember the time of their mother's pregnancy with Maung Hla Hsaung. They both said that her pregnancy had been normal; Daw Hla Nyein had been healthy and had taken no drugs during the pregnancy.

[60]In two respects the case of Yusuf Köse resembles that of Maung Hla Hsaung. Yusuf Köse also had a distal part of a finger dangling when he was born, and his family amputated this useless part when he was an infant. Yusuf Köse also had a groove running entirely around one of his fingers. These birth defects apparently corresponded to cuts with a knife across the fingers of Yusuf Köse's previous personality; he said these cuts were made as this man was resisting being murdered with a knife. U Aung Gyi and Ma Win Tar also underwent amputations of poorly attached parts of an extremity soon after their births.

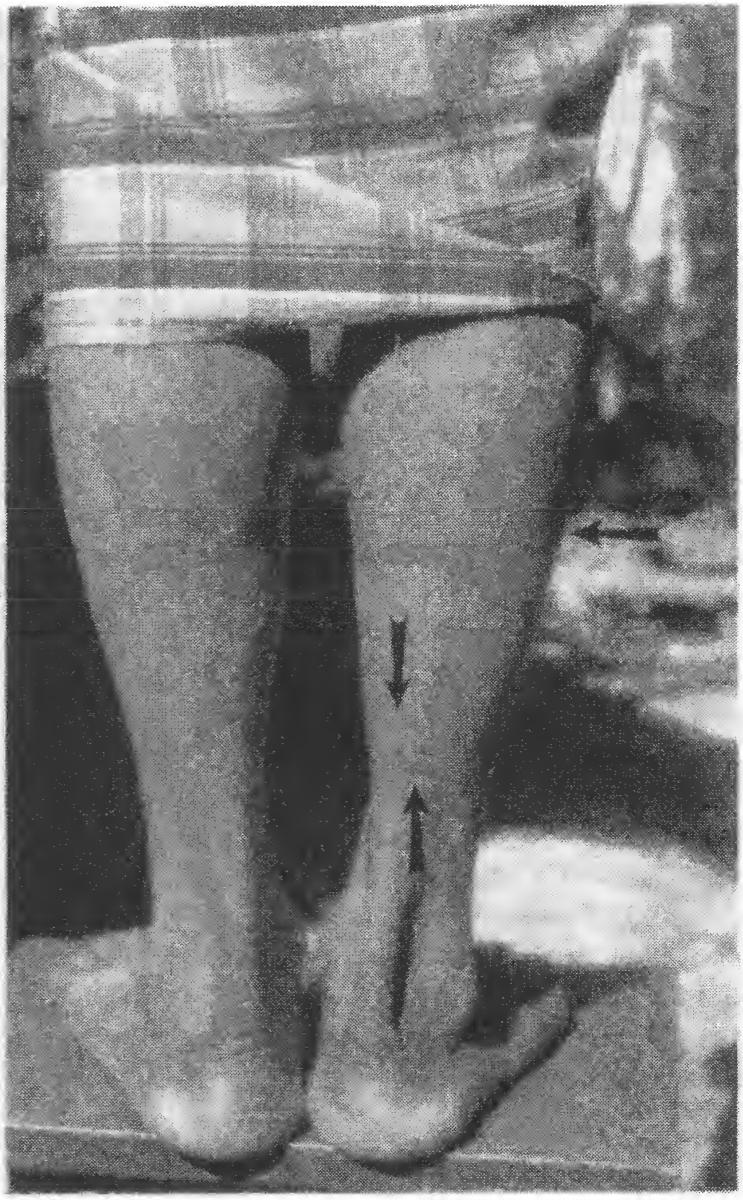

Figure 17-69 Calves of Maung Hla Hsaung as they appeared in 1984. About two thirds of the way up from the ankle to the knee of the right leg, a slanting line of hyperpigmentation ran across the calf. It was about 3 millimeters wide. Between this line and the ankle two other, much fainter lines of hyperpigmentation were barely discernible.

Daw Hla Nyein said that during her pregnancy with Maung Hla Hsaung she had a craving for pork cooked with sugar. As I mentioned, Maung Hla Hsaung liked pork cooked with sugar. Japanese people frequently add sugar to their foods, whereas Burmese people do not cook meats with sugar.

Residues of Maung Hla Hsaung's Behavioral Memories in 1984

In 1984 Maung Hla Hsaung said that he still had some longing to go to Japan, but it was "not very strong." He also said that he still liked to wear trousers rather than a longyi. (He was, however, wearing a longyi when we met him.) He continued to be hardworking and relatively insensitive to pain. In other respects he could be regarded as an ordinary Burmese person.

Maung Hla Hsaung told us that he was "very interested in airplanes. If one flies over, I go to look at it." This interest had not figured among reports of his unusual behavior when a young child, and I am not suggesting that it derived from the previous life, although it may have.

Comment on Maung Hla Hsaung's Reference to Torture by the British

Several other cases of this volume illustrate the practice among the Burmese of chopping fingers and toes in torture, as a preliminary to killing an intended victim. Torture of prisoners was, I think, practiced rarely by British (or American) soldiers during World War II. I have myself heard (from firsthand witnesses) of some torture of Japanese prisoners by both British and American soldiers during World War II; and occasionally an account of cruelty on the part of Allied soldiers has been printed (Baggaley, 1954). I think, however, that British and American soldiers only rarely mistreated their prisoners, and, so far as I know, they never used the Burmese style of torture: chopping fingers and toes with a sword. How, therefore, are we to explain Maung Hla Hsaung's claim that his fingers and toes were chopped by the British? One way in which I can conjecturally reconcile his statements with the likely practice of the British troops is to suggest that the Japanese soldier whose life Maung Hla Hsaung was remembering was captured by Burmese soldiers; some of them began fighting on the side of the British in the late spring of 1945. If they had captured a Japanese soldier, they might have tortured him in their own style before turning him over to officers of a British Army unit to which they were attached. It is also possible that the Japanese soldier was a straggler captured and tortured by Burmese villagers (as in the lives Ma Win Tar and Ma Win Yee remembered) and then turned over, perhaps in a state of shock, near death, to the British authorities.

THE CASE OF NGOZI UDUJI

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Ngozi Uduji was born in 1969 (or, possibly, in 1970) in Awgu, Anambra State, Nigeria. She was the oldest child of her parents, Rufus and Beatrice Uduji. By 1981 her parents also had four younger children. They were Igbos. Rufus Uduji owned and managed a small shop on the outskirts of Awgu; he sold patent medicines there.

Ngozi was born with a severe birth defect of her left arm. Figure 17-70 shows that her left forearm extended only a few centimeters below the elbow. Soon after her birth Ngozi was identified as being the reincarnation of a man called Ogbonna Iregbu, who had been killed in 1968 during the Biafran War. He was Rufus Uduji's cousin. Ngozi was identified with him partly on the basis of the correspondence between her birth defect and an injury to Ogbonna Iregbu's left

Figure 17-70 Distal parts of the arms of Ngozi Uduji as they appeared in December 1982 when she was about 13 years old. The end of the left forearm had some puckering and slight suggestions of finger nubbins.

arm when he was killed and partly on the declaration of an oracle[61] the family consulted. When Ngozi was about 2 years old, she made one statement about the previous life to her paternal grandfather, Uduji Ma.

In 1978 Nicholas Ibekwe (working for me on preliminary investigations in Nigeria) learned of the case, interviewed Uduji Ma about it, and sent me the information he had obtained.

In March 1981 I was in Nigeria and met Ngozi, both her parents, and her paternal uncle, Ude Uduji. Unfortunately, Uduji Ma had died in February 1979.

In December 1982 I was again in Awgu and able to have a second meeting with Ngozi and her father. He had seemed unforthcoming the year before, but was affable in 1982.

[61]Among the Igbo people every child is believed to be the reincarnation of someone else. If it seems important for members of a child's family to know of whom a child is the reincarnation, they may consult an oracle who is said to be able to give this information through the exercise of paranormal powers (Stevenson, 1985). Parents of an infant may consult an oracle with regard to the identification of its previous personality only from their own curiosity. However, they are particularly interested in knowing the previous identification of a child who is ailing or ill.

Oracles have similar functions among the Tibetans (Norbu and Turnbull, 1969) and also (formerly) among the Haida of Alaska and British Columbia (Stevenson, 1975a).

I should mention here that Rufus Uduji expected some compensation for the information he furnished about his daughter's case. He also wanted us to intervene on behalf of Ngozi with the Department of Pediatrics at the Teaching Hospital in Enugu, the nearest large city. In 1981 we gave him 20 Naira with the understanding that 10 Naira were to be used for expenses in taking Ngozi to the Teaching Hospital in Enugu. On our second visit to the family in 1982 we brought Ngozi a small gift, made some purchases from Rufus Uduji's shop, and gave him 10 Naira so that Ngozi's younger brother, who suffered from recurrent furuncles, could receive adequate medical care.

On the occasions of both my meetings with the Udujis, I had the helpful assistance of Dr. Stuart Edelstein.

The Death of Ogbonna Iregbu

Ogbonna Iregbu was born in about 1948. He had a shop in the marketplace at Awgu where he repaired bicycles. He was killed during the Biafran War (1967-1970). He was in his shop on a day in 1968 when the market was crowded with people. An airplane of the Nigerian government flew over and dropped bombs on the marketplace. Ogbonna Iregbu was among a large number of persons killed by these bombs. (I have not learned the exact date of this bombing.) His uncle Uduji Ma told Nicholas Ibekwe that Ogbonna's left hand was cut off and his body burned. (Uduji Ma said that napalm bombs had been dropped during the attack, but I have not confirmed this detail from anyone else.)

Ogbonna's cousin, Rufus Uduji (Ngozi's father), said that he had seen Ogbonna's body when the family had gone to the General Hospital in Awgu and taken the body away for burial. According to him, Ogbonna's left arm had been broken and it bled; the part below the break was not fully severed from the rest of the arm, but the "lower arm" was "dangling." Ogbonna had received other wounds, notably of the abdomen. Another informant, Chukwubike Azoziem (a schoolmaster), who volunteered information about the wounds Ogbonna had received—he said he had been present when Ogbonna's body was buried—said that the hand had been completely cut off. Although he confused right and left (both with regard to the injured arm of Ogbonna and the birth defect of Ngozi, which is of her left arm), his testimony seemed accurate with regard to other details (so far as I could compare it with that of other informants). When part of an arm is so badly injured that one informant describes it as "dangling" from the remainder, we cannot charge another informant who says that the part in question was completely cut off with much exaggeration. Rufus Uduji said that Ngozi's birth defect was at exactly the site where Ogbonna's left arm had been wounded. He concluded that Ngozi was Ogbonna reborn as soon as he saw her birth defect. (This would have been before consulting the oracle, which, in his view, would have been only a matter of confirming an opinion he had already reached.)

Ngozi's mother had never met Ogbonna, and she said that she had never heard how he had died before Ngozi's birth. (This does not mean that she had

never heard of Ogbonna or that he had been killed; I think it means only that she did not know the details of his fatal injuries.) She came from a village other than her husband's and married him in 1969, presumably early in that year, because Ngozi was born in 1969 (or possibly 1970).

Statements Made by Ngozi

According to Uduji Ma, Ngozi's paternal grandfather, when she was about 2 years old, she told him that she was Ogbonna. He then, to test her, asked where Ogbonna's tools were, and Ngozi led him to a no longer used corner of an old house (belonging to the family) where she showed him the tools. According to Uduji Ma, Ngozi knew how to handle the tools as if she had been accustomed to doing so.

In 1981 Rufus Uduji did not remember that Ngozi had ever, in his presence, said that she was Ogbonna. However, in 1982 he said that she had made such a claim when she was about 3 years old. She said that she wanted to be treated like a man. She did not, however, ask to be called by Ogbonna's name. Neither Rufus nor his wife mentioned any other statements about the previous life that Ngozi had made.

Ngozi's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

Ngozi's Phobias. Ngozi had a phobia of guns, shown at either the sight or the sound of one. This phobia had persisted up to 1981, when she was about 12 years old.

Ngozi also had a phobia of airplanes up to the age of about 2. Before that age, when an airplane would fly over, she would run to her mother or into the house.

Ngozi also had a phobia of white men, and this had lasted until the time of my visit and meeting with her in 1981. She avoided meeting me if she could, although she was ultimately persuaded to stand for photographs of her arm, which she did calmly.

In 1982 Rufus Uduji said that Ngozi was no longer afraid of white men, and certainly she then showed toward Dr. Edelstein and me none of the fear that we had observed 21 months earlier.

Comment. If Ngozi's fear of white men derived from the previous life of Ogbonna, it could be connected with the activity of white men as mercenaries and airplane pilots in the Nigerian Army during the Biafran War.

Ngozi's Masculine Behavior. Ngozi's mother, Beatrice Uduji, said that she had had some masculine traits when younger. She had seemed boyish up to the age of 4 and had preferred the company of boys. Then her preference had shifted, and she began to prefer the company of girls. Beatrice Uduji had never noticed Ngozi trying to dress like a boy.

Ngozi's father, Rufus Uduji, said in 1981 that Ngozi had no boyish traits and that she dressed like a girl. However, in 1982 he recalled that she had earlier

tried to put on a boy's shorts, but, having only one hand, she fumbled and fell down. (He thought it worth mentioning that Ogbonna had been wearing shorts when he was killed by the bomb.) Rufus also remembered that Ngozi had formerly urinated in a standing position, but I did not learn for how long she had done this.

Comment. I think Rufus Uduji may have given different answers to my question in 1981 and 1982 because in 1981 he understood the question to refer only to Ngozi's behavior at that time. In 1982 I phrased it better.

Ngozi's Birth Defect

Figure 17-70 shows that the lower part of Ngozi's left forearm was completely missing. The stump of the forearm extended below the elbow for between 5 and 8 centimeters. There was a slight puckering of the skin tissue at the distal end of the stump. I thought also that some small areas of skin faintly suggested the rudiments of fingers, but the tissues on the surface were all soft and lacked the hardness of fully formed fingernails.

Ngozi had adapted well to the absence of one hand. She was apparently able to assist her mother fully in household work, and she carried a smaller child with great ease.

Uduji Ma told Nicholas Ibekwe that when Ngozi was born she had, in addition to the major birth defect of her left forearm, "wounds that looked like burns...all over her body." These healed up after a week. In 1981 Rufus Uduji said that he had not noticed other abnormalities on Ngozi additional to the major birth defect. When I asked him again in 1982 about other marks on Ngozi when she was born, he remembered that there had been some black spots on the skin of her chest and left arm. However, he said they were not "all over," as Uduji Ma had described them.

Comment. Unilateral congenital absence of the forearm (hemimelia) is a rare birth defect. Birch-Jensen (1949, p. 154) recorded its incidence in Denmark as 1 in 22,000 births.

Other Relevant Medical Information. No other member of the family had a similar birth defect. Ngozi's parents were not related in any way. This might be put more precisely by saying that they were not cousins and did not know of any more distant relationship that they might have had.

Ngozi's mother, Beatrice Uduji, drank alcohol (in palm wine) moderately, but was not a heavy consumer. She was not entirely well during her pregnancy with Ngozi, attended a clinic, and took some prescribed medicines. She was never ill enough to be in bed during the pregnancy. She also attended an antenatal clinic during it. I did not learn more details of the nature of the illness from which she suffered during the pregnancy. I think it could not have been more than a mild illness, because her husband, who had remembered it in 1981, told us in 1982 that Beatrice had been in good health during her pregnancy with Ngozi.

Other Relevant Information

As I mentioned, Beatrice Uduji said that she knew nothing about the manner of Ogbonna's death before Ngozi's birth. I did not learn whether she had heard about his death before Ngozi was born, but she had not seen Ogbonna's dead body or learned how he had died. The case appears, therefore, to be another one in which we can exclude the hypothesis of a maternal impression on the subject's body during pregnancy.

THE CASE OF AUGUSTINE NWACHI

Introduction

In some of the preceding cases of this volume the subject has made only one or two statements indicating imaged memories of a previous life. (Henry Demmert III, Ngozi Uduji, and Wilfred Meares belong to this group.) The subject of the present case had, up to the age of 6½, made no statements at all about a previous life. (Table 14-2 gives a list of subjects who made one, two, or no statements about the previous life that informants attributed to them.) He was born with a severe birth defect of the left foot, and this alone (almost) led his parents to think that he was the reincarnation of his paternal grandfather, who had died from the general effects of an acute inflammation of the left foot.

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Augustine Nwachi was born in December 1977, in Ndeaboh, Anambra State, Nigeria. His parents were Godfrey Nwachi and his wife, Rebecca. They were married in August 1968, and they lived in the village of Amauroro, which is about 1 kilometer from Ndeaboh. They were Igbos. At the time I met the family in June 1984, Augustine was the oldest child in a family of five children. Godfrey Nwachi was a peasant cultivator and a palm-wine tapper.

Augustine was born with a severe birth defect of his left foot (Figures 17-71 and 17-72). On the basis of this defect, some dreams that I shall describe, and confirmation from an oracle,[62] he was identified as the reincarnation of his paternal grandfather, Dominic, who had died from the general effects of an acute inflammation, probably with gangrene, of the left foot.

In June 1984, I learned of this case fortuitously when Godfrey Nwachi, noticing our arrival in his village to study another case, joined the group around us. (Dr. Nicholas McClean-Rice was with me.) Godfrey volunteered to present the case of his son. As he began talking, he said that Augustine had a birth defect of

[62]I have given information about the use of oracles among the Igbo in connection with reincarnation in the report of the case of Ngozi Uduji.

Figure 17-71 Feet of Augustine Nwachi as they appeared in June 1984, when he was 6½ years old.

Figure 17-72 Feet of Augustine Nwachi with medial view of left foot showing his ability to extend the toe nubbins.

his *right* foot, but corrected this when Augustine (who had been sent for in the meantime) arrived and showed his right foot to be normal, but the *left* one seriously defective. We then interviewed Godfrey concerning everything he could tell us about the case.

Augustine's mother, Rebecca Nwachi, was not present on the day when we met Augustine and his father. Accordingly, I asked Nicholas Ibekwe (who had been our interpreter for the first meeting with Augustine and his father) to return to Amauroro and interview Rebecca Nwachi, which he did on November 3, 1984. On June 2, 1985, he went to the village again and obtained some additional information from Godfrey Nwachi.

Up to the age of 6½, when Dr. McClean-Rice and I met Augustine, he had never spoken about a previous life. We were told that Augustine resembled his grandfather in his behavior, but the only detail we learned about this resemblance was that both were unusually intelligent.

Augustine was also said to resemble his paternal grandfather in having, like him, a stocky physique.

The Life and Death of Dominic Nwachi

Dominic Nwachi was a peasant farmer of Amauroro village, who was born in about 1900. He married in 1928 and had two sons, Godfrey, who was born in January 1936, and Mba.

In 1956 he developed a lesion of his left foot. The area around the great toe and second toe and their bases swelled up and turned a dark brown. A discharge of pus occurred through a small opening at the base of the great toe. Later, the entire foot became somewhat swollen. At first Dominic had some fever, but when his condition deteriorated the fever ceased. He died after having been ill for only about a week.

Godfrey Nwachi's description of his father's illness (from which I obtained the information in the above paragraph) suggests the diagnosis of a severe infection of the foot, which became gangrenous before Dominic's defenses were overwhelmed by a generalized bacteremia from which he died. However, I did not learn about any cause of the infection and gangrene. That Dominic was ill for only a week before he died seems to rule out diabetes mellitus as a cause of the infected and gangrenous foot. Godfrey said that his father had not injured his foot, but perhaps a slight injury, not noticed at the time, had led to a fulminating infection.

Dominic died on April 7, 1956, at the age of about 56. He died in Amauroro, and his body was buried there.

Godfrey Nwachi's Dreams of His Father

Godfrey Nwachi told us that he dreamed of his father after his death. The dreams seemed more real than the dreams he usually had. Although in the dreams Dominic never said that he was going to reincarnate as Godfrey's son, Godfrey

thought that because his father was visiting him in his dreams he would also visit him in real life; in short, he interpreted the dreams to mean that Dominic would reincarnate as his son.

He continued to dream about Dominic after Augustine's birth and was still having dreams about Dominic in the summer of 1984.

Comment. The Igbo attach little or no importance to dreams as indicators of who is going to be reincarnated (Stevenson, 1985). In this respect their cases differ from many of those occurring in Burma, northwestern North America, and south central Turkey; in these, announcing dreams seem to suggest or sometimes to indicate explicitly that someone is going to reincarnate. However, although Godfrey's dreams of Dominic differed from standard announcing dreams, we may subsume them under that heading.

The standard announcing dreams of the regions I have mentioned almost always occur *before* the birth of the baby concerned. (I have reported a few exceptions to this rule in this work as well as in other publications.) The cessation of the dreams at the time of the baby's birth (or even at its conception) accords with the belief (found in the regions mentioned) that the previous personality ceases to exist as an independent entity at about this time and becomes merged with the developing personality of the baby. The Igbo, however, believe that a person can reincarnate in several different bodies successively (but living simultaneously) and can also persist simultaneously in the discarnate state (Stevenson, 1985). Thus there is for them nothing incompatible between Godfrey's belief that his father had reincarnated as his son Augustine and his belief that his father continued as a discarnate personality able to communicate with him in his dreams.

Augustine's Birth Defect

The distal third of Augustine's left foot was absent (Figures 17-71 and 17-72). (His right foot was normal.) Along the line where toes would ordinarily be, there were some nubbins. These arose from the superior portion of the distal end of the truncated foot. Augustine could extend the nubbins (Figure 17-72). They appeared to be insensitive to touch, although the remainder of the foot had normal touch sense.

Godfrey Nwachi said that Augustine's defective foot was not inflamed when he was born. He said that the toe nubbins seemed to him to have increased in size (relative to the rest of the foot) since Augustine's birth.

Other Relevant Medical Information. No other member of the Nwachi family and, for that matter, no other inhabitant of Amauroro village had a birth defect like Augustine's.

Godfrey and Rebecca Nwachi were not related.

Rebecca's pregnancy with Augustine was completely normal. She was healthy throughout and had no fever or other symptoms of illness. She took no alcohol during her pregnancy. Of medicines she took only the routine ones prescribed at the antenatal clinic that she attended in Ndeaboh. I did not learn what these medicines were.

Other Relevant Information

About 5 years before Augustine's birth, an oracle had identified his cousin Amobi as being Dominic reincarnated. Amobi, who appeared to be about 12 or 13 years old in June 1984, had no birth defect, and the oracle was consulted about a fever that he had as a baby. The oracle who said that Amobi was Dominic reborn was not the same as the one who later said Dominic had reincarnated as Augustine.

Comment. As I mentioned above, the Igbo believe that a discarnate person can reincarnate in two or more physical bodies. Therefore, they would not regard the oracles as having made incompatible statements about Dominic's reincarnation or, as they might say, his reincarnations.

THE CASE OF UWAMACHI OKOGBUE

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

This case came to my attention during my second field trip to Nigeria in March 1981. A schoolteacher of Awgu, who had learned of my investigations in that area, gave me some preliminary information about it. I am accustomed to finding some differences between the accounts of a case given to me by second-hand informants and the details of the case that I later learn at first hand. In the present instance, however, the only details of the case that I investigated that corresponded to those told me by the informant were the name of the village and (to some extent) the nature of the subject's birth defect. The informant did not remember the subject's name, and the mode of death he described for the previous personality differed in all respects from that of the previous personality of this case. Although the informant's information led me to *this* case, I am not sure that it is the case to which he intended to direct me; probably it is, because I was told that there was no other case of a birth defect in the village to which the informant directed us.

I traced the case in December 1982 at the village my informant had named. It is called Menugu and is located in the region of Umuahia in Imo State. Dr. Stuart Edelstein and Dr. Bernard Kalu accompanied me. As we arrived in Menugu, we had an example of the good fortune that has frequently occurred during these investigations. Mr. O. S. Kanu, a friend of Dr. Kalu and a native of Menugu, happened to be at the village, and he recognized us and offered assistance. He was able to introduce us to the people concerned in the case and to act as interpreter for Dr. Edelstein and me. From the description of the birth defect (although the informant at Awgu had got the details somewhat wrong) the villagers identified the subject we were looking for as Uwamachi Okogbue. He and his father, Nwaocha Okogbue, were then introduced to us, and they were our sole informants for the case. Other potential informants had all died.

Figure 17-73 Arms of Uwamachi Okogbue as they appeared in March 1982, when he was about 23 years old. The right hand grew directly from the shoulder (phocomelia). The right pectoral muscles were poorly developed, a condition almost certainly resulting from Uwamachi's inability to use the right hand in any heavy work as he could use his left hand and arm.

I obtained nearly all the information of this report during the interviews of 1982. However, in June 1984 I was able to meet Uwamachi and his father again. This time Dr. Nicholas McClean-Rice accompanied me.

Uwamachi Okogbue was born in Menugu in about 1959. His parents were Nwaocha Okogbue and his wife, Eleweonu. He was their first child and only son; two daughters were born after Uwamachi. Nwaocha Okogbue also had eleven other children by another wife. He worked as a mason. His wife, Eleweonu, died in 1972.

Uwamachi was born with a severe birth defect (phocomelia) of the right upper limb. His right arm, except for the hand, was completely absent, and the hand grew directly out of the shoulder (Figures 17-73 and 17-74). On the basis of Uwamachi's birth defect he was identified as the reincarnation of his paternal uncle, Nkume, and I shall explain why below. The family received no other indications of Uwamachi's identification with Nkume such as in dreams or the statements of an oracle; and Uwamachi himself never spoke about a previous life.

Figure 17-74 Close-up view of Uwamachi's right hand showing its origin at the shoulder.

When Uwamachi was born, some of the inhabitants of Menugu (including some members of the family), horrified at his appearance, wished to kill him; but his father prevented this.

Uwamachi attended school through all levels of the Primary School. Because of his birth defect, he was unable to work as an agricultural laborer as nearly all the men of his village did. He had difficulty finding employment, but was working as a petty trader during the years when I knew him. He and his father lived in extreme poverty.

The Life and Death of Nkume

The information I have about Nkume's death is all secondhand. Nkume was the older brother of Nwaocha Okogbue, who was, I could estimate, born in about 1915. Nkume died before Nwaocha Okogbue was born, perhaps in 1914. Nkume

and Nwaocha Okogbue were both sons of Nwaocha,[63] but of widely different ages, since Nkume was a young adult when he was killed. (Nwaocha Okogbue did not know more precisely how old Nkume was when he died.)

Nwaocha Okogbue told us that he did not know the details of Nkume's death until after Uwamachi's birth. At that time his father, Nwaocha, was dead, but an elderly relative of the family, Chijioke, gave the following account of Nkume's death. The details he gave provided the basis for identifying Uwamachi as the reincarnation of Nkume. (Chijioke had also died by 1982.)

Nkume was celebrated for his strength and bravery, which he perhaps tended to exploit. Nwaocha Okogbue said that Nkume had been "a famous fighter." Other villagers of his area feared him so much that they made him captive and sold him into slavery. (This was then illegal in Nigeria, but under the British system of indirect rule many chiefs were retained in power, and some quiet slave-trading could have continued; so this part of the history is not implausible.) Nkume escaped from his captors and returned to Menugu. His enemies, now doubly afraid of him, decided to kill him, and several of them attacked him when he was at another village near Menugu. Nkume fought back and had killed one of his attackers before another chopped off his right arm at the shoulder with a cutlass. This made him helpless, and he died from the hemorrhage of this wound or perhaps from other wounds inflicted as he lay on the ground. (Figure 17-75 shows a cutlass of the type probably used in the killing of Nkume, although it is a modern weapon that I purchased in Umuahia.)

Uwamachi's Birth Defect

Figures 17-73 and 17-74 give nearly all the information that I have about Uwamachi's birth defect of his right upper limb. The hand, attached directly to the shoulder, was itself defective and had only a thumb and three fingers. Uwamachi had normal sensation of touch in the malformed hand, and a slight power of squeezing with the fingers; but the hand was useless for ordinary functions.

The pectoral muscles of the right side of the chest were poorly developed because of the absence of the usual muscular activity of the arm.

Nwaocha Okogbue said that the malformed hand had not changed in any way (except for the increase in size with growth) since Uwamachi's birth. Uwamachi had no other known birth defect.

Some Europeans, who happened to be in Menugu and noticed Uwamachi, advised Nwaocha Okogbue to have his son's dangling right hand amputated, but he declined. This might have been helpful, because Uwamachi had discomfort in the right hand, if he happened to sleep on it.

Comment. Phocomelia, apart from the epidemic of birth defects associated with thalidomide during the late 1950s and early 1960s in which it figured

[63]This is an example of the Igbo custom of giving the father's name to the son as the son's first name.

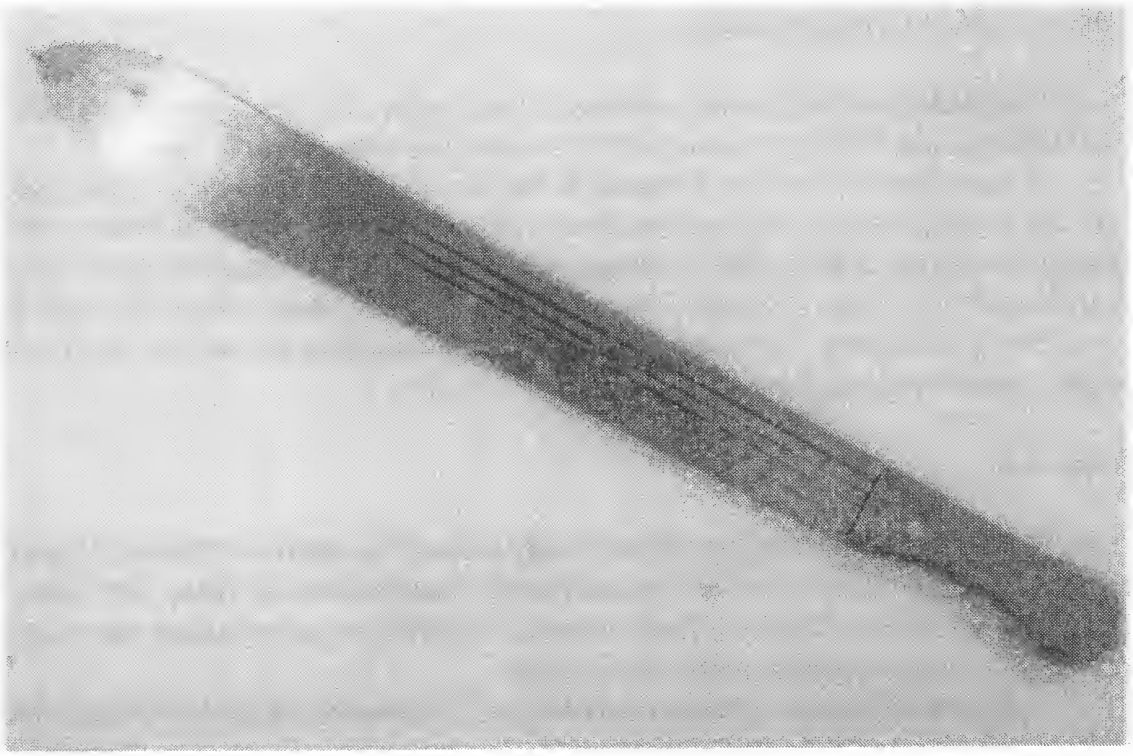

Figure 17-75 Cutlass of Igbo people. This one was purchased in Umuahia in 1984.

prominently, is an extremely rare birth defect. Birch-Jensen (1949, p. 95) found only five cases in his survey of the Danish population of 4,024,000.

Kelikian (1974) stated that "in many reported cases of phocomelia parts proximal and distal to the affected area show detectable deficiencies" (p. 894). Uwamachi's defect showed this feature; his right hand had only a thumb and three fingers.

Other Relevant Medical Information. Nwaocha Okogbue and Eleweonu were not related. The Igbo are extremely strict in forbidding known relatives to marry. This is so much the case that when I first asked questions on this point in 1982, O. S. Kanu would not translate the question for me, evidently regarding it as totally unnecessary and, in addition, tactless on my part. Nevertheless, in 1984 I managed to put the question again with a different interpreter, and Nwaocha Okogbue (who took no offense) assured me that he and Eleweonu were in no way related.

According to Nwaocha Okogbue, Eleweonu enjoyed good health during her pregnancy with Uwamachi, and her delivery was normal. She took some routine medicines prescribed at an antenatal clinic she attended. Ordinarily she never drank alcohol, but during the pregnancy Nwaocha Okogbue thought that a little brandy might be therapeutic for her. So he occasionally gave her a shot of brandy, but she did not consume other alcohol.

There were no other instances of birth defects in the family.

Other Relevant Information

Uwamachi had no phobias of knives or cutlasses. He was strong in his normal left arm, and when he was a child other children were afraid of him.

I mentioned earlier that Uwamachi had no imaged memories of a previous life. He never gave any explanation for his birth defect. He asked his father why he had been born with it, and his father then told him about Nkume's death as he had learned of it from Chijioke. Uwamachi never spoke about revenging himself on Nkume's murderers; however, they had perhaps all died by the time he could express such thoughts, if he had them.

Comment

Since Nwaocha Okogbue himself only learned the details of Nkume's death after Uwamachi's birth, I think we can safely assume that his wife, Eleweonu, knew nothing about Nkume's fatal wounds; therefore, we can exclude the interpretation of a maternal impression in the case.

The interval between Nkume's death and Uwamachi's birth is 45 years, the longest of any case included in this book or, for that matter, of any case from Asia or Africa in my collection. In Table 14-4 I give a list of other cases with a long interval between the previous personality's death and the subject's birth.

THE CASE OF YUSUF KÖSE

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Yusuf Köse was born in the village of Odabaşı, about 5 kilometers from the city of Antakya in the province of Hatay, Turkey. His parents were Şaban Köse and his wife, Hatice. They were Alevis. I do not know exactly when Yusuf was born, but the best estimate places his birth in 1897. I also do not know how many siblings he had, but he had at least three older brothers.

At his birth Yusuf was found to have a birthmark around the posterior portion of his neck and unusual defects of two of the fingers of his right hand (Figures 17-76, 17-77, and 17-78), which I shall describe later.

When Yusuf was about 3 years old, he began to narrate events of a previous life he claimed to have lived as a man called Halil Ridvan of the village of Deruziye, which is about 15 kilometers from Odabaşı. He described the house he had lived in there and mentioned his wife and a prominent walnut tree near the house. Most importantly, he narrated details of how he had died. In a quarrel with other men, one of them had drawn a large knife and had begun to cut his neck. He (Halil) had raised his right hand to push away the blade of the knife, and the knife had then cut the fingers of his right hand. The pain in his fingers caused Halil

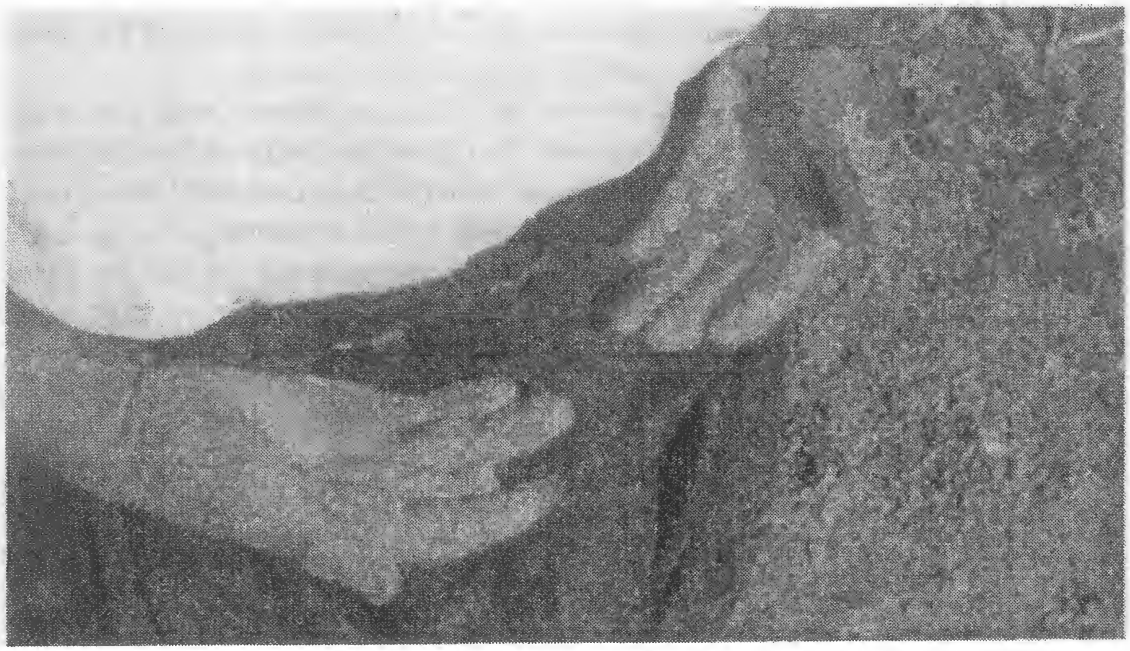

Figure 17-76 Hands of Yusuf Köse as they appeared in 1973, when he was about 76 years old. The middle finger of the right hand lacks the distal phalanx. The fourth finger had a deep annular groove, which was about 1.5 millimeters wide and 1.5 millimeters deep. The index finger showed a slight narrowing at the same level.

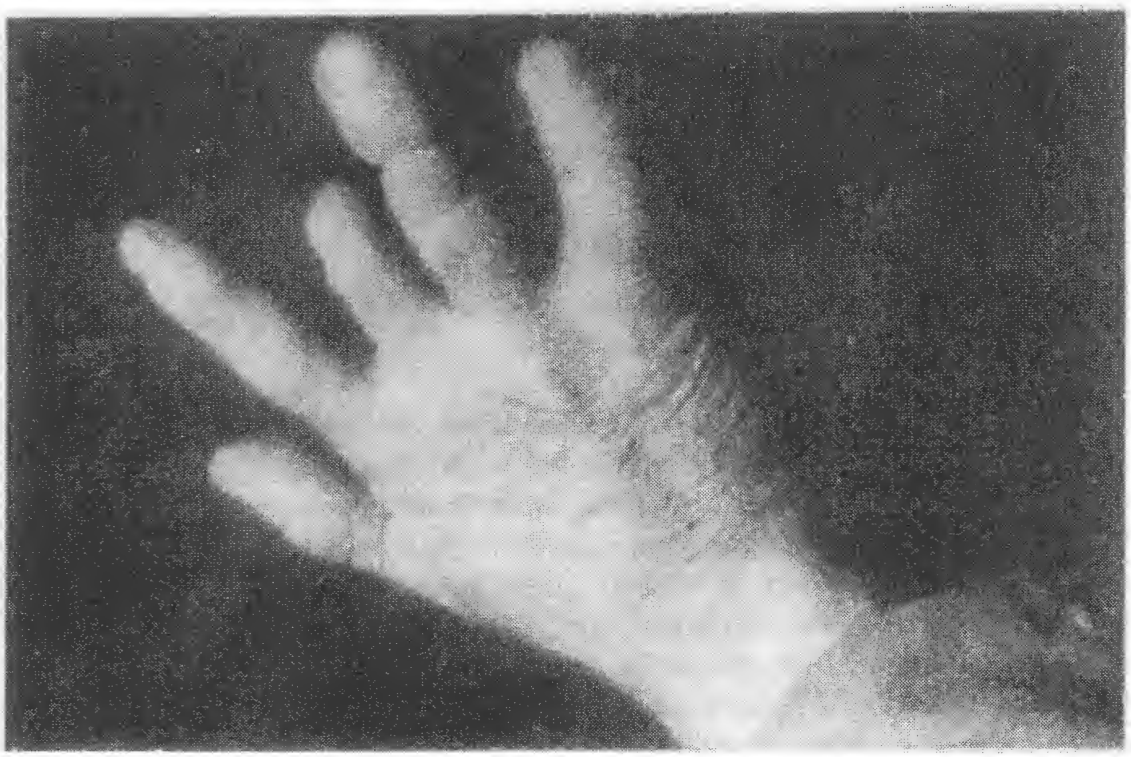

Figure 17-77 A different view of Yusuf Köse's right hand. This photograph, taken in 1970, shows clearly the groove on the fourth finger at about the junction of the middle and distal phalanges. A much slighter depression, not really a groove, can be seen at the same level on the index finger.

Ridvan to cease resistance, whereupon the assassin finished cutting off his head. The murder occurred near a place called Bakras north of Odabaşı.

When Yusuf Köse was about 6 years old, his older brothers took him to the village of Deruziye, where he recognized the house and wife of Halil Ridvan. When he was about 8, he recognized the man who had murdered Halil Ridvan.

Reşat Bayer learned about this case during a visit of investigation he made to Antakya in 1966. At that time he recorded statements about the case by Yusuf and by his older brother Süleyman Köse. In 1967 I visited Antakya with Reşat Bayer, and we investigated the case again, adding the testimony of three new witnesses. One of these was another of Yusuf's older brothers, İbrahim Köse.

In 1970 we returned to Odabaşı for further interviews with Yusuf Köse and his older brother Süleyman. We interviewed one new witness in Odabaşı. We also went that year to Deruziye, where Halil Ridvan had lived, and there found and interviewed a nephew of Halil Ridvan, İsmail Sürmeli. He was then about 75 years old and the oldest inhabitant of his village.

I subsequently met Yusuf Köse at Odabaşı in 1973 and 1975, but have not met him since the latter year. Reşat Bayer saw him last in 1976.

Persons Interviewed during the Investigation

In the village of Odabaşı I interviewed:

Yusuf Köse
Süleyman Köse, older brother of Yusuf Köse
İbrahim Köse, older brother of Yusuf Köse
Süleyman Yılmaz, villager
Yusuf Yılmaz, villager
Bedi Köse, villager

In the village of Deruziye I interviewed:

İsmail Sürmeli, Halil Ridvan's nephew

Of the foregoing informants, Yusuf Köse was understandably the most important. Although he was probably 69 or 70 years old when we first met him, he claimed that he had retained most of his memories of the previous life, although acknowledging some loss of clarity in them. The next most important witness, by far, was Yusuf's older brother Süleyman. He claimed to be about 15 years older than Yusuf, and yet he seemed physically as well preserved as his younger brother and to have just as good a memory or perhaps a better one. Another of Yusuf's older brothers had died by the time I investigated the case; and a third, İbrahim, was only a year or two older than Yusuf and therefore not well informed (from firsthand experience) of what Yusuf had said about the previous life when he was still a young child. Other potential informants, such as Yusuf's parents, had also died by the time we investigated the case.

İsmail Sürmeli, who was 75 years old when we interviewed him, confirmed the main facts of his uncle's murder. He also verified that Yusuf had come to Deruziye and made various recognitions of persons and places there; but he was disappointingly uncertain about what he himself had actually witnessed of these events.

In addition to my notes made during interviews, I have used extracts from the tape recordings made by Reşat Bayer in 1966.

Relevant Facts of Geography and Possibilities for Normal Means of Communication between the Two Families

The villages of Odabaşı, where Yusuf was born, and Deruziye, where Halil Ridvan lived, are about 13 kilometers apart. Bakras, where the murder of Halil Ridvan occurred, is about 22 kilometers north of Odabaşı on the road between Antakya and İskenderun. Halil Ridvan's body was brought into Odabaşı, where it was noticed by Şaban Köse and members of his family. They gave it a decent burial, but they did not know the name of the murdered man until Yusuf began, much later, to speak about the life of this man.

Deruziye, where Yusuf said he had lived in the previous life, lies on the south side of Antakya, away from Odabaşı. It is about 8 kilometers south of Antakya and thus approximately 13 kilometers from Odabaşı and some 35 kilometers from Bakras, where Halil Ridvan was murdered.

The two families concerned in the case were unacquainted prior to its development. I think if they had been acquainted, Şaban Köse might have notified Halil Ridvan's family in Deruziye when Halil's body arrived in Odabaşı. No one at Odabaşı, however, knew the identity of the body they had buried until Yusuf began to speak about the previous life he remembered.

The Life and Death of Halil Ridvan

The events Yusuf described occurred many years before Reşat Bayer and I studied his case, and we found no firsthand informant able to verify the details of Halil Ridvan's murder. However, İsmail Sürmeli told us that Yusuf's account of the quarrel leading up to his uncle's murder accorded with what his own father had told him, presumably from pieces of information he had put together afterward. From the perspective of Halil Ridvan's family, he had simply disappeared without trace, and they knew nothing of his fate until Yusuf came to Deruziye with his claim to be Halil reborn. Halil Ridvan's murderer was never arrested, and, as we shall see, Yusuf later recognized him.

On the other hand, Yusuf's family did not know the identity of the man whose dead body and head came to their village. They thought it shameful to have these parts passed along from one village to another, and so they gave them a decent burial. Süleyman Köse was 15 years old at the time, and he remembered that when they buried the body they had made some effort to place the head tidily in apposition to the neck. He had not noticed what wounds were on the dead man's hands.

Statements and Recognitions Made by Yusuf

Yusuf's Statements as a Child. According to Süleyman Köse, Yusuf had told his family (when he was a child) that in the previous life he had been called Halil Ridvan. He said: "My name is Halil, not Yusuf," but (unlike some other subjects) he does not seem to have insisted on being called Halil instead of Yusuf. He said that he was from the village of Deruziye and that he had there a wife called Nefrul. He spoke often about a prominent walnut tree at his village. He said that he had been murdered along the road between İskenderun and Antakya at Bakras and remembered that there were three trees at the place of the murder.

Yusuf's Account during the Years 1966 to 1970 of Halil Ridvan's Death. Yusuf Köse said that he, as Halil Ridvan in the previous life, was a young man when he died. He was a farmer in his early 20s with a wife, but no children. He lived in the village of Deruziye. His older brother was in military service at İskenderun, the large seaport about 50 kilometers from Antakya. He traveled on foot to İskenderun to bring some money to his brother. Returning to his village, he had to spend the night in Bakras. There he encountered some men from his village who were enemies of his family. Halil Ridvan got up early the next morning and went on his way toward Antakya. About a kilometer from Bakras, however, these inimical men overtook him and robbed him of what little money he had left after having given money to his brother. In the scuffle accompanying this robbery, one of the thieves drew out a large knife or dagger and was going to cut off Halil Ridvan's head. Halil Ridvan put his right hand up in an effort to deflect the blade of the knife away from the back of his neck. But the pain in his fingers became so intense that he dropped his hand down, and the murderer finished cutting off Halil Ridvan's head, incising it from back to front.

Yusuf Köse recalled that after Halil Ridvan's death the villagers of Bakras wished to get rid of his body. (Although these were lawless times in the Ottoman Empire of the 1890s, a dead body with head detached could still stimulate tiresome inquiries.) Accordingly, they carried the body to the next village south. The villagers there did not wish the body either, and so they moved it on still farther south. In this way it eventually reached Odabaşı (about 22 kilometers from the site of the murder).

Yusuf's Recognitions Made at Deruziye. Süleyman Köse was our main informant for the report of what happened when Yusuf first went to Deruziye. He, however, was a secondhand informant for the event. (Another older brother, one of two brothers who had taken Yusuf to Deruziye, had died without our having interviewed him; and İsmail Sürmeli's memories of the occasion seemed muddled.) Süleyman told us that Yusuf had wished to go to Deruziye when he first began to talk of the previous life. This was around 1900, when Yusuf was about 3 years old. There was much lawlessness in Turkey in those years, travel was hazardous, and the family did not wish to take Yusuf to Deruziye. Finally, when he was between 6 and 7 years old, two of his older brothers took him there. As they

approached the village, Yusuf saw and recognized the walnut tree that he had often spoken of in his family. The walnut tree was in front of a house, and so its recognition naturally led to the identification of Halil Ridvan's house. Süleyman Köse said that the party went into the house, where Yusuf recognized the wife of Halil Ridvan; but he did not give us any details of how this recognition occurred. Yusuf fainted with the emotion of this meeting. Halil Ridvan's widow fully accepted that Yusuf was her husband reborn, and she gave him gifts of clothing and other objects. Afterward, the two families exchanged visits repeatedly. Halil Ridvan's widow never remarried, and she died early in 1966, just 4 months before Reşat Bayer's first interviews for the case.

Yusuf's Recognition of Halil Ridvan's Murderer. As I mentioned earlier, Halil Ridvan's murderer was not arrested. One day, some members of Yusuf's family were invited to a wedding in Odabaşı, and Yusuf, then a boy of 7 or 8, went with them. He was playing at the edge of the festivities when suddenly he saw the murderer of Halil Ridvan and shouted out: "That man killed me." He wanted to attack the man and was restrained with difficulty. Yusuf ran toward his house to get a rifle with which to shoot the murderer, and one of his playmates joined him in attacking the murderer. The surrounding adults prevented them from killing the murderer, who fled from the area. Four of our informants testified to this incident. They included Yusuf's older brother Süleyman Köse (who at the time was about 23 years old), Yusuf Yılmaz (who was about the same age as Yusuf Köse), another older brother of Yusuf Köse, İbrahim Köse, and another neighbor, Süleyman Yılmaz (who was somewhat older than Yusuf Köse and Yusuf Yılmaz).

This recognition seems to have been completely spontaneous and quite unexpected by all the witnesses as also, surely, by the murderer himself. He would not have ventured into this village to attend the wedding if he had expected the scene our informants described.

Yusuf's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

When we first asked Yusuf whether he had had a phobia of knives or swords, he said he had not. But his older brother Süleyman told us that Yusuf had indeed shown such a phobia until he was about 16 years old. Later, Yusuf, who had evidently searched his memories on the matter, said that he remembered having had such a phobia.

The Interval between Halil Ridvan's Death and Yusuf's Birth

In 1966 Yusuf Köse said that he was reborn 7 days after the murder of Halil Ridvan. In 1967 his older brother Süleyman, who was about 15 when Yusuf was born, said that the interval was even shorter and that he remembered that Yusuf was born on the day the body of Halil Ridvan was buried at Odabaşı. He recalled that his mother was already in labor at the end of her pregnancy when Halil Ridvan was buried.

The brothers' statements are not incompatible, because it may have taken a week for Halil Ridvan's body to be shifted from Bakras, where he was murdered, to Odabaşı, where Yusuf was born.

Yusuf's Birth Defects

When Yusuf was born, his family (according to the testimony of Süleyman Köse) noticed a birthmark running around his neck. When we asked to see this birthmark, we were directed to examine the back of Yusuf's neck. Yusuf himself said that the birthmark had only been at the back of the neck, not all the way around it. It was not difficult to discern a prominent horizontal line at the back of Yusuf's neck. What was difficult, however, was deciding whether this mark was either the original birthmark or a residue of it, because Yusuf's neck had many deep wrinkles, and what we thought might have been the birthmark could have been only one of these wrinkles.[64]

The fourth finger of Yusuf's right hand had a deep groove in the skin at about the junction of the middle and distal phalanges, as shown in Figures 17-76 and 17-77. The groove was about 1.5 millimeters wide and 1.5 millimeters deep. It ran around the entire finger.

The third finger of the same hand had at birth a distal phalanx that was, however, attached to the proximal portion of the finger only by "skin and a vein." There was apparently no effective joint and no muscular connection between the dangling distal phalanx and the rest of the finger. Yusuf's parents instructed his older brother Süleyman to amputate the loose part of the finger. He therefore cut the loose skin and the vein attaching the distal phalanx to the rest of the finger with a pair of scissors. This little operation was performed when Yusuf was an infant of a few days old at most.[65] Subsequently, a nail grew at the tip of the remaining portion of the finger.[66] The best photograph I have to show this small fingernail is the otherwise unsatisfactory one shown in Figure 17-78.

The index finger of the right hand had a slight narrowing at the level of the second phalanx, which was also the level of the amputation of the middle finger and of the much deeper groove of the fourth finger. This slight narrowing can be seen best in Figure 17-77 and to a slight extent in Figure 17-76.

Figure 17-76 shows that Yusuf's left hand was entirely normal.

In 1966 Süleyman Köse told Reşat Bayer that, when Yusuf was born, his birthmarks, both at the neck and the fingers of the right hand, were discharging blood. In 1967, however, he withdrew his statement that the fingers were bleeding

[64]Other subjects who had birthmarks on the neck related to decapitation of a deceased person include Ravi Shankar Gupta, Ma Thoung, Ma Myint Thein, and the Ven. U Sandimar.

[65]Similar amputations were performed on Ma Win Tar, U Aung Gyi, and Maung Hla Hsaung soon after their births.

[66]That nails may grow on the ends of parts of fingers that have been amputated has been known at least since Darwin's observations (Darwin, 1859/1928, p. 432). Douglas (1972) and Illingworth (1974) have written reviews of this subject.

Figure 17-78 Yusuf Köse holding his right hand up to show the small fingernail that had grown on the tip of the amputated middle finger. The photograph was taken in 1967.

and said that they had only been red. He still remembered, however, that the birthmark on Yusuf's neck had bled for about a month after his birth.

Yusuf stated that he had never suffered from pain in his fingers or neck.

Comment on the "Geographical Factor" in the Case

The occurrence of the subject's birth at the place of death (or burial) of the previous personality illustrates one type of "geographical factor" that occurs in a number of these cases. Other examples of this group occurred in the cases of Maung Win Aye, Maung Aye Kyaw, and U Aung Gyi (although his case is incompletely verified). Additional examples, although unverified, occurred in the numerous cases of Burmese subjects who have remembered previous lives as Japanese soldiers or as British or American airmen.

THE CASE OF AHMET BALCI

Ahmet Balcı was born in about 1900 in Gümüşgöze, near Antakya, in the province of Hatay, Turkey. His parents were called İbrahim and Hüsna. They were Alevis. Ahmet Balcı himself worked as a farmer.

Ahmet Balcı was born with severe defects of his fingers and toes (Figures 17-79 and 17-80), and he attributed these to wounds he had received in a previous life when a bomb that he was holding exploded.

Dr. Can Polat obtained the little information available on this case in November 1983. At that time Ahmet Balcı was in his 80s and could remember little about the previous life that he said he had earlier recalled more fully. I never met Ahmet Balcı myself. He died in November 1983, soon after Dr. Polat had met him.

Statements of Ahmet Balcı

Ahmet Balcı said that in his previous life he had also lived in Gümüşgöze and that he had been called İbrahim. He recalled that he had been in the Turkish Army and stationed in the Dardanelles. While he was there, a bomb had exploded in his hands and killed him.

Dr. Polat talked with Ahmet Balcı's son, Ali Balcı, and with a close companion, Reşit Büyükaşık, but they were not able to add any information, either about what Ahmet Balcı had said about the previous life when he had been younger or in verification of what he had said. All other potential witnesses for the case had died many years before Dr. Polat learned of it.

Comment. Turkey and Greece fought a short war in 1897 (Clogg, 1979/1986). Most of the fighting occurred in Thessaly, and I have not learned that any occurred in the Dardanelles; but as this area has for centuries been considered essential to the defense of Istanbul (then Constantinople), it is probable that Turkish troops were stationed there during this war (as well as at other times).

Relevant Observations of Ahmet Balcı's Behavior

Ahmet Balcı had no fear of firearms or of fighting. On the contrary, he had an inclination toward aggression. During the French occupation of Hatay (1919-1938), he formed a bandit gang with Reşit Büyükaşık and Süleyman Küçük. In 1983 he told Dr. Polat that even though he was 83 years old, he was at all times ready for any kind of fighting.

Ahmet Balcı's Birth Defects

Figure 17-79 shows that three fingers of Ahmet Balcı's right hand and one finger of his left hand were markedly shortened. The fourth finger of the right hand had a constriction ring. At least three of the four defective fingers had no nails; the end of the fourth finger of the right hand cannot be seen.

Figure 17-80 shows that all the toes of Ahmet Balcı's right foot were markedly shortened and represented by mere stumps without nails. The last two toes of his left foot may have been syndactylous. (We had hoped to take better photographs of the feet, but Ahmet Balcı died before we could arrange this.)

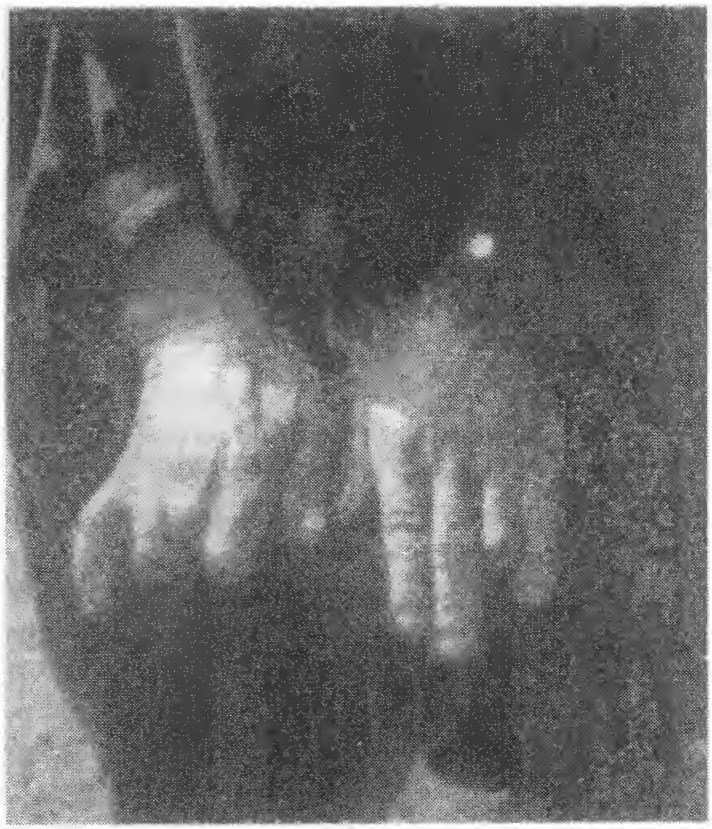

Figure 17-79 Dorsal view of the hands of Ahmet Balcı as they appeared in November 1983, when he was about 83 years old. Three fingers of the right hand and the fourth finger of the left hand were markedly shortened. The fourth finger of the right hand had a constriction ring. None of the defective fingers whose ends can be seen had a nail.

Figure 17-80 Feet of Ahmet Balcı as they appeared in November 1983. The toes of the right foot were markedly shortened and had no nails. The fourth and fifth toes of the left foot appear to have been syndactylous.

THE CASE OF HÜSEYIN YILMAZ

Introduction

In a previous work reporting six Turkish cases suggestive of reincarnation (Stevenson, 1980), I mentioned that nearly all the cases of this type occurring in Turkey are found among the Arabic-speaking inhabitants of south central Turkey, especially in the provinces of Adana and Hatay. The subjects of these cases are Alevis descended from Arabs who migrated into what is now Turkey early in the 19th century or later (see Appendix A). By 1967 Reşat Bayer and I had been studying the cases of these people for several years. It occurred to us that the cases that interested us might also be found among the Turks inhabiting the same region. This question could only be answered by inquiring about cases in villages of Turks, that is, citizens of Turkey for whom Turkish was their mother tongue. Accordingly, one day we asked our taxi driver to drive us to a village inhabited exclusively by Turkish-speaking Turks. He took us then to Ifelik, a village of less than 800 inhabitants in the region of Mersin, southwest of Adana.

When we arrived at the village, we entered its café, and two cups of coffee were courteously placed in front of us. By drinking these slowly we gained a little time in which to consider how we were going to explain why we had come to this village. Meanwhile the café became so crowded with curious villagers—all men; the women were working in the fields—that I did not think another person could enter without the walls bursting outwards. Eventually, Reşat Bayer came to the point and said that we would like to study cases of persons in the village who claimed to remember previous lives. The congested throng of villagers murmured among themselves, but one spoke loudly enough to be heard above the others and said: "We have no liars in this village." This seemed like an unpromising opening, but we continued sipping our coffee as imperturbably as we could appear. Presently there was a stirring at the back of the room, and, although I would not have thought it possible, a way was made through the crowd for Hüseyin Yılmaz to come to the table where we sat. A little later his father, Hasan, came to the café and was similarly squeezed through the press of people until he also joined us.

Hüseyin Yılmaz had never had any memories of a previous life. He was nevertheless identified by his father as the reincarnation of *his* father. This identification depended on a prediction Hüseyin's grandfather had made, on a dream experienced by that man's mother, and by the severe birth defects of the left arm and leg with which Hüseyin was afflicted (Figure 17-81).

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Hüseyin Yılmaz was born in Ifelik in 1919. He was the first son of his parents, Hasan Yılmaz and his wife, Elife. They were Turks. They had seven other sons and four daughters. Hasan Yılmaz's father had predicted that he would be reborn as Hasan's son. (I shall describe his prediction later.) He had enlisted in the

Figure 17-81 Hüseyin Yılmaz as he appeared in March 1970 at the age of about 51. His left forearm ended in a stump about 10 or 12 centimeters below the elbow. His left leg was about 15 centimeters shorter than his right leg. His foot was rotated laterally and somewhat inferiorly.

Turkish Army during World War I and had died of wounds received during it. A few years later Hüseyin Yılmaz was born with the mentioned birth defects, and Hasan immediately identified Hüseyin as his father reincarnated. Hasan confidently gave his firstborn son his father's name.

By the time Reşat Bayer and I reached this case in 1967, Hüseyin Yılmaz was a middle-aged man of about 48. His mother had died, as had all other firsthand informants for the case, except his father.

As mentioned, Reşat Bayer and I first met Hüseyin Yılmaz and his father in November 1967. We returned to Ifelik in March 1970 and again in March 1971. These visits were mainly to check on some of the details of the case and to take better photographs than those we already had. In May 1976 Reşat Bayer went by himself to Ifelik and obtained still more photographs, which I believe are the best we have.

During the course of our repeated visits to Ifelik, we talked with some of the other villagers. Two of them had been about the same age as the first Hüseyin Yılmaz and, like him, had fought in the Turkish Army in World War I. But they were unable to say how he had been wounded. No villager of Ifelik had been with the first Hüseyin Yılmaz when he was wounded and died; so we had no firsthand (or even secondhand) information about the location of his wounds. We also inter-

viewed briefly the headman of Ifelik, Muhittin Bal. He furnished some information about Hüseyin Yılmaz's adaptation to his birth defects.

The principal gain from talking with the other villagers and from their often listening to the statements made by Hüseyin Yılmaz and his father was this: We learned that, notwithstanding the somewhat rude intervention of the man who intimated that anyone who claimed to remember a previous life was a liar, no one in the village thought that Hüseyin and his father were liars.

The Life and Death of the First Hüseyin Yılmaz

The first Hüseyin Yılmaz was born in Ifelik around 1880. We were offered 1886 as the year of his birth, but I am reasonably confident that he must have been born earlier. Certainly he must have been born earlier, if his son Hasan was born in 1899, as he said he was. His parents were Ali and Döndü Yılmaz.

Hüseyin Yılmaz worked as a peasant farmer. He married and had two sons and two daughters.

Hasan Yılmaz spoke with warm affection of his father's gentle character. Of his father he said: "He would never harm anyone." He was rather fond of an aphorism: "A heart is like a bottle; if you break it, you cannot repair it."

The First Hüseyin Yılmaz's Prediction about His Rebirth. Hasan Yılmaz must still have been a youth when his father told him that if he was reborn he would come back as his son. He made the prediction before the outbreak of World War I in 1914, so Hasan could not have been more than about 15 at the time. Hasan recalled his father making the prediction one day when they were working together in the fields. Hasan also remembered his father emphasizing that he was not going to be reborn to just anyone in the family. He said: "Make no mistake about the matter. I have two sons and two daughters, and I am coming back to you. Do not doubt this."

The Death of the First Hüseyin Yılmaz. Not long after he had made his prediction, World War I broke out, and Hasan's father enlisted in the Turkish Army. Hasan himself was too young to enlist and remained in Ifelik. His father never returned from the war. Ultimately, Hasan received a letter from a department of the Turkish government (probably a branch of the Ministry of War) informing him that his father had died of wounds at Diyarbekir. (This place figured prominently in the Russian campaign in Turkey during 1916; Mustafa Kemal, later Kemal Atatürk, held a command there.) Hasan had lost this letter long before Reşat Bayer and I came to Ifelik, and he could no longer remember whether the letter had specified where his father's wounds had been. He did clearly remember, however, that he was informed that his father had been killed in action (or died of wounds) and had not died—as so many Turkish soldiers did—of dysentery or some other illness.

I should have liked to try to obtain a copy of the official records concerning Hasan Yılmaz's death, but was informed, I am sure correctly, that the records of the War Department of the Ottoman Empire would have long since been destroyed or dispersed, and that it was futile to spend time trying to search for such records.

An informant in Ifelik, Hakki Göçer, with whom we talked about the case just before we met Hasan Yılmaz, tried to improve it by saying that Hasan's father had written to him (Hasan) from the hospital where he had been taken after being wounded and had described—in his letter—the location of his wounds saying that he had lost an arm and a leg in the fighting. But Hasan Yılmaz sternly rejected this embellishment and insisted that he had never received a letter from his father after he had been wounded.

A Hoca's Vision of the First Hüseyin Yılmaz

Hocas, as I explained earlier, are holy men in Turkey who are often credited with paranormal powers. Toward the end of World War I, when Hasan had had no news of his father, he learned of a hoca who was visiting a nearby village and decided to consult him in the hope of obtaining (paranormally) news about his father.

Hasan Yılmaz narrated two demonstrations of this hoca's paranormal powers to Reşat Bayer and me; in his opinion these demonstrations justified his confidence in what the hoca said about his father. In the first example a client sat in front of the hoca and, giving the hoca a man's name, asked if this man would return from the war. The hoca replied that the man had never gone away to the war and was in fact sitting in front of him. This was true, because the man asking the question had never gone to the war and, to test the hoca, had given his own name.

In the second example, the hoca had predicted that a certain villager would return wounded from the war after 27 days. The hoca specified the exact location of this man's wounds. The man in question did return to the village 27 days later, and he had received wounds at the places the hoca had mentioned.

When Hasan's turn with the hoca came, the hoca told him that his father was in a hospital and that he had been wounded by shrapnel in his left foot and arm. Then the hoca added: "Let us hope that he will return." His manner of saying this made Hasan think that the hoca knew that his father was going to die, but did not wish to tell this bluntly to Hasan.

Two Announcing Dreams

Hasan's paternal grandmother, Döndü Yılmaz (the first Hüseyin's mother), dreamed that her son (the first Hüseyin) had died during the war and would be reborn as the son of his son, Hasan. Döndü Yılmaz had this dream some time in 1918. Hasan Can, a villager of Ifelik, corroborated the occurrence of this dream to us. He said that he had heard about it when he returned from his own service in the war in 1918. (This presumably was toward the end of the year, after Turkey had surrendered to the Allies in October 1918.) Hasan Yılmaz told Reşat Bayer and me that his grandmother's dream had occurred before he had consulted the hoca about his father's fate. This also would place it in about 1918. At that time

Hasan had not yet married. He did marry soon afterward, and the second Hüseyin was his first son and also, I think, his first child.

Döndü Yılmaz's dream did not include any information about the location of wounds on the first Hüseyin. Neither did another dream, that of another Ifelik villager, Ali Ağa, which he had before the birth of the second Hüseyin. The only information this dream seemed to communicate was that the first Hüseyin would be reborn as Hasan's son.

Absence of Statements Referring to a Previous Life by the Second Hüseyin

If Hüseyin Yılmaz ever had any imaged memories of the previous life of his grandfather (or anyone else), he never expressed them in words. His father said that he had never spoken about a previous life. He added, however, that they had never asked him about one, a circumstance which leaves open the possibility that if they *had* asked him about a previous life, he might have said something concerning one.

Hüseyin did suffer from nightmares as a child, but they did not seem to have any connection with war. He said that ever since his childhood he had frequently dreamed—with a nightmarish quality—of falling off a horse and also of some desperate struggle while he was swimming.

Reported Resemblances between the Two Hüseyins

Hasan Yılmaz thought that his son Hüseyin resembled his father both in physique and in personality more than his other sons did. Asked to specify the points of resemblance, he mentioned the gentleness toward other people that both of them showed and a manner of speaking that he did not particularize further. Both the Hüseyins had liked hunting, but the second one rather more than the first. Hasan Yılmaz said unreservedly that he loved all his children, but loved Hüseyin the most because of his resemblance to his father.

Other Relevant Observations

Hüseyin Yılmaz had no phobias, and indeed his father thought that he was quite fearless. Hüseyin told us that if his country were to be attacked, he would be ready to fight for its defense in a war.

Hüseyin Yılmaz's Birth Defects

Figures 17-81, 17-82, 17-83, and 17-84 show several views at different distances of Hüseyin Yılmaz's birth defects.

Hüseyin's left arm stopped about 10 or 12 centimeters below his elbow and ended in a somewhat bulbous soft knob that suggested the rudiment of the palm of a hand and an early attempt at a division into fingers; but there was no trace of fingernails (Figure 17-82).

Figure 17-82 Close-up view of Hüseyin Yılmaz's left arm as it appeared in May 1976, when he was about 57 years old. Some depressions in the stump suggested the beginning of finger formation, but there was no real individuation.

Figure 17-83 Feet of Hüseyin Yılmaz as they appeared in March 1970. The left foot was rotated laterally and somewhat inferiorly. The right foot was normal.

Figure 17-84 Close-up view of Hüseyin Yılmaz's left foot as it appeared in May 1976. There were only three toes, which were crowded together.

Hüseyin's left leg was markedly shorter (by about 15 centimeters) below the knee than his right leg. The foot was rotated somewhat laterally and inferiorly (Figures 17-81, 17-83, and 17-84). It had only three toes, instead of five, and these were crowded together (Figure 17-84). If Hüseyin was required to stand for long, he needed a box or similar object that was about 15 or 20 centimeters high. Resting his left foot on that, he could straighten his right foot and stand erect. Even so, he was shorter in stature than his father and than some (but not all) of the villagers of Ifelik. His head and chest seemed disproportionately large compared with his height.

Hüseyin Yılmaz could walk easily enough. In doing this he bent his right knee much more than does the average person so that his left foot touched the ground. He could then walk easily, although with a somewhat waddling gait.

Hasan Yılmaz said that when Hüseyin was born, blood discharged from his left foot and continued to do so for about a week. He also seemed somewhat feeble at birth.

Comment. As I mentioned in the report of Ngozi Uduji's case, hemimelia (the defect of Hüseyin Yılmaz's arm) is a rare malformation. Birch-Jensen (1949, p. 154) found its incidence in Denmark to be 1 in 22,000 births.

Other Relevant Medical Information. Hasan Yılmaz said there were no other cases of birth defects in his family. His wife's pregnancy with Hüseyin had been normal. She had had no illness and had taken no medicines during it.

Hüseyin Yılmaz's Later Development

When he grew up, Hüseyin Yılmaz became a blacksmith and was regarded as highly skilled at this occupation. He had considerable use of his left arm despite the absence of a hand with fingers. He could easily ride a donkey. And he could hold with his left arm a bag into which he wished to put something with his right hand. He could hunt with a gun and had become, in fact, a celebrated hunter.

He had never married. Some otherwise eligible women, we were told, did not wish to marry a man with the defects he had; and he for his part did not wish to marry just for the sake of being married.

THE CASE OF BRUCE PECK

Bruce Peck, a Haida, was born at Massett, Queen Charlotte Islands, British Columbia, Canada, on November 20, 1949. His parents were Kenneth Peck, a fisherman, and his wife, Rose. Bruce was their second son and sixth child.

Bruce was born without the lower two-thirds of his right forearm and right hand (Figure 17-85). Otherwise he had no other congenital defects. Neither his mother nor anyone else had any dream before his birth. He himself never had any memories of a previous life. He was, however, identified by members of his family as the reincarnation of his paternal grandfather, Richard Peck, because the latter had expressed a wish to be reborn without a hand, as I shall describe later.[67]

I first met Bruce in 1973, when I visited an office in British Columbia where he was working. I immediately noticed the defect in his arm and began to appraise it silently while trying not to show obvious curiosity as I looked at it. The stump had no obvious scars, such as one might expect after a postnatal amputa-

[67]Probably in most Haida cases a dream would give further information bearing on the previous incarnation of the newborn baby. It should be remembered, however, that the Haida people expect reincarnation to occur soon after death and within the same immediate (or extended) family. They often think that a baby born shortly after the death of another member of the family is that person reincarnated. In the present case, the correspondence between Bruce's congenital anomaly and his grandfather's wish quickly removed all doubt in the minds of his parents as to Bruce's previous incarnation. From their perspective, this was an entirely reasonable conclusion, even though Bruce never later communicated any imaged memories of his grandfather's life.

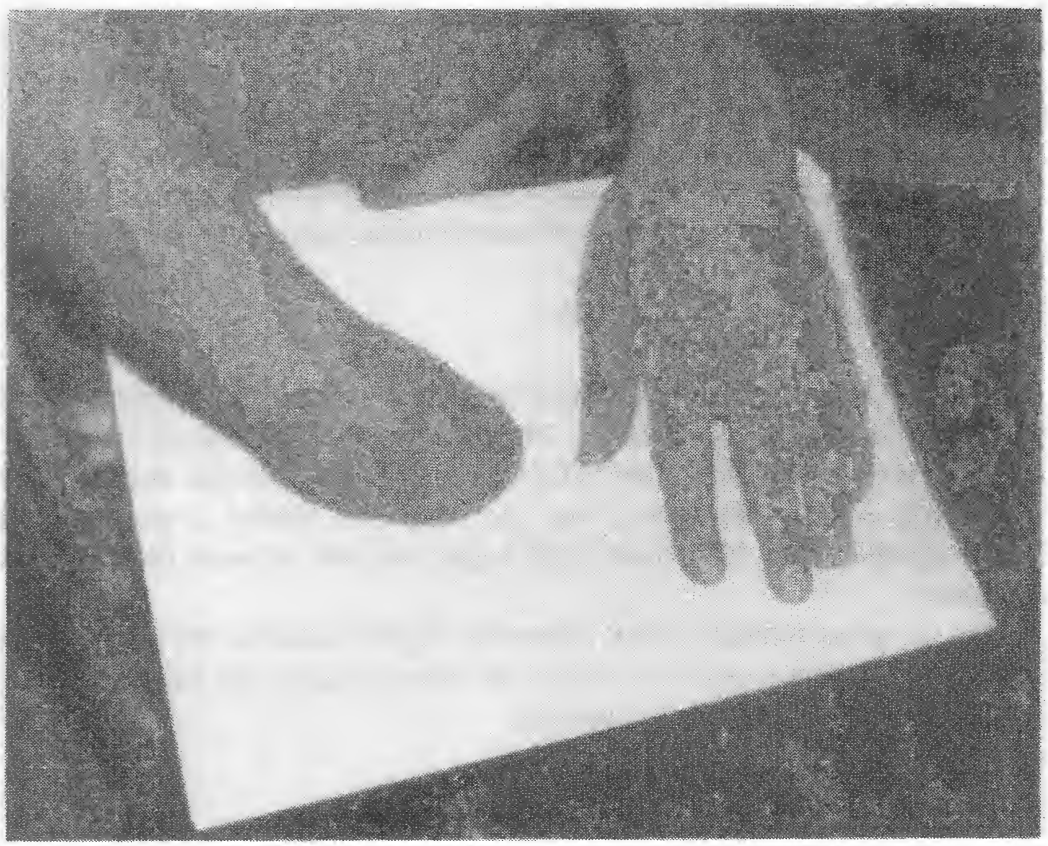

Figure 17-85 Forearms of Bruce Peck as they appeared in 1981, when he was 32 years old. The right forearm terminated at about one-third of its normal length. Finger nubbins had been present at birth, but were later removed surgically.

tion, for example, one that might follow a severe accident to the arm, and I provisionally decided that the defect was congenital. I was in the office to ask for some information bearing on other cases. Bruce did not volunteer to say that he was a subject, and I was at that moment reluctant to suggest to him that he might be one. However, in the following year, 1974, two informants independently told me that Bruce was said to be the reincarnation of his grandfather, who had wished to be reborn without a hand.

This information emboldened me to approach Bruce about his case directly, and I did so on my next visit to British Columbia in 1975. He readily agreed to my interviewing him. In that year also, I met and talked with both his parents and with another (secondhand) informant who knew about the expression by Bruce's grandfather of the wish to be reborn without a hand. These interviews took place in Prince Rupert.

In May 1981 I met Bruce again, in Prince Rupert, and had a further long interview with him in which I learned some additional details about him, his family, and his adjustment to the defect with which he had been born. I met him again, much more briefly, in April 1984.

The Life and Death of Richard Peck

Richard Peck was born at Skidegate, British Columbia, on April 23, 1894. He worked all his life as a fisherman. In this occupation he had a distinguished record, and his renown was mentioned in a magazine devoted to the history of the region of British Columbia where he lived. (I refrain from giving the name and other details of the pertinent issue of the magazine in order better to conceal Richard Peck's identity and that of his grandson, Bruce Peck.)

Richard Peck and his wife, Maud, had five children, of which the second was Kenneth Peck, Bruce Peck's father.

Despite his skill and success as a fisherman, Richard Peck found the work hard and uncongenial. Many of the lines on the fishing boats used off the coast of British Columbia (and Alaska) have to be hauled in (or let out) by hand, a task that requires considerable physical strength and endurance.

Henry Meares, who worked sometimes on the same boat with Richard Peck, recalled that Richard Peck said that "he would come back with only one hand so that he would not have to work so hard" [in his next life]. As Richard Peck said this, he made the gesture of chopping one of his forearms above the wrist with the hand of his other arm held with the fingers straight, as if it were a knife that could cut off part of the arm above the wrist. When Henry Meares repeated this gesture as he talked with me, he used his right hand as the symbolic knife and made a chopping stroke with it on his left arm.

Richard Peck's son, Kenneth (Bruce's father), heard his father say often that he would "come back" (meaning be reborn) with only one hand, so that he would not have to work so hard in his next life. Rose Peck, Bruce's mother, had also heard Richard Peck say repeatedly that he would come back with one arm only. In referring to the defect that Richard Peck was wishing for his next incarnation, Kenneth and Rose Peck sometimes said that Richard Peck had expressed the wish to be reborn "with one *hand*" and sometimes quoted him as saying "with one *arm*." In the expression of their memories of what Richard Peck had said, they used the word *arm* more often than *hand*. Be that as it may, his numerous assertions of his wish for some defect that would keep him ashore left no doubt in their minds that he wished for some major deficiency of one arm.

I failed to ask whether Richard Peck had specified which arm was to be absent in his next life; but I did learn that he was right-handed.

Richard Peck did not say that he would be reborn as the child of Kenneth and Rose Peck.

Two other secondhand informants of the community, Violet Gray and Henry Moore, said that they had heard about Richard Peck's wish to be reborn with only one hand. Of these two informants, Henry Moore gave a more detailed statement of what he had heard. His grandfather, who would probably have been a somewhat older contemporary of Richard Peck, told him (Henry Moore) that he had heard Richard Peck say that "he wanted to come back with only one hand, so he would not have to work so hard."

Richard Peck died on April 12, 1949. According to Kenneth Peck, his father was out on a fishing boat when he apparently had a heart attack and fell overboard. He was quickly pulled back onto the boat, where he died shortly afterward. Kenneth Peck did not think his father had drowned, although the official record of his death, of which I obtained extracts, recorded the cause of death as "accidental drowning." He was just under 55 years old when he died.

Bruce Peck's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

Bruce Peck showed two behaviors that correspond with what was known or could be inferred about Richard Peck.

Bruce had a marked phobia of water when he was young and was even afraid to go into skiffs. He remembered being afraid at the age of 7 or 8 when he was put in a skiff to go from the shore to a boat that was lying offshore. He did not learn to swim until he was 22 years old. He frequently thought about drowning as a mode of death. These preoccupations antedated the tragic death in 1977 of both his parents, who were drowned in an accident while they were fishing during stormy weather. Yet although he was afraid of water, he was also attracted to it, and when he attended a boarding school in Calgary for 2 years, between the ages of 11 and 12, he missed the water of coastal British Columbia.

As he grew older, Bruce's fear of water diminished, and he actually tested his skill at fishing during the season of 1975. He found that he enjoyed fishing, and he wished later that he had taken it up earlier in life. He felt a longing for the life of a fisherman.

Bruce's parents, during my interview with them, referred to other similarities of behavior between Richard Peck and Bruce, but they did not specify what these were. The two men did not resemble each other much physically; Richard Peck was a larger man than Bruce, who was small for a Haida. Richard Peck had had curly hair, and Bruce's hair was somewhat curly. Bruce's congenital anomaly was the main basis—almost the sole one—for his parents' conviction that he was Richard Peck reborn.

Bruce Peck's Adjustment to his Disability

Bruce found that he could participate in almost all activities that other persons without his handicap could enjoy. He played basketball and also touch football. However, during a game of touch football, when he was about 11 years old, he fell and broke his right humerus. This healed well, but it led to the suggestion that he be provided with a prosthesis for his right arm. He was fitted with one, wore it for about 2 years, and then left it off. He seems to have found it more an encumbrance than a help, and never wore a prosthesis afterward.

Bruce's elementary and secondary schooling proceeded normally. For about 2 years, when he was 11 and 12, he attended a boarding school in Calgary. After

completing secondary school, he attended college for a year and a half, but found the work difficult, although enjoyable. He decided not to continue and graduate.

He began working in clerical positions, and except for his one endeavor at fishing during the season of 1975, he worked exclusively on land and in clerical jobs. He had been mainly employed at one or another agency or organization assisting the natives of British Columbia. He did well in this work, and in 1984, when I last met him, he was filling a position of moderate responsibility.

He married and had two children.

Bruce Peck's Birth Defect

Figure 17-85 shows the absence of the hand and distal two-thirds of Bruce's right forearm (hemimelia). His left arm was normal.

The stump of the forearm contained the proximal parts of the radius and ulna. The report of an x-ray examination of his right arm, made at a Calgary hospital in 1961, when Bruce was 11 years old, stated:

> There is a congenital forearm amputation on the right side with certainly not more than 3 inches of stump distal to the elbow joint. The radius measures 5.3 centimeters and the ulna about 6 centimeters in length.

Figure 17-85 does not show Bruce's right arm as it appeared when he was born or up to the age of 11 (apart from changes in size as he grew). When he was born, rudimentary fingers were appended to the stump of the forearm. They were described in a report of the Calgary hospital in the following words:

> There are five rudimentary digits. On two of these digits small nails can be recognized. The other three digits are just small papillary projections about 4 millimeters in diameter.

These digital appendages were excised at the Calgary hospital in 1961.

Other Relevant Medical Information. Rose Peck told me that her pregnancy with Bruce was entirely normal. She had no illness and took no drugs during the pregnancy. She and her husband were in no way related. There were no other cases of birth defects in the family for as far back as they could trace members of either of Bruce's parental families. When I asked questions about these matters, they were already familiar to Rose Peck. Doctors who had previously examined Bruce had been baffled by his congenital anomaly, and they had asked his parents similar questions.

Bruce's own two children had no congenital anomalies.

Bruce himself had no other congenital anomaly of which he was aware. He had had numerous physical examinations before I met him, and none had revealed any other anomaly.

Rose Peck was 2 months pregnant with Bruce when her father-in-law died. If his wish to be reborn without one arm influenced the occurrence of Bruce's congenital anomaly, it acted on an already developing embryo.

Comment. Bruce Peck's birth defect (hemimelia) is a rare congenital anomaly. As I mentioned in connection with Ngozi Uduji's case, Birch-Jensen (1949, p. 154) found its incidence in Denmark to be 1 in 22,000 births.

THE CASE OF WIJERATNE

Introduction

I have already published a detailed report of this case and so will here only summarize it and describe Wijeratne's birth defect.

Summary of the Case

H. A. Wijeratne was born in Uggalkaltota, in the Ratnapura District, Sri Lanka, on January 17, 1947. His parents were H. A. Tileratne Hami, and his wife, E. A. Huratal Hami. H. A. Tileratne Hami was a cultivator and small trader.

Wijeratne was born with a severe birth defect affecting his entire right arm and the pectoralis major muscle of the right side of his chest (Figures 17-86 and 17-87). His parents seem at first to have attributed their baby's birth defect to some event in a previous life, but they did not think of any specific explanation for it. However, H. A. Tileratne Hami thought, on the basis of other evidence, that Wijeratne was the reincarnation of his (H. A. Tileratne Hami's) younger brother, Ratran Hami. Wijeratne and Ratran Hami were both dark in complexion, whereas the other children of the family were fair. In addition, Wijeratne's father thought that he bore a facial resemblance to Ratran Hami. And Ratran Hami, before he had died in 1928, had told Tileratne Hami that he would come back as his son.

The next development in the case occurred when Wijeratne was about 2½ years old. His mother observed him talking to himself. Going nearer to him, she heard him saying that he had been born with a withered arm because he had murdered his wife in his previous life. He mentioned other details connected with this crime of which she, up to that point, had heard nothing. She asked her husband whether what Wijeratne was saying made sense to him, and he then told her, for the first time, that his brother Ratran Hami had murdered his wife. The circumstances were the following.

Ratran Hami was born in 1904. He was still a young man when he married, but his wife died young. Ratran Hami was then about 22. He courted another girl, Podi Menike, who lived in a village called Newaneliya, which is about 8 kilometers from Uggalkaltota. Podi Menike agreed to marry Ratran Hami, and they went through the first stage of the marriage ceremonies custom-

Figure 17-86 Wijeratne, as he appeared in 1965, when he was 18 years old. His right arm was markedly shorter and hypoplastic compared with his left arm.

ary in Sinhalese villages during that period. However, Podi Menike then changed her mind, and when, a few weeks later, Ratran Hami went to Newaneliya for the final ceremony of marriage, Podi Menike would not go through with it. (She had perhaps become attracted to another man whom she found more appealing than Ratran Hami.) Ratran Hami became enraged at this rejection. He walked back to his village, sharpened a *kris* (Malay knife), paid off some debts, and returned to Newaneliya, where he stabbed Podi Menike to death. This murder occurred on October 14, 1927. Ratran Hami was arrested and tried. He pleaded "Not Guilty" and defended himself along classical lines by saying that he had been set upon and beaten and that in the ensuing scuffle he happened to stab Podi Menike without meaning to kill her. Eyewitnesses asserted, however, that Ratran Hami deliberately assaulted Podi Menike with his kris and that they, only then, intervened. The jury believed them, and Ratran Hami

Figure 17-87 Chest and upper arms of Wijeratne as they appeared in 1965, when he was 18 years old. The pectoralis major muscle on the right chest was almost absent; that on the left side was normal.

was sentenced to death. He was duly hanged in July 1928. Before his death, he tried to comfort his older brother and said that he would come back as his son.

At the time of Ratran Hami's crime and execution, H. A. Tileratne Hami was unmarried. Subsequently, in 1936, he married E. A. Huratal Hami, who came from another village, Morahala, which is about 40 kilometers from Uggalkaltota. She said later that she had never heard of Ratran Hami's crime and execution before she overheard Wijeratne talking about it. I find this plausible, because there is no reason to think that news of the murder would have traveled to her village or that her husband would have had any inclination to mention his brother's crime while he was courting her. However, when we evaluate Wijeratne's statements about the previous life, it is important to remember that nearly everything he said about it was within his father's normal knowledge.

In early childhood Wijeratne talked abundantly about the previous life. It seemed to be much on his mind. His father tried to dissuade him from speaking about it, but he persisted. Sometimes he talked broodingly to himself about it, and he would also talk to other people, especially if they asked him about his abnormal arm. In the end he narrated many details about the murder of Podi Menike and about Ratran Hami's last days before his execution. (Interested readers can find details of these in the tabulation of my detailed report of the case [Stevenson, 1966/1974, pp. 154-59].)

Wijeratne stopped talking to himself about the previous life when he was about 5 years old. About 6 months later he stopped talking spontaneously about it to other persons, but would speak about it when asked to do so. Thereafter, his memories of the previous life gradually underwent some fading. However, some memories persisted and remained strong. In 1961 Wijeratne told me that he could remember the main events of the last year of Ratran Hami's life (meaning the murder of Podi Menike and the trial and execution of Ratran Hami, which had occurred more than 30 years before) better than he could remember events of the early years of his (present) life, which had occurred about 10 years earlier.

When Wijeratne was about 5, his statements about the previous life came to the attention of the monks of the monastery at Pelmadulla, which is about 50 kilometers west of Uggalkaltota. Their abbot, the Ven. Ananda Maitreya, talked with Wijeratne and later informed the late Francis Story about the case. In June 1961 Francis Story met Wijeratne and also talked with some of his teachers and with the monks of Pelmadulla who told him what Wijeratne had been saying to them. I made my first visit to Sri Lanka in August 1961, and Wijeratne's was one of the first cases I investigated there. I met him, his parents, and his older brother, Ariyaratne, at Uggalkaltota. I met Wijeratne on several later occasions, once at Uggalkaltota, at other times elsewhere, during the 1960s and 1970s. I have not met him since 1976; but I have continued to receive news of him from time to time from Godwin Samararatne, who accompanied me during subsequent meetings with Wijeratne and, from these meetings, became a good friend to him.

The Apparent Influence of the Previous Life on Wijeratne's Development

Having known Wijeratne for 30 years, I have had a better opportunity to observe his development than I have had with most other subjects of these cases.

When he talked about the previous life as a young child, Wijeratne did not adopt Ratran Hami's excuse of self-defense with an accidental killing of Podi Menike. (Probably Ratran Hami himself did not believe this, but simply used it as a possibly life-saving tactic on the advice of his lawyer.) He admitted openly that he had killed Podi Menike when she refused to complete the marriage contract. He believed, too, that he had brought on himself the malformed hand he had, because (as Ratran Hami) he had "killed my wife by using my hand." Despite this view of the consequences of Ratran Hami's action,

Wijeratne, when I first met him in 1961, expressed no contrition with regard to the killing of Podi Menike. On the contrary, he said that if a similar situation—of a wife refusing to complete a marriage engaged in—were to arise later in his life, he would kill the wife.

Over the next few years Wijeratne modified his stance on how to cope with misbehaving women. He decided that murder was not the proper way to handle them, and in 1969 he wrote me a letter to that effect. With his permission I published the relevant extract of this letter in the second edition of my book reporting details of his case (Stevenson, 1966/1974, p. 165).

Despite his development of an accommodating attitude toward women, Wijeratne continued to be sensitive—I think I can say exquisitely so—concerning their attitudes to him. On two occasions in his 20s he developed serious mental illnesses—schizophrenia—each time in relation to being rejected by a woman. (In the first of these occasions, the relationship was largely a fantasied one, but Wijeratne believed the girl concerned had rejected him; on the second occasion, the girl [another one] really did reject him.) During both these episodes his family supported him, and he made a full recovery from the mental illness. He later found a loving wife and married happily, in 1980. He also—after considerable delays—finished school and then went on to the University of Ceylon at Peradeniya. After graduating he obtained work as a schoolteacher.

Comment. It does not appear that sensitivity on Wijeratne's part about the abnormality of his right hand played a significant part in his fear that women would reject him. His family and friends largely ignored his birth defects, and other persons did not draw attention to them. He may, however, have feared that women would learn—from other persons, if not from him—about Ratran Hami's conduct in the previous life; and he may have thought that women would not become friendly with a man who had murdered his wife in a previous life. He did not mention his memories of the life of Ratran Hami to his wife before they married. Subsequently she learned about the life and death of Ratran Hami, but the information did not seem to disturb a happy marriage.

Wijeratne's Birth Defect

Figures 17-86 and 17-87 show views of Wijeratne's arms and chest when he was about 18 years old. The right arm was 6-7 centimeters shorter than the left arm and markedly hypoplastic, being only about half the size of the left arm.

The pectoralis major muscle was missing (or greatly reduced) on the right side. An x-ray examination of Wijeratne's chest (in 1966) was reported as showing that "the right third rib is shorter than its fellow of the opposite side. Apart from this there is no [abnormal] bony characteristic noted in the chest."

Figure 17-88 shows a close-up view of Wijeratne's right hand taken when he was 14 years old. The fingers of this hand were much shorter and smaller than those of the left hand. Each finger of the right hand was no

Figure 17-88 Right hand of Wijeratne as it appeared in 1961, when he was 14 years old. All the fingers of the hand were markedly smaller and shorter than the corresponding ones of the left hand. The shortening of the fingers appears to have been mainly due to the absence of the middle phalanges. The three middle fingers were involved in a syndactylous process. The fifth finger was partly attached to the fourth one.

longer than one phalanx of the normal left hand. The defect in length seemed mainly due to the absence of the middle phalanx on each digit. All the digits were more or less involved in a syndactylous process, although the thumb and fifth finger had some separation from the middle three digits. Wijeratne could hold a pen or pencil with the right hand, but it was of little use for grasping other objects.

In December 1971 a surgeon operated on Wijeratne's right hand and freed the index finger and the fifth finger from the adjoining fingers to which they had

been attached. Figures 17-89 and 17-90 show the result of this operation, which greatly increased the usefulness of the hand. These photographs also show in greater detail than Figure 17-88 the defects in the fingers of the right hand.

Other Relevant Medical Information. Wijeratne said that no other member of the family had a birth defect similar to his.

Comment. The combination of birth defects Wijeratne had is known as Poland syndrome, after the physician who first described the defect in the middle of the 19th century (Brown and McDowell, 1940; Clarkson, 1962; Ireland, Takayama, and Flatt, 1976; Poland, 1841). The several elements of the syndrome vary from patient to patient, but Wijeratne showed all four of the principal defects of the condition: absence of the sternocostal portion of the pectoralis major muscle; hypoplasia of the hand (and arm) on the affected side; marked shortening of the fingers; and syndactyly of the fingers.

Poland syndrome is a rare birth defect, and Smith (1982, p. 224) estimated its incidence at about 1 in 20,000.

Wijeratne's Explanation for the Defect of His Chest. I mentioned earlier that Wijeratne said that his hand was malformed because, in the previous life, he had killed his wife with his hand. Wijeratne also seemed to have an explanation for the birth defect of his chest (absence of the pectoralis major muscle). He said that in the previous life he had stabbed Podi Menike in the right breast, and he appeared to believe that the abnormality of his own right chest derived from the wound Ratran Hami had given Podi Menike at the same location. However, the postmortem examination on Podi Menike (a report of which I was able to study, together with other documents in the trial of Ratran Hami) showed that she had not been stabbed in the right breast. Three wounds had penetrated her chest, but these were in her back and left axilla, not her right breast.

An instance of right/left inversion of images may have occurred here. Ratran Hami stabbed Podi Menike on the left side (in the axilla), which would be at the right side for him. Persons often confuse left and right, and they may refer to the left side of someone facing them as "right," because it is right for them. In Chapter 13 I described instances of confusion between right and left in the testimony of informants and in the notes of scientists.

Comment

Wijeratne's case is one of four I have studied in which a birth defect has been said to derive from some wrongdoing on the part of the previous personality. The other cases in this group are those of Ma Khin Ma Gyi, U Nyein, and Daw Ngwe Kyi.

It also has one of the longest intervals—18½ years—between the previous personality's death and the subject's birth. In Table 14-4 I furnish a list of other cases having an unusually long interval between the previous personality's death and the subject's birth.

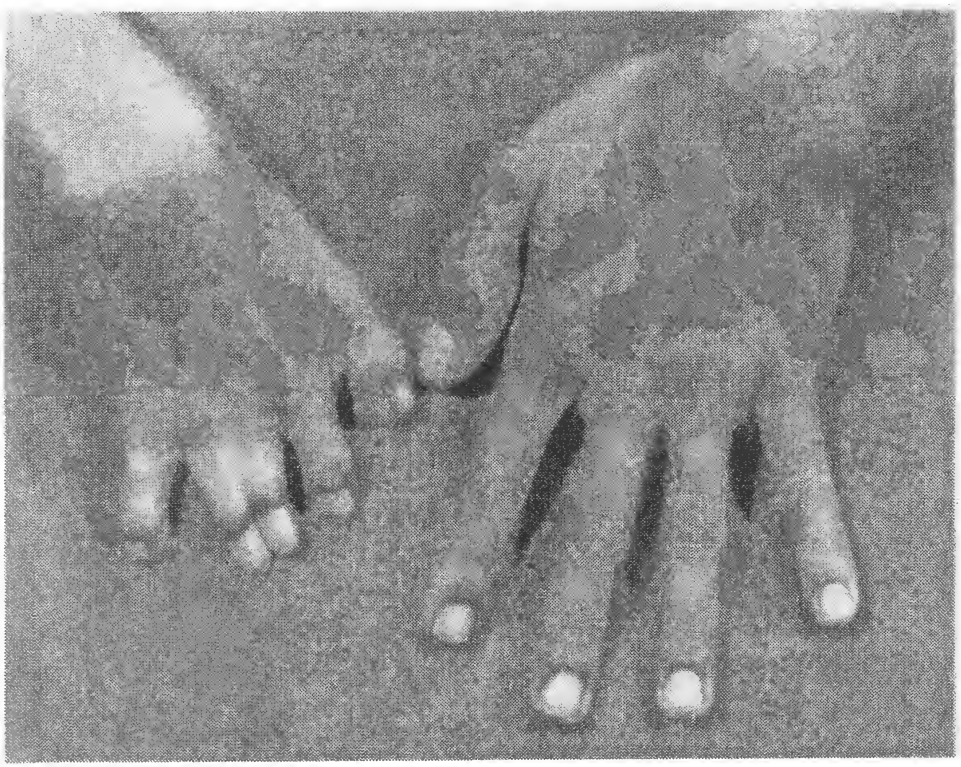

Figure 17-89 Dorsal aspect of Wijeratne's hands as they appeared in 1976, after surgical separation of the right index and fifth fingers from the fingers to which they had earlier been attached.

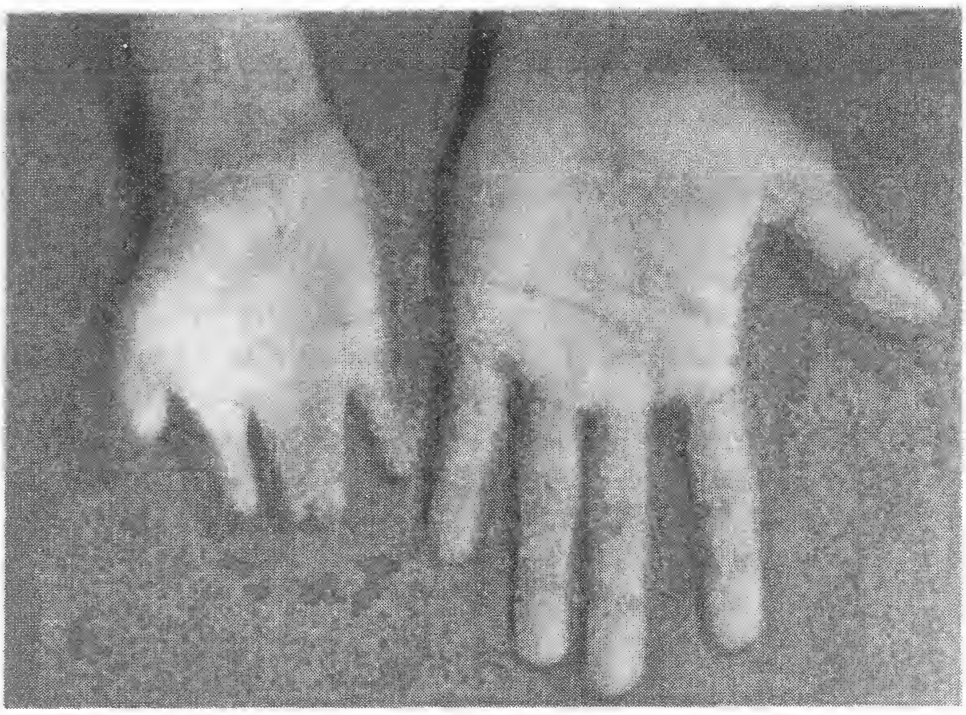

Figure 17-90 Palmar aspect of Wijeratne's hands as they appeared in 1976 after the surgical separation of fingers of the right hand.

THE CASE OF ANUSHA SHALINIE

Introduction

I include this case as an example of a child born with a serious birth defect who had no memories of a previous life and who was not identified by her parents (or anyone else) with a particular deceased person. I do not know how often such cases occur in Sri Lanka (or elsewhere), but this one will help to show that even in a culture fully open to the idea of reincarnation not every birth defect is attributed to a previous life.

How We Came to Learn about this Case

In Sri Lanka we have studied the cases of no fewer than 11 children thought to have been in previous lives insurgents killed during the major insurgency of April 1971. Not all these children specifically identified themselves as having been insurgents in a previous life; in a few instances their parents inferred such a life from what the child said, such as references to homemade bombs. Subjects of this "insurgent group" include Sivanthie and Sheromie Hettiaratchi and Kakshappa Ishwara. They explicitly said they had been insurgents.

It was known that the insurgents made crude bombs, and in some instances insurgents had accidentally blown themselves up with their own bombs. I thought it possible that we might find a child with a birth defect who had been born after the insurgency at or near one of the places where the insurgents were known to have aggregated while preparing for their uprising.[68] Kataragama was such a place, and when we were there in 1979, we inquired about children born with birth defects after April 1971. We were told about Anusha Shalinie. She had been born in the town of Tissamaharama, which is only 14.5 kilometers from Kataragama. Her family had since moved to Hanwella, which is a town in the area of Greater Colombo, and I went there to meet them. (Tissa Jayawardene accompanied me.)

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Anusha Shalinie was born at Tissamaharama on January 22, 1978. She was the first child of her parents, G. D. Maheepala and his wife, Nandasili. G. D. Maheepala was a police constable. He and his wife subsequently had another daughter, who was normal. When Anusha Shalinie was born, the lower half of her left forearm, including the hand, was absent (Figure 17-91).

None of the commonly recognized etiological factors in birth defects seem to have occurred in this case. Anusha Shalinie's parents were not related, and

[68]This was not a completely unfounded conjecture. The present work contains the reports of two cases in which the subjects remembered previous lives that ended when bombs which they (or a friend) were handling exploded and killed them. I refer to the cases of Daw Tin Yee and Ahmet Balcı. They said that their birth defects corresponded to wounds received when the bombs exploded.

Figure 17-91 Anusha Shalinie as she appeared in November 1979, when she was nearly 2 years old. The distal portion of the left forearm was absent. The right forearm was normal.

Anusha Shalinie was the only member of both her parents' families to have a birth defect. (On the family history for both sides we have only the testimony of Nandasili, not that of her husband.) Nandasili's pregnancy with Anusha Shalinie was entirely normal and went to term. The delivery was a breech one. Nandasili enjoyed good health throughout the pregnancy. She had no illness and consumed no alcohol. She took vitamin supplements, but no medicines during the pregnancy.

We met Anusha Shalinie and her mother at Hanwella soon after learning about the case. At the time of our first meeting on November 13, 1979, G. D. Maheepala was away, but Godwin Samararatne met him in June 1980. In October 1982 we tried to meet the family again, but found that they had moved.

In September 1983, Tissa Jayawardene traced the family to the police station at Tissamaharama, where G. D. Maheepala was then posted. Anusha Shalinie was then approaching (in the following January) her sixth birthday, and she had said nothing about a previous life up to that time. Nor had she made any statements or shown any behavior that might have warranted linking her with some particular deceased person. Apart from the handicap of the birth defect, Anusha Shalinie's development seemed to be entirely normal.

On December 26, 1990, Tissa Jayawardene at my request had another meeting with Anusha's father, G. D. Maheepala. This took place at Kataragama to which the family had moved when G. D. Maheepala had been posted there. At the time of this meeting Anusha was almost 13 years old. Her father said that she had never spoken about a previous life. Nor had she made any allusions to bombs and guns that might have suggested some familiarity with them.

The Possibility of a Maternal Impression as an Explanation of the Case

During our interview (of 1979) with Nandasili, we asked her whether she had heard of anyone who had lost a hand in an accident in the area where she lived, the region of Kataragama. (We thought that she might have heard, as we had, about an insurgent who had been killed by the accidental explosion of a homemade bomb.) She said that she had not heard of such a case. However, she then went on to say that she had seen, at Kataragama, persons with defects like Anusha Shalinie's. These were among the numerous beggars at Kataragama. Nandasili said that she saw persons with missing limbs, like Anusha Shalinie's birth defect, both before and during her pregnancy with Anusha Shalinie. When she saw the beggars with defective limbs, she felt normally sad, but not frightened at their appearance. She did not speak with any of them. She did not expect that her own baby would be affected by the sight of these defects. Readers interested in this interpretation of the case, a maternal impression, should review what I have written about it in Chapter 3.

Anusha Shalinie's Birth Defect

Anusha Shalinie's birth defect (Figure 17-91) was an absence of the distal portion of her left arm (hemimelia). It is closely similar to the defects of the arms of Ngozi Uduji, Bruce Peck, and Hüseyin Yılmaz, who *were* identified with deceased persons, as she was not.

THE CASE OF WILMA HARRIS

Wilma Harris was born in Philadelphia on October 13, 1918. She was an African-American; her father was "part West Indian," her mother African-American.

At her birth she had prominent constriction rings and other defects of both her hands (Figures 17-92 and 17-93).

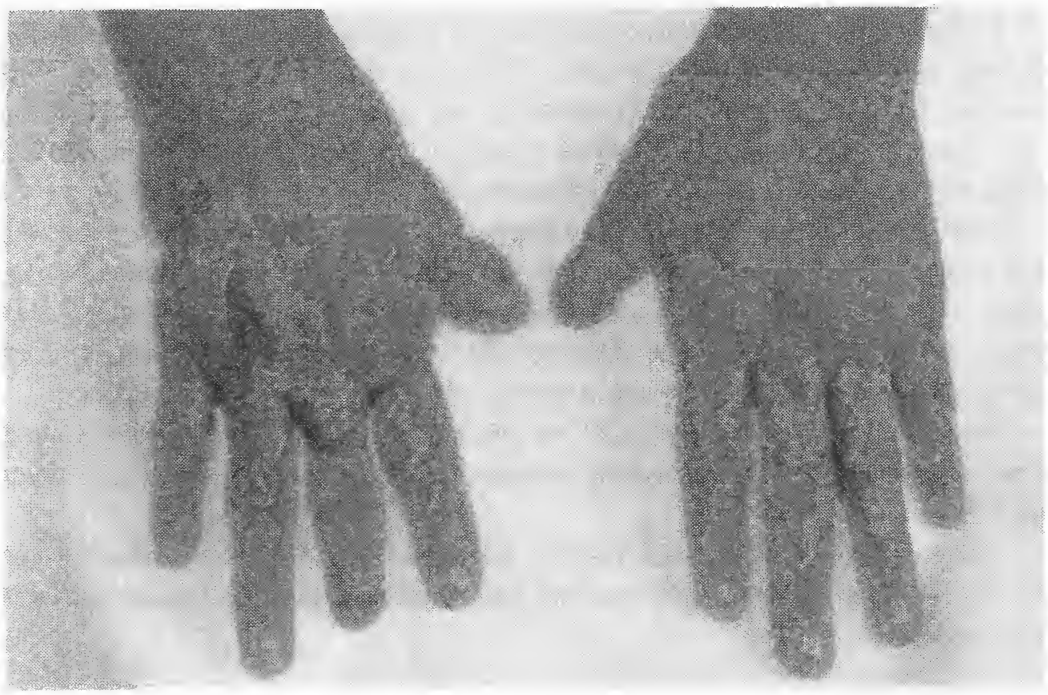

Figure 17-92 Dorsal aspect of Wilma Harris's hands as they appeared in June 1979, when she was 60½ years old. Both thumbs, the right index and middle fingers, and the dorsum of the right hand had constriction rings. Both thumbs and the right middle finger all seemed short, and their nails were abnormally small.

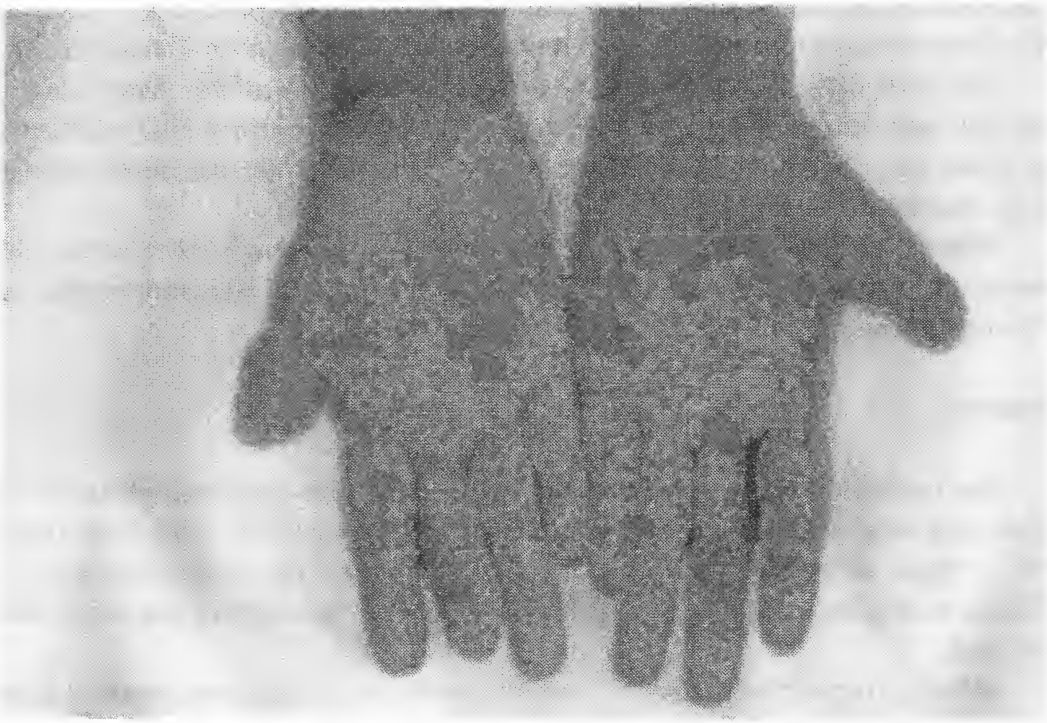

Figure 17-93 Palmar aspect of Wilma Harris's hands as they appeared in June 1979. The constriction ring that was prominent on the dorsum of the right hand can be seen to extend over the side of the hand and across the palm for about one-quarter of its width.

In June 1979 a nurse at the University of Virginia Hospital who was familiar with this research drew my attention to Wilma Harris's birth defects. Wilma Harris had been admitted to the hospital for the appraisal of her arthritis. When I visited her in the hospital and asked whether I might talk with her about her defects, she readily agreed and also allowed me to photograph her hands.

The interview was brief. Wilma Harris had been told that the defects of her hands were "due to the umbilical cord." She had no other explanation for them. When I broached the subject of a possible previous life as having a bearing on her defects, she rejected the idea summarily. She explained that she was a Christian for whom the Bible was not merely a source of truth; it was the only source.

Nevertheless, Wilma Harris let me ask her about phobias she may have had that no postnatal experience would account for. She had no phobias, however, apart from some fear of fire.

Wilma Harris's father had died by the time I met her. Her mother was still alive, but Wilma Harris thought that her mother would be unnecessarily troubled by my inquiries.

Wilma Harris's Birth Defects

Figures 17-92 and 17-93 show that both thumbs of Wilma Harris and the index and middle finger of the right hand had constriction rings. Both thumbs seemed shorter than normal and both had abnormally small nails. The right middle finger was also abnormally short, and it too had a small nail. In addition, there was a constriction ring across the dorsum and part of the palm of the right hand.

The birth defects did not interfere with the function of her hands, and she never had pain in them. She had noticed, however, that during cold weather her right hand became colder than her left hand. Her right hand had more extensive lesions than her left hand.

Other Relevant Medical Information. Wilma Harris knew of no other member of her family who had birth defects similar to hers. Her only brother and her two children had no birth defects.

Comment

The umbilical cord has been implicated in uterine amputations and lesser lesions that may arise from the constriction of fetal parts by the cord (Torpin, 1968). I think no modern authors, however, believe that encirclement by the umbilical cord is an adequate explanation for constriction rings of the kind Wilma Harris had.

Although my tentative inquiry about a previous life made no sense to Wilma Harris, it might have elicited a positive response among some other African-Americans. Some of the African-Americans who descended from West Africans brought to North America as slaves are known to have continued to believe in reincarnation (which forms part of the traditional religions in West Africa) at least

until the middle of the 19th century (Froebel, 1859, p. 220). I think the belief persisted longer in some parts of the United States. I once investigated the case of an African-American in West Virginia who found nothing incompatible between Christianity and the memories of a previous life that he said he had.

In order to emphasize further that not everyone in countries having a strong belief in reincarnation explains birth defects as due to some event of a previous life, I will here mention a third case like the two I have just described.

The subject was a shopkeeper of New Delhi who dealt in brasswares. After I discovered him and the reasonableness of his prices, I used to go to his shop every time I was in Delhi. I purchased gifts for family and friends. We gradually became friendly. The shopkeeper's legs were of normal length, but he had almost no feet, or at least none with any extension forward. His feet seemed to be mere rounded stumps, and for footwear, instead of ordinary sandals, such as most Indians wear, he wore socks and round leather soles. I could not help thinking that his feet resembled those of an elephant. Over several years my curiosity about the possible origin of the shopkeeper's defect became stronger, and eventually I decided that I knew him well enough so that—ignoring Dr. Satwant Pasricha's mild protests—I asked him about how he happened to have such unusual feet. He replied simply, saying that he had been born the way he was. Had he remembered a previous life? Not at all, said he. It seemed that neither he nor anyone else had ever tried to explain his birth defects as due to some traumatic event in a previous life.

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18

BIRTH DEFECTS OF THE HEAD AND NECK

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I describe 12 cases with birth defects of the head and neck. Six of the cases occurred in Burma, three in Turkey, two in Alaska (among the Tlingit), and one in Sri Lanka. I have grouped them, however, not by countries of origin, but by the anatomical region affected in the subject. In the first four cases the subject had a birth defect of one ear. In the next four the subject had a birth defect of the skull. The subjects of the next two cases had cleft lips. The next subject had a birth defect of the eye, and the last one had a birth defect of the mandible.

In three cases the subject's birth defect corresponded to a birth defect on the previous personality; in seven cases it corresponded to a fatal (or near-fatal) wound on the previous personality; and in the other two cases it corresponded to a lesion on the previous personality.

For three of the seven cases involving fatal wounds we were able to obtain medical documents confirming the oral testimony about the nature and location of the wounds on the previous personality that corresponded to the subject's birth defect. In one case a photograph of the previous personality demonstrated the correspondence. For the other eight cases we had to rely on the memories of the informants.

CASE REPORTS

THE CASE OF SEMİH TUTUŞMUŞ

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Semih Tutuşmuş was born in 1958[1] in the village of Şarkonak, Karaağaç, in the province of Hatay, Turkey. He was the second son and second child of his parents, Ali and Karanfil Tutuşmuş. Semih's father was a small shopkeeper of his village. He was also a vendor of vegetables. The family belonged, by my estimate, to the upper lower classes. By 1977, the date of my own last meeting with Semih and his family, Semih's parents had altogether 12 living children. (In 1970 Karanfil Tutuşmuş said that she had had 12 children, which number presumably included some who had died.) Semih's parents were cousins, but his mother could not tell us exactly what the relationship between them was.

Semih was born with a severe defect (microtia) of the right ear (Figure 18-1).

Two days before Semih's birth his mother had dreamed of a man called Selim Fesli, who had been shot, at close range, in the right side of the head and died a few days later of his wounds. (He had lived in the village of Hatun Köy and died on May 15, 1958.) I shall describe this dream later.

When Semih was about 1½ years old, he began to talk about a previous life. His first words on the subject were the names of İsa Dirbekli, the man who had shot Selim Fesli. Thereafter, Semih made more and clearer statements about the previous life. He said that he had lain down in a field to sleep and that İsa Dirbekli had come upon him there and shot him in the ear. He remembered the name of one of the persons, Ali Battihi, who had found Selim Fesli not long after he had been wounded. He also remembered and stated the names of Selim Fesli, his wife, and all six of their children.

Semih had a strong desire to visit the family of the man whose life he claimed to remember. When he was still quite young, probably under 4 years of age, he found his way alone to Hatun Köy and introduced himself to members of

[1]In 1967 Karanfil Tutuşmuş said that Semih was born 2 days after the death of Selim Fesli, but this seems clearly wrong. Two written records established Selim Fesli's death as having occurred on May 15, 1958. Semih's father was in Ankara at the time of his birth. He thought Semih was born in the month of October, 5 months after Selim Fesli's death, but he placed the event in the year 1957, which would have put Semih's birth before Selim Fesli's death. Semih's identity card gave 1961 as his year of birth, a date much too late judging by the testimony of his parents and his size over the years 1966-73, when Reşat Bayer and I saw him on at least four occasions. I think he was born in the latter part of 1958, but do not believe we can be more precise than this about the date.

The difficulty in establishing Semih's birthdate—even his year of birth—did not come only from lack of written records and inattentiveness to detail on the part of the informants. Many of them could not speak Turkish well, and for interviews with them we had to rely on Arabic-speaking persons as interpreters, especially with the women. The language barrier also affected our ability to draw up accurate genealogies in the case. For the main interviews we had the fortunate assistance of Selim Koç, a bank employee of İskenderun who was fluent in both Arabic and Turkish.

Selim Fesli's family there. Later Semih continued visiting the Fesli family and showed a strong attachment to its members. However, whenever he saw İsa Dirbekli, he would become angry and throw stones at him.

Reşat Bayer first heard of this case in the summer of 1966 and recorded our first testimony about it on July 6 and 7 of that year. In November 1967 I spent several days investigating the case with Reşat Bayer. In March 1970 we had further interviews with Semih, both his parents, and some new informants we had not previously met. In February 1973 we returned to the case again, mainly for follow-up interviews. At that time we talked with Semih and his mother, but did not meet his father. In May 1976 Reşat Bayer met Semih again in Ankara. He was then about 18 years old and in Ankara in connection with his national military service.

In March 1977 we met Semih and his parents again. We also met a new informant, Meryem Köybaşı (Ali Tutuşmuş's aunt), but she contributed little new information.

Persons Interviewed during the Investigation

In Şarkonak I interviewed:

Semih Tutuşmuş
Ali Tutuşmuş, Semih's father
Karanfil Tutuşmuş, Semih's mother
Nedim Tutuşmuş, Semih's older brother
Selim Bereket, an acquaintance of Selim Fesli

In Hatun Köy I interviewed:

Kâtibe Fesli, Selim Fesli's widow
Şaban Fesli, Selim Fesli's second son
Hasan Fesli, Selim Fesli's fourth son
Nazire Köybaşı, Selim Fesli's daughter
Meryem Köybaşı, one of Semih's great-aunts
Ali Battihi, neighbor of Selim Fesli
Ali Dişibüyük, neighbor of Selim Fesli
İsa Dirbekli, neighbor of Selim Fesli who had shot him
Racine Diken, principal of the school

In İskenderun I interviewed:

Süleyman Fesli, Selim Fesli's oldest son

Relevant Facts of Geography and Possibilities for Normal Means of Communication between the Two Families

Şarkonak is a village in the area known as Karaağaç, which is about 6 to 8 kilometers south of the port city of İskenderun. Hatun Köy is another village in the area of Karaağaç, and I estimate that it is about 2 kilometers from the home of

the Tutuşmuş family. The two families concerned in this case thus lived within a short distance of each other.

Karanfil Tutuşmuş said that she had never met Selim Fesli or any member of his family before the development of the case. She said that she had heard vaguely of his murder, but she had not gone to see his body.[2] On the other hand, her husband, Ali Tutuşmuş, said that he had known Selim Fesli "well," and he even undertook to delineate his character for me with, I believe, more enthusiasm than accuracy. Ali Tutuşmuş also had an aunt (Meryem Köybaşı) living in Hatun Köy, but I did not learn how often he exchanged visits with her.

Selim Fesli's wife, Kâtibe, and two of their sons, Süleyman and Şaban, all agreed that the two families had had only a casual acquaintance before Semih began to speak about the previous life. They knew each other well enough to exchange greetings when they passed, but they did not regard themselves as friends.

The Life, Death, and Character of Selim Fesli

Selim Fesli was born in 1911, probably in Hatun Köy, where he lived all his life. He was a cultivator who possessed a modest tract of land in the area of his village.

It seems that on May 9, 1958, Selim Fesli was tired at the end of a day's work and lay down near one of his fields to catch some sleep before returning home. He had a donkey with him, and this donkey left him and somehow found its way back to the village. Since Selim Fesli ordinarily rode his donkey back to the village, the riderless animal first aroused curiosity and then alarm. A party assembled to search for Selim Fesli in the increasing darkness. Eventually he was found lying on the ground bleeding profusely from head wounds and barely conscious. He had been shot at close range. He groaned in pain, but could not speak. Those who found him tried to get him to say who had shot him, and he somehow led them to understand, or surmise, that he had been shot by someone of his own village.

It took several hours to instigate the authorities to move Selim Fesli from the place where he had been lying since he had been wounded. Eventually the police came out in a taxi from İskenderun and managed to carry him in a rather anticipatory coffin—no stretcher being available—from the field to the taxi and in it to a hospital in İskenderun. There he died 6 days later, on May 15, 1958. He was about 47 years old.

To return to the scene of the crime near Hatun Köy, I have already mentioned that the wounded and barely conscious Selim Fesli could not speak enough to say, if he knew, who his assailant had been. However, he did manage to com-

[2]Villagers in Asia often go to view the body of a murdered person—half-driven by curiosity, half-drawn by the crowd they swell. In the present instance, however, the still living body of Selim Fesli was removed from Hatun Köy some hours after he was shot and transported in a taxi to the hospital in İskenderun where he died. There was thus no body on exhibit, and Karanfil Tutuşmuş's remark shows how little she learned, or remembered, about the circumstances of Selim Fesli's death.

municate that it had been someone of his own village. No one came forward to confess to the shooting. The police eventually arrested two persons, one of whom, İsa Dirbekli, after first denying culpability, confessed that he had fired the wounding shots at Selim Fesli. He said he had been out hunting birds when, suddenly seeing what he thought was a rabbit, he had fired. He then heard the cries of a wounded person and ran toward him. He found that the man had been wounded in the ear. He had then left the scene of the accident. The police were curious about why he had not remained with the wounded man or run for help to other persons. He explained that he was afraid of the vengeance of Selim Fesli's sons.

At the subsequent trial of İsa Dirbekli, the judge gave him the relatively mild sentence of 2 years in prison. This was a lighter penalty than he would have received if the judge had believed the shooting intentional. It appeared to be appropriate as chastisement for firing carelessly and for leaving the scene of a serious accident.

In 1967 we interviewed İsa Dirbekli in Hatun Köy. He still insisted that the shooting was accidental. He said that he and Selim Fesli had been relatives and also friends. I would have been surprised if he had said anything else, all the more so since, at least at first, he thought that Reşat Bayer and I were lightly disguised police agents who had come to look further into the case and would perhaps reopen the criminal proceedings against him. Under these circumstances I attach more importance to the opinions of several other persons we interviewed who were probably in a position to know about possible motives for a crime. Of the three sons of Selim Fesli whom I interviewed, Hasan (the youngest) was too young at the time of his father's death to know much about it; Süleyman suspended judgment and said God alone knew what the motives of his father's assailant were; and the second son, Şaban, thought the shooting was accidental. So did Ali Dişibüyük, the first person of the search party to find the wounded Selim Fesli. In fact only two of my informants suggested that İsa Dirbekli had deliberately shot Selim Fesli. One of these was Semih himself, but we cannot accept his views on the matter without begging the question of whether he had real memories of the life and death of Selim Fesli. The other informant suspicious of İsa Dirbekli's explanation of an accidental shooting was Semih's father, Ali Tutuşmuş. Although he had been in Ankara at the time of the shooting, he said that he had learned that Selim Fesli and İsa Dirbekli had had quarrels, and he thought that İsa Dirbekli had deliberately shot Selim Fesli. Semih's attitude, which I shall describe more fully below, might have influenced that of his father. Equally, his father's attitude might have shaped Semih's.

About the character of Selim Fesli I learned little and even less that I consider reliable. He appeared to enjoy and deserve the affection of his family. His son Hasan said he was a good man who did not strike his children and who had good relations with his neighbors. Selim Bereket (an acquaintance) depicted him as a gentle, temperate, and tranquil person without enemies. In contrast, Ali Tutuşmuş limned Selim Fesli as diametrically the opposite: a stormy man after whose rages it was necessary to pick up the pieces of objects he had broken.

The Report of the Postmortem on Selim Fesli

An autopsy was performed on the body of Selim Fesli, and I was able to obtain a copy of the report from which the following (translated) extract is taken:

> ...on the right parietal area of the skull and the right frontal area there were six round holes strongly suspected to have been made by buckshot....There were ecchymotic areas around the eyes and also evidence of bleeding at the right ear. The holes were examined with a stylet and appeared to penetrate bony structure and enter the brain....When the skull was opened, it was evident that the shots had entered the brain, after penetrating the skull, and had damaged...areas in the brain.
>
> ....The cause of death is most likely penetrating shot wounds to the brain....

An Announcing Dream

Karanfil Tutuşmuş's dream of Selim Fesli occurred, she said, 2 days before Semih's birth. She dreamed that a man with his face covered by blood entered her room. She asked him why he had come, said her husband was away, and asked him to leave. (Ali Tutuşmuş was at the time in Ankara.) The visitor replied that he had been shot in the ear, would not go anywhere else, but would stay with the dreamer. She later remembered that he gave his name: Selim Fesli. (As I mentioned earlier, she had never met Selim Fesli, but she had heard of his death.)

Ali Tutuşmuş remembered (in 1967) that his wife had later told him about her dream. He then recalled that she had said that Selim Fesli had come to her in a dream with his face all bloody and she had asked him to go away. He had forgotten other details of the dream.

Statements and Recognitions Made by Semih

In Table 18-1 I have summarized the principal statements and recognitions that informants attributed to Semih. My notes do not give details about exactly when Semih made most of his statements concerning the previous life, but I believe that he made them all between the ages of 1½, when he first began to talk about the previous life, and 5. Since the two families had some acquaintance prior to the development of the case, and since the details of Selim Fesli's murder must have been widely diffused in the area where they lived, we cannot say that any of Semih's statements included information that he might not have acquired normally.

Among Semih's imaged memories of the previous life the scene of the shooting of Selim Fesli was the most vivid. As late as 1970 Semih said that he often recalled this scene and also dreamed about it.[3]

[3]Other subjects whose memories of previous lives came both in the waking state and during dreams or nightmares include Prakash Varshnay, Sujith Lakmal Jayaratne, Shamlinie (*continued*)

I have no note recording any informant as having told us that Semih had said Selim Fesli had lived in Hatun Köy, and I have not listed such an item in Table 18-1. Yet this detail probably figured in Semih's information about the previous life; if it had not, we should find it difficult to understand why he went to Hatun Köy by himself when only about 4 years old.

Some of Semih's recognitions of family members and friends of Selim Fesli seem to me to provide stronger evidence of paranormal knowledge than do most recognitions in these cases. They appear to have taken place spontaneously, and Semih accompanied them by apposite remarks at the time. I did not, however, learn about them until several years after they had occurred. Items 16-19 all took place on the occasion of Semih's first visit to Hatun Köy, which he reached alone at the age of about 4. The other recognitions took place at later times.

I should note that Semih did not recognize Ali Dişibüyük. He may, however, have recognized Şaban Fesli, toward whom he ran spontaneously one day when he saw Şaban on a road. But Şaban was busy that day, did not tarry long with Semih, and could not later say that Semih had clearly recognized him. Certainly Semih had not called him by name. They met again later, at which time Semih called Şaban by his name and said that he (Semih) was his father.

In addition to the recognitions listed in Table 18-1 I will mention one that occurred in October 1967, just a few days before our interviews of that year. Semih recounted the episode to us himself. I have no direct corroboration for it, but Semih's father told me that he had heard from Semih an account of the recognition that, except for some unimportant details, resembled what Semih himself told us. Semih had wished to accompany his grandmother on a visit she was making to a village near Antakya, a large city located about 50 kilometers from İskenderun. Semih went down to the garage from which taxis—the dolmuş, or taxis carrying groups of passengers commonly used in Turkey—depart from İskenderun. At the garage he noticed a man whom he recognized as a friend of Selim Fesli. According to Semih, this man (whose name was Ahmet) and Selim Fesli had been close friends during the period of their military service. Semih convinced Ahmet that he was Selim Fesli reborn, and Ahmet then paid Semih's fare to Antakya.

Comment. This incident, if we accept Semih's account of it, shows that he still preserved some clear memories of the previous life—at least sufficient for the recognition of a person known to Selim Fesli—at the age of 9. It also illustrates the somewhat rare occurrence of memories on the part of a subject of events that happened *early* in the life of the concerned previous personality. It is customary for the young men of Turkey to spend (approximately) 2 years in military service. The period of military service may be postponed in some instances, for example by enrolled students, but most young men enter military service when they are 18 years of age. Since Selim Fesli was 47 years old when

[3](*continued*) Prema, Suleyman Andary, Bongkuch Promsin, Salem Andary, Cemil Fahrici, Sylvia Hirst Ewing, Govind Narain Mishra, Som Pit Hancharoen, and Wijanama Kithsiri.

Table 18-1 **Summary of Statements and Recognitions Made by Semih**

Item	*Informants*	*Verification*	*Comments*
1. His name was Selim Fesli.	Karanfil Tutuşmuş, Semih's mother Kâtibe Fesli, Selim Fesli's wife Süleyman Fesli, Selim Fesli's son	Kâtibe Fesli	Only Karanfil Tutuşmuş said Semih gave the full name "Selim Fesli." The other informants said he gave only the first name "Selim." This difference seems natural. To his mother Semih was trying to identify himself fully as a person quite different from what his mother supposed him to be—a mere child. But to the members of the Fesli family it would have seemed sufficient for him to say simply: "I am Selim." Semih did not meet Süleyman Fesli until he was about 7 (see item 20 below), by which age he had met other members of the Fesli family.
2. His wife was called Kâtibe.	Ali Tutuşmuş, Semih's father Karanfil Tutuşmuş	Kâtibe Fesli	
3. He had a daughter called Faride.	Ali Tutuşmuş Karanfil Tutuşmuş	Hasan Fesli, Selim Fesli's son	
4. He had a daughter called Nazire.	Ali Tutuşmuş Karanfil Tutuşmuş	Nazire Köybaşı, Selim Fesli's daughter	
5. He had a son called Süleyman.	Ali Tutuşmuş Karanfil Tutuşmuş	Süleyman Fesli	

6. He had a son called Hasan.	Ali Tutuşmuş Karanfil Tutuşmuş	Hasan Fesli	
7. He had a son called Şaban.	Ali Tutuşmuş Karanfil Tutuşmuş	Şaban Fesli, Selim Fesli's son	
8. He had a son called Taju.	Ali Tutuşmuş Karanfil Tutuşmuş	Şaban Fesli Hasan Fesli	
9. He had gone to sleep in a field.	Karanfil Tutuşmuş	İsa Dirbekli, neighbor of Selim Fesli Ali Dişibüyük, neighbor of Selim Fesli	The place where Selim Fesli had lain down was a small hill, near a vineyard; it was therefore near a field, but not in one.
10. İsa Dirbekli had shot him.	Karanfil Tutuşmuş	İsa Dirbekli	
11. He [İsa Dirbekli] shot him in the ear.	Karanfil Tutuşmuş	Autopsy report of the examination of the body of Selim Fesli	
12. After shooting him, İsa Dirbekli had spat in his mouth.	Karanfil Tutuşmuş	Unverified	The supposed motive for this action was to make the wounded man forget the name of the man who had shot him. He would thus be unable to make a "dying declaration" as to the identity of his assailant. Such declarations are often considered valid in criminal trials.
13. Ali Battihi was the first person to reach him after he was wounded.	Ali Tutuşmuş Karanfil Tutuşmuş	Incorrect	Ali Battihi denied that he had been the first person to find the wounded Selim Fesli, but he was perhaps the second person to reach the wounded man.

Table 18-1 *(continued)*

Item	*Informants*	*Verification*	*Comments*
14. He and İsa Dirbekli had had a quarrel.	Karanfil Tutuşmuş	Unverified	This item was expressly denied by İsa Dirbekli.
15. İsa Dirbekli shot him deliberately.	Karanfil Tutuşmuş	Unverified, and probably incorrect	See text for discussion of the circumstances of the shooting of Selim Fesli.
16. Recognition of Kâtibe Fesli, Selim Fesli's wife	Kâtibe Fesli		Kâtibe Fesli said Semih had recognized her on the occasion of his first visit to Hatun Köy. He had entered Selim Fesli's house, noticed her, and said: "You are Kâtibe, my wife. I am Selim."
17. Recognition of a reed basket owned by Selim Fesli	Kâtibe Fesli		During Semih's first visit to Selim Fesli's house in Hatun Köy, he noticed a basket made of reeds and remarked: "You have preserved that basket of reeds that I bought and have kept it in the place where I put it." Kâtibe Fesli had in fact kept a reed basket purchased by Selim Fesli in the place where he had put it.
18. Recognition of Nazire, Selim Fesli's daughter	Nazire Köybaşı		Nazire Köybaşı said Semih recognized her on the occasion of his first visit to Hatun Köy. He gave her name, Nazire, and said: "You are my daughter."

19. Recognition of Ali Battihi	Ali Battihi, neighbor of Selim Fesli	This recognition also occurred on the occasion of Semih's first visit to Hatun Köy when he was about 4 years old. Ali Battihi asked Semih: "Do you recognize me?" Semih replied: "I recognize you very well. You are Ali Battihi."
20. Recognition of Süleyman Fesli, Selim Fesli's oldest son	Süleyman Fesli	Süleyman Fesli, who was then living in İskenderun, was invited to a wedding in Karaağaç which Semih was also attending. Semih came up to him and began talking about the previous life he remembered. Among other items he told Süleyman Fesli: "I am Selim. You are my oldest son and your name is Süleyman." Süleyman Fesli thought he had first met Semih when the latter was about 7 years old.
21. Recognition of Hasan Fesli, Selim Fesli's son	Hasan Fesli	My notes do not say where or when this recognition took place. Semih approached Hasan and said that he (Hasan) was "his" son. Semih did not give Hasan's name.
22. Recognition of Selim Bereket	Selim Bereket, acquaintance of Selim Fesli	When Semih saw Selim Bereket, he immediately said to him: "I bought a donkey from you." Selim Bereket had in fact sold a donkey to Selim Fesli. Selim Bereket said this recognition occurred in 1969 on the occasion of his first meeting with Semih, who would have been about 11

Table 18-1 *(continued)*

Item	*Informants*	*Verification*	*Comments*
			years old. I did not learn where he and Semih had met. Selim Bereket appears not to have been a resident of Karaağaç, although I met and interviewed him there.
23. Recognition of İsa Dirbekli, neighbor of Selim Fesli	İsa Dirbekli		Semih first encountered İsa Dirbekli in Hatun Köy in 1966. Semih saw İsa Dirbekli from across the street and threw stones at his bottles of rakı (the distilled alcoholic beverage that İsa Dirbekli was selling as a street vendor), at least one of which he broke. They did not speak at that time. In 1967 they met again. This time Semih went up to İsa Dirbekli and said: "You killed me." İsa Dirbekli denied that he had killed Selim, but Semih insisted that he had.

he died, Semih was remembering facts that derived from a time nearly 30 years before the death of Selim Fesli.[4]

Semih's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

Circumstances and Manner of Semih's Speaking about the Previous Life. I did not learn from Semih's parents anything noteworthy concerning when or how Semih talked with them about the previous life. Toward Reşat Bayer and me he was always affable, from the time of our first meeting onward, and seemed ever willing, perhaps even eager, to talk about his memories. He appeared particularly desirous of showing us the village of Hatun Köy, where Selim Fesli had lived, although I could not decide whether his motive for doing this was a wish to see the Fesli family again (I shall say more about his attachment to its members below), pride in his own case, or a mixture of these two motives. In 1967 Semih asked us why we had not invited him to give the names of members of the previous family. At that moment we were trying to learn from his mother what he had said about the previous life when he had first talked about it. However, we accepted Semih's offer, and he promptly gave us the names of Selim Fesli's father (Mehmet) and mother (Hüsniye). Since Semih had by this time frequently visited Selim Fesli's family in Hatun Köy, he could easily have heard the names when there. I mention this episode, therefore, only to illustrate a certain zeal that Semih showed with regard to his memories. Semih's interest in his own case did not arise, I am convinced, from any doubts he had about these memories. On the contrary, I think he was completely certain that he was remembering the life of Selim Fesli, and he wished others to believe this just as much as he did. According to his mother, he was "always repeating" the name "Selim." He responded only reluctantly when called "Semih" and said that his name was "Selim."

Semih's Attitude toward Members of Selim Fesli's Family. As I mentioned above, Semih went alone when he was barely 4 to Hatun Köy, where he introduced himself as "Selim" and made several recognitions that I have included in Table 18-1 (items 16-19). In 1970 Semih himself said that he made his first visit to Hatun Köy accompanied by his mother, to whom he showed the way; but four adult witnesses said that he had first gone to Hatun Köy alone, and I think Semih later confused his first visit with a later one. Thereafter, Semih went frequently to Hatun Köy to visit members of the Fesli family there. In 1967 his father said that he (Semih) "is always wanting to go to the other village" (meaning Hatun Köy) and that he sometimes went alone without permission. When Ali Tutuşmuş would punish Semih, he would threaten to go off to "his" village. Semih did not stop at talking about such visits; he actually made them with a frequency described by his father as "often."

[4]Other subjects who remembered events in the early years of the lives of the concerned previous personalities include Kumkum Verma and Lalitha Abeyawardena.

Semih's mother at one time tried enjoining him from visiting Hatun Köy. Semih cunningly interpreted this not to include trips to İskenderun, the large port to the north of Karaağaç. A trip there was a much greater undertaking than one to Hatun Köy. However, Semih went to İskenderun covertly and somehow found his way to one of Selim Fesli's sons who worked at the docks. Semih spent 2 nights away from home. His absence stimulated an alarm, and he was eventually traced and retrieved.

Semih's visits to the Fesli family had not decreased by 1970. Semih then told us that he was going to Hatun Köy five or six times a week. Another informant, Ali Dişibüyük, said that Semih had already visited Hatun Köy more than "one hundred times." Selim Fesli's son, Hasan, told us in 1970 that Semih was coming to see him often and behaving as if he was entirely at home.

In Hatun Köy Semih appears to have conducted himself like the father of the Fesli family and to have been, at least to some extent, accepted by its members as such. This status included, as Semih saw it, the right to participate and intervene in the family's affairs. When Taju, Selim Fesli's second youngest son, was married, Semih was not invited to the ceremony, whether from oversight or intentionally I cannot say. This omission so incensed him that he did not speak to the members of the Fesli family for 2 months. The Fesli family behaved more tactfully when Hasan, the youngest of Selim Fesli's sons, became engaged. At that time Semih obtained 20 lira (then about the equivalent of U.S. $1.50, but a considerable sum for persons in his family's economic condition) from his father, went over to Hatun Köy, and presented it to Hasan. This had occurred before our interviews of November 1967. Hasan must have had a rather prolonged engagement, because he did not marry until about November 1969. For that occasion Semih again raised funds from his father, and this time he gave no less than 105 lira to Hasan.

In about 1967 Selim Fesli's widow, Kâtibe, enjoyed the attentions of a man who proposed marriage to her. News of this reached Semih, who, according to his version, promptly went over to Hatun Köy and rebuked the man for his audacity. To Reşat Bayer and me Semih said reassuringly that the couple had not yet married, but that if they did marry he would return to Hatun Köy and kill the bridegroom. I did not learn about these transactions directly from Kâtibe herself, but Ali Tutuşmuş furnished some supplemental details that he had learned from her. She told Ali that Semih had said to her reproachfully: "How could you possibly marry anyone else but me?"[5] Kâtibe told Ali Tutuşmuş that she had no intention of marrying again anyway.

In March 1970 Kâtibe Fesli died just a week before our visit to Karaağaç. Semih told us the news and said that Kâtibe's death had saddened him. Other informants described him as having been even more deeply moved. Ali Dişibüyük told us that Semih, when he heard that Kâtibe had died, had come over to Hatun Köy immediately and had wept more than Kâtibe's children. Semih's father, Ali

[5]Necip Ünlütaşkıran (whose case is reported in Chapter 6) showed a similar jealousy regarding the wife of the man whose life he remembered.

Tutuşmuş, said that Semih had began to weep on hearing the news of Kâtibe's death. He also reported an episode about which he had heard from an aunt. According to his secondhand information, Semih had gone to the cemetery where he actually fainted at Kâtibe's tomb, and he had to be revived by having water poured on him. Ali Tutuşmuş's aunt had cautioned him against allowing Semih to go back to the cemetery. We did not confirm this account from a firsthand informant; the aunt who had witnessed the episode had died by the time we tried to interview her. However, another of Semih's aunts, Meryem Köybaşı, told us that she had seen Semih at Kâtibe's grave with tears in his eyes.

Semih's Attitude of Vengefulness toward İsa Dirbekli. After his release from prison İsa Dirbekli built from the fragments of his life a new occupation as a street vendor of rakı. I have already described (item 23 of Table 18-1) how Semih threw stones at İsa Dirbekli at their first encounter. This became a habit so that every time Semih saw İsa Dirbekli—who had tried to extend the territory of his trading into Semih's village—he would throw stones at him. Semih wished minimally to break İsa Dirbekli's bottles of rakı, thus ruining his business, but would have liked also to break his head. He was continuing to throw stones at İsa Dirbekli in 1970, at which time he told me and Reşat Bayer that he intended to kill İsa Dirbekli. He did not make these threats only for our record, because his mother told us that he had repeated them often to her. She said that İsa Dirbekli was afraid to approach their area of the village. (Semih's plan called for him to grow up first, as he was then only a boy of 12.) İsa Dirbekli confirmed that he took Semih's threats seriously and told us (in 1967) that he was afraid Semih really might kill him.

Semih's attitude of vengefulness derived, at least in part, from his conviction that İsa Dirbekli had deliberately shot Selim Fesli when he found him dozing on the ground. In 1966 Semih told Reşat Bayer that Selim Fesli had angered İsa Dirbekli by allowing a donkey to stray into İsa Dirbekli's vineyard. In 1970 Semih gave a somewhat different account of a quarrel between Selim Fesli and İsa Dirbekli on the day of the shooting. By that year, however, Semih had modified his conviction about the deliberateness of the shooting, at least to the point of considering the possibility that it had been an accident. But doubts remained. He asked why, if the shooting had been accidental, İsa Dirbekli had come up to the wounded Selim Fesli and spat in his mouth (item 12 of Table 18-1). This gesture, which Semih said he remembered from the moments of agony after Selim Fesli was wounded (but which is unverified), was supposedly intended to make the victim forget the name of his attacker. However, İsa Dirbekli might have carried out such a superstitious ritual from panic rather than from guilt. As I explained earlier, he said that he fled from the scene more from fear of Selim Fesli's sons than from fear of the police, who would, as he saw his situation, have handled him with a gentleness he could hardly have expected from Selim's sons. However, even though Semih in 1970 allowed that perhaps İsa Dirbekli had not intended to kill Selim Fesli, he (Semih) still intended to kill İsa Dirbekli when the right time came.

Figure 18-1 Right side of Semih Tutuşmuş's head as it appeared in November 1967, when he was about 9 years old. The right external ear was markedly defective (microtia). Two small depressions appear as dark areas in the photograph.

Other Behavior of Semih Related to the Previous Life. Karanfil Tutuşmuş, Semih's mother, said that he considered himself an adult and complained of being small. He examined himself in a mirror as if somehow struggling to reconcile the conscious perception of a small physical body with the equally conscious conception of himself as an adult. Semih told me that he liked Hatun Köy better than his own village. When I asked him to explain his preference, he said that in his previous life he had been adult and people would not beat him; in Karaağaç adults beat him when they felt inclined. Semih's discomfort over being small may have increased on the occasion he described when he met Ahmet, Selim Fesli's friend from their days of military service. Semih said that Ahmet,

Figure 18-2 Left side of Semih Tutuşmuş's head for comparison with preceding figure.

after satisfying himself that Semih was Selim reborn, asked him why he had become so small. I did not learn how Semih replied to this penetrating question.

Semih also complained about having a malformed ear, and in 1970 he was asking to have it improved in appearance by a plastic surgeon.

Semih's Birth Defect

Description of the External Ear. Figure 18-1 shows the appearance of Semih's right ear in November 1967, when he was about 9 years old. There was marked microtia. The pinna of the ear was represented only by an irregular line of tissue, much reduced in size and altered in appearance compared with the corresponding elements of the left ear (Figure 18-2). Microtia by itself is a rare birth

defect, and Bergstrom (1979) estimated its incidence at between 1 in 20,000 and 1 in 30,000 births.

A frontal view of Semih's face (Figure 18-3) shows that the entire right side was less well developed than the left side (hemifacial hypoplasia [microsomia]) (Cohen, 1982; Warkany, 1971).

Hemifacial hypoplasia and microtia may occur together without other congenital anomalies. They may also be associated with other birth defects in a variety of syndromes (Cohen, 1982, pp. 61-64; Smith, 1982, p. 497). Smith estimated the incidence of the entire spectrum of related defects at between 1 in 3000 and 1 in 5000. Cohen (1982) published pedigrees that suggest a genetic factor in the etiology of hemifacial hypoplasia (microsomia) and related anomalies.

I found six small depressed areas of the skin (fossettes) scattered around the stump of the pinna. I included these in a crude sketch of the ear that I made in 1967 (Figure 18-4), but they are barely visible in the photographs. I think that two of these fossettes can just be discerned in Figure 18-1. These fossettes *may* correspond to the holes of entry of the shot that struck Selim Fesli in the region of the right ear. (The pathologist who performed the postmortem examination—and whose report I cited earlier—described six round holes that penetrated the skull in the right parietal and frontal areas of Selim Fesli's head.)

Another detail, however, enters into the interpretation of these fossettes as they appeared in 1967. Karanfil Tutuşmuş, Semih's mother, found some hard material in places around the ears. She actually thought these were the buckshot pellets (presumably apported) that had killed Selim Fesli. With a razor she removed these objects, which I suppose may have been areas of sclerosis or small clots of blood in the skin. Although Karanfil Tutuşmuş told us that the ear as we saw it in 1967 was substantially as it appeared at Semih's birth, some cicatrization due to her excisions may have modified the original appearance of the skin around the ear. Such pits are not a regular feature of cases of microtia. Figure 18-5 (from Shambaugh, 1959) shows microtia in an American child who had no pits. On the other hand, Aird (1946, p. 504) published an illustration of microtia in which a single ear-pit had occurred. Selkirk (1935) reported two similar cases.

Small fistulas and ear-pits around ears are not, by themselves, rare, and Selkirk (1935) found them in 0.9% of 3,600 white children. They were found most commonly at the anterior margin of the ascending limb of the helix.

Preauricular pits occur in the rare Melnick-Fraser syndrome, which may include severe microtia (Fraser et al., 1978; Melnick et al., 1975), but Semih (apart from the abnormality of his ear) had no signs of that disorder.

One of the small fossettes described above might have been a much reduced outer section of the external auditory meatus. It was in approximately the correct position for this. However, so far as I could tell without probing this tiny orifice, it was only about 2-3 millimeters deep and did not lead to the middle ear, if there was one.

In 1967 Semih said that he was completely deaf in his right ear. In 1970, however, he denied this, and a crude test that I carried out showed that he had

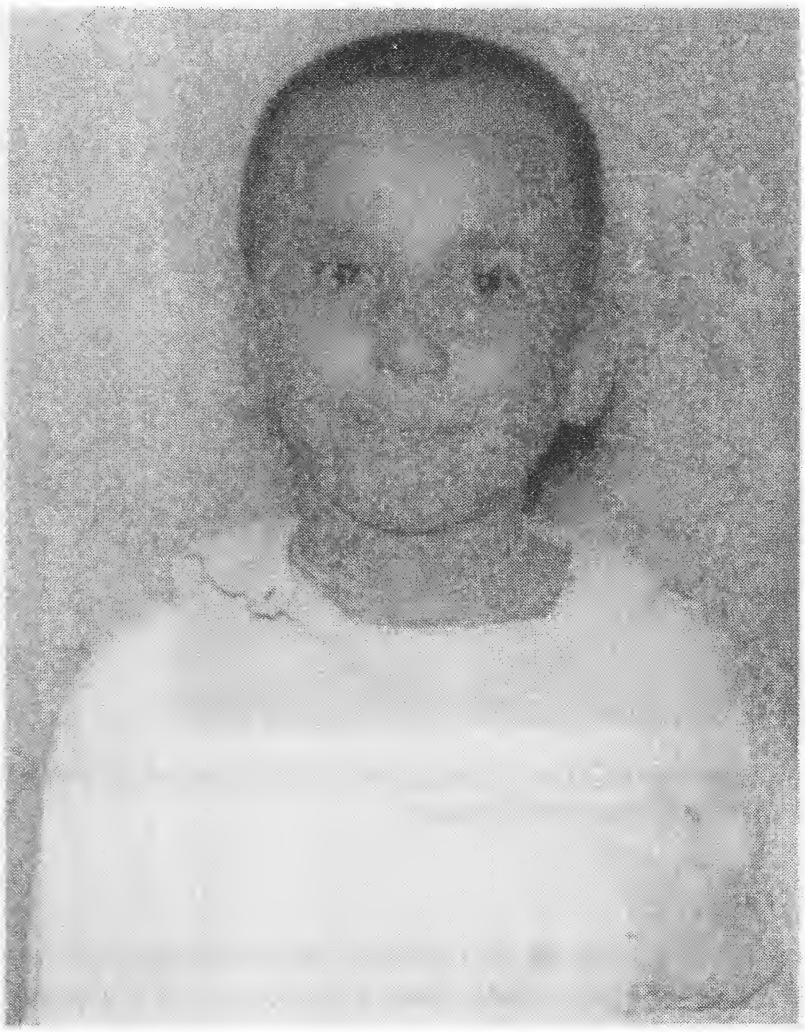

Figure 18-3 Frontal view of Semih Tutuşmuş's face to show the right-sided hypoplasia of the face (hemifacial microsomia).

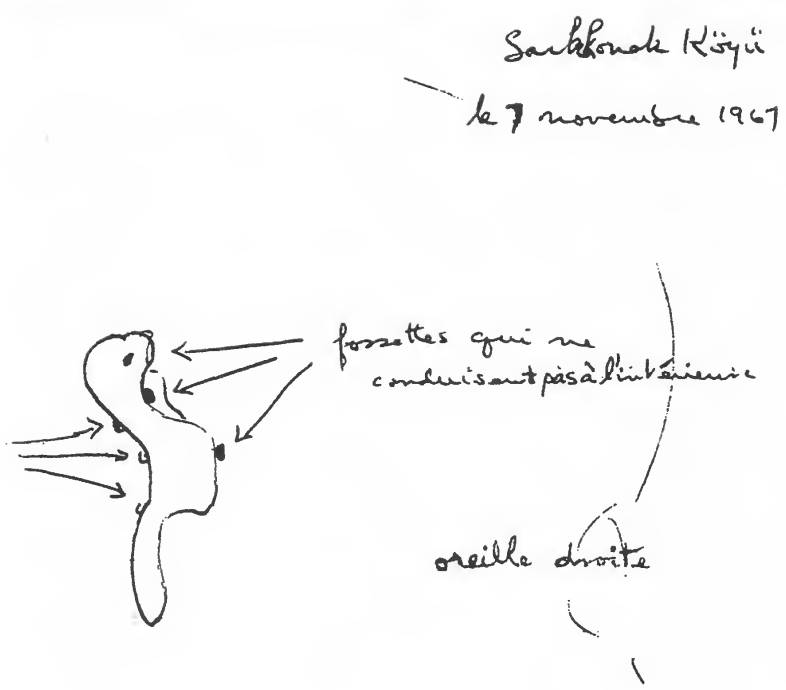

Figure 18-4 Sketch of Semih's ear made in November 1967 on which six small depressions (fossettes) are indicated.

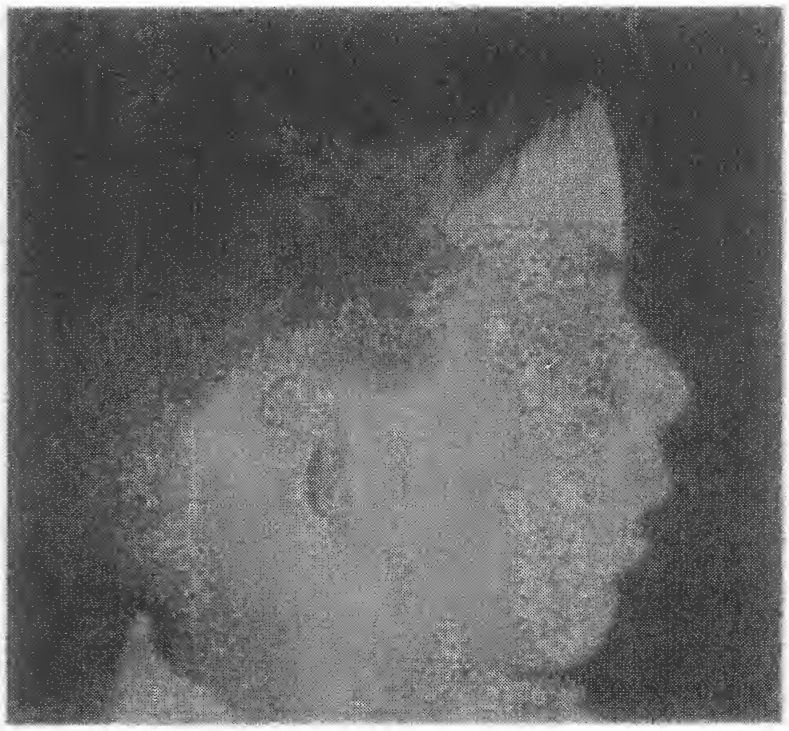

Figure 18-5 Microtia in an American child, for comparison with Figure 18-1. (From Shambaugh, 1959.) (Courtesy of W. B. Saunders Company.)

some hearing, but of diminished acuity, in his right ear. (In the absence of an external auditory meatus one could not expect normal hearing.) In 1973 Semih again denied that he was deaf in his right ear.

In 1967 Semih said that when he had been younger he had sometimes suffered from pain in the right ear. However, he was not then complaining of such pains, and in 1970 he again said that he had none.

Comment on Etiological Factors in the Malformation of Semih's Ear. I have already mentioned that Semih's parents were cousins, although of what degree I could not learn. Their relationship as cousins bears on the possibility that Semih's defect arose from a genetic factor. However, no other member of the family had had a malformation of an ear. The immediate family members included 12 children and Semih's two parents. In addition, Semih's mother and father both told me that there had been no other instance of a malformed ear in any other member of either of their families. If Semih's defect had an important genetic component, one might have expected at least one or two of his siblings or other relatives to have been affected, although perhaps not to the same degree.

Nearly all the mothers of the subjects with birth defects (in this work) have said that they enjoyed good health during their pregnancy with the affected child. Karanfil Tutuşmuş was an exception, because she told us that she was continually, and maybe continuously, ill during the last 5 months of her pregnancy with Semih. (She had had good health for the first 4 months.) The principal symptoms of her ill-

ness were fever and fainting. She also had some pain in her abdomen and vaginal bleeding. For this illness—I did not learn or choose a label for it—she took medication prescribed by a doctor. Karanfil—understandably in view of her many pregnancies—had an interest in abortifacients, and she told us that she had taken one when she learned that she was pregnant with Semih. However, her husband, Ali, said that she had not. Because he would have been the obvious person to bring one to her from İskenderun, he assumed that he would have known if she had taken an abortifacient; but Karanfil might have obtained one from a friendly neighbor without her husband knowing. Teratologists have incriminated thalidomide as a cause of birth defects of the ear (d'Avignon and Barr, 1964; Lenz and Knapp, 1962; Livingstone, 1965), and other substances taken as medication—some still unrecognized as harmful—may have similar effects. This is a case therefore in which we cannot exclude a contribution from an illness and medication in the occurrence of the birth defect.

Comments on the Evidence of Paranormal Processes in the Case

The two families concerned in this case lived in neighboring villages, and although they were not close friends, they had had at least some acquaintance with each other prior to the development of the case. These facts make the evidence from Semih's statements about the previous life relatively weak. I believe that some of his recognitions of persons known to Selim Fesli have value as evidence of his having paranormal knowledge; but most of them have the disadvantage of being recorded only some years after they occurred.

Semih's behavior related to the previous life does not count as evidence of a paranormal process, because it might have derived from his strong conviction that he was the reincarnation of Selim Fesli. Nevertheless, this behavior deserves attention. Semih's attachment to the previous family was more intense and lasted longer than that of most subjects of these cases that I have studied. Moreover, he matched an appropriate affection for the wife and children of Selim Fesli with a hatred for the man who shot Selim Fesli that, if excessive in amount and prolongation, was at least understandable given the circumstances of Selim Fesli's death and supposing that memories of this had become part of Semih's personality.

Comment on Semih's Vengefulness as Pre-Criminal Behavior

Semih's vengefulness toward İsa Dirbekli lasted longer than that of most other subjects who have shown such behavior toward the person who killed the previous personality or someone who stands for that person. He also expressed his feelings in acts of violence. So did Salem Andary, who beat up a Bedouin as a representative of a group that had killed the youth whose life he remembered. Cemil Fahrici, Metin Köybaşı, and Yusuf Köse, as children, all reached for guns with which they might have killed their murderers or representatives of them. These cases provide hints for future criminologists, who may trace proclivities to criminal behavior behind the birth of a child showing these.

Semih's Later Development

Reşat Bayer and I met Semih in February 1973. He was then 15 years old, but he had become plump, and his physical development exceeded that of most boys of his age. He had discontinued school after completing primary school. He told us that he would have stopped school at that point even if there had been no other impediment to his continuing. It happened, however, that his older brother, Nedim, was called up for his military service at about that time, and Semih was, in his turn, assigned to work in the family store.

As early as our meeting in 1967, Semih had said that he was then gradually forgetting the memories he had of the previous life. Those of the death of Selim Fesli remained clear in 1970, and they also recurred in his dreams. In 1973 Semih said that when he was alone he only rarely thought about the previous life, and he never dreamed of it. On the other hand, seeing someone familiar to Selim Fesli, such as one of his sons, could still make Semih think about the previous life.

As Semih's imaged memories faded, he went to visit the Fesli family less frequently. However, he said that he still went to see the Fesli children every one or two months. And his mother said that he still talked about the previous life "often." Moreover, one of Semih's aunts, standing by during our interview with his mother in 1973 but not otherwise interviewed, said that Semih was still visiting the tomb of Kâtibe Fesli in the cemetery.

Up to 1973, Semih's attitude toward İsa Dirbekli had not softened. The principal of the school at Hatun Köy, Racine Diken, said (in 1973) that Semih came often to the village looking for İsa Dirbekli with the intention of killing him. To us, Semih acknowledged his persistent wish to kill him. He narrated with mingled shame and pleasure how he had, the year before, embroiled İsa Dirbekli in a small riot. The fray had begun when Semih, according to his habit, had thrown stones at İsa Dirbekli. The latter's son had come up to support his father; then Semih's older brother reinforced Semih. A combat ensued in which, according to Semih, he and his brother had beaten their two opponents.

Semih's implacable attitude was more difficult to understand because he said (in 1973) that he now thought İsa Dirbekli had really mistaken Selim Fesli for a rabbit and had not intended to kill him. However, he was then 15 years old and perhaps more sensitive about his abnormal ear than he had been earlier; if so, this might account for his persistent anger at İsa Dirbekli.

By 1973 Reşat Bayer had developed an avuncular relationship with Semih that entitled him to deliver a short homily on the theme of forgiveness. His message was simple. He pointed out to Semih that if he really believed that he remembered the previous life of Selim Fesli, he must also believe that he, after being killed as Selim Fesli, was now alive again. So what was the point of continuing to feel angry about a killing that—even if it had been intentional, which was not anyway admitted—had resulted in a rebirth? Apart from this, could Semih not see ahead to a time when, if he did not restrain his murderous thoughts, he might really implement them and bring himself into serious trouble? Semih listened to this

admonition with serious attention. He admitted that Reşat Bayer had given wise counsel. He knew that he should not have the evil thoughts that arose in him. And yet, he added, whenever he saw İsa Dirbekli, he could not prevent himself from wanting to throw stones at him and beat him up.

In May 1976, Semih had reached the age (18) of compulsory military service in Turkey. Reşat Bayer met him again during that month in a military hospital in Ankara. He had been sent there for examination with a view to undergoing an operation on his ear. The operation was brilliantly successful. When we next met Semih (this time in İskenderun, where he was working with his father selling vegetables), in March 1977, he showed us a remarkably normal-appearing external right ear that a plastic surgeon in the army had constructed for him with great skill. In addition, the fashion for young men to wear their hair long had come to Hatay, and Semih's hair largely covered his ears. This improvement in physical appearance surely had some connection with Semih's changed attitude toward İsa Dirbekli. As before, we asked him about this, and he said that he had now completely given up the idea of revenging himself on İsa.

Semih told us that he still remembered the previous life, but we did not enquire about the details of what he was remembering. His mother said that he still talked about the previous life "from time to time," but less than previously. She identified no particular stimulus that seemed to start him on the subject.

Semih was still going over to Hatun Köy. However, at this time he was engaged to a girl of that village, and he now had two reasons to go there.

THE CASE OF MAUNG MYINT SOE

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Maung Myint Soe was born on June 7, 1962, in Rangoon, Burma. His parents were U Tin Aung and his wife, Daw Htwe, and he was the oldest of their five children. (His younger brother Maung Sein Myint was also the subject of a case.) U Tin Aung was employed as a stenographer in a government office.

Maung Myint Soe developed coherent speech relatively late, between the ages of 3 and 4. At this time he made a small number of statements about a previous life, although he never said directly the name he had in that life. On the basis, however, of a dream, a small auricular appendage with which he was born (Figure 18-6), a few statements, and some unusual behavior (for his family), his parents concluded that he was the reincarnation of a distant relative (of Daw Htwe) called U Sein Htun. This man had drowned when a ferryboat on which he was traveling sank in late 1960.

U Win Maung learned of this case from U Bo Sein, one of his numerous friends and informants in Rangoon. U Bo Sein was related to Maung Myint Soe's parents and also their close neighbor in Rangoon. Our interviews were held conveniently in U Bo Sein's house.

U Win Maung recorded a preliminary statement from Maung Myint Soe's parents in April 1974. In November 1975, he and I met Maung Myint Soe and his parents again. In April 1979 we had a follow-up interview with Maung Myint Soe. U Bo Sein and his wife, Daw Yin, were also important informants for the case.

U Sein Htun had lived at the village of A-lai-ywa, which is about 25 kilometers east of Rangoon. This did not seem far to me, and I expressed a wish to go there and meet any surviving members of U Sein Htun's family. I learned, however, that the trip would be difficult and time-consuming. Also, because Maung Myint Soe's parents and U Bo Sein had all known U Sein Htun, the probable yield of useful additional information that we might have obtained at A-lai-ywa did not seem to justify our going there; and so I abandoned this project.

In August 1985, U Win Maung had a further interview (at my request) with U Bo Sein and Daw Yin, who were able to answer some remaining questions about details of the case.

Persons Interviewed during the Investigation

In Rangoon we interviewed:

Maung Myint Soe
U Tin Aung, Maung Myint Soe's father
Daw Htwe, Maung Myint Soe's mother
Daw Yin, Daw Htwe's maternal aunt
U Bo Sein, Daw Yin's husband

Relevant Facts of Geography and Relationship between the Two Families

A-lai-ywa, where U Sein Htun lived, is about 25 kilometers east of Rangoon, from which it is reached by a ferry. A-lai-ywa had an estimated population of 600-700 persons in 1960.

U Sein Htun's wife, Daw Tin Kyi, was Daw Htwe's second cousin. Daw Htwe was a native of A-lai-ywa, but her husband came from another community, and they lived in Rangoon after they married.

U Sein Htun had been friendly with Daw Htwe, and at times he had stayed with her family.

The Life, Death, and Character of U Sein Htun

U Sein Htun was born in A-lai-ywa village in about 1920. He was the son of U Hman and Daw Chit, and he had three brothers. When he grew up, he worked as a small farmer. He married Daw Tin Kyi, and they had five children. They had a well-built house in A-lai-ywa. U Sein Htun also had a hut by his paddy fields from which he could watch over his crops.

He was about 40 when he drowned accidentally. He had gone into Rangoon to do some shopping, and on returning he embarked in a badly crowded ferryboat.

It was said to have been carrying 200 passengers (instead of the normal 100 passengers) when it ran into a submerged sandbank and capsized. Survivors who were traveling with U Sein Htun said he had gone to the boat's engine room, where he had fallen asleep. When the boat capsized, he was trapped and drowned, along with 12 other persons. Of the persons who drowned, U Sein Htun was the only person from A-lai-ywa village. The ferry run was between Rangoon and Khayan with a stop at A-lai-ywa, which is about halfway between the two terminal ports.

Our informants could not fix the date of this accident (and U Sein Htun's death) more precisely than by placing it at the end of 1960. Daw Htwe said that she was not yet married at the time.

The only personal characteristic of U Sein Htun of which we learned was a fondness for gambling.

He had a distinctive auricular appendage at the anterior part of his left ear. U Tin Aung, Daw Htwe, and U Bo Sein all remembered this minor birth defect on U Sein Htun.

An Announcing Dream

Some months after U Sein Htun's death, another of Daw Htwe's distant cousins, U Tun Nyunt, dreamed that U Sein Htun said to him: "I am going to live with Ma[6] Htwe. Please look after my children."

Daw Htwe was uncertain about when U Tun Nyunt had his dream. She only learned of it after she was pregnant, but she thought that the dream had occurred before she became pregnant.[7]

After U Tun Nyunt told Daw Htwe about his dream, he expressed much interest in her pregnancy and wondered aloud, in her presence, about whether she would have a male baby, something that he obviously expected from his dream.

[6]When U Sein Htun drowned in 1960, Daw Htwe was still a young unmarried woman, and the honorific "Ma" would be appropriate for her. By the time we came to know her in the 1970s she was appropriately addressed as "Daw."

[7]Burmese Buddhists believe that a previous personality may show itself to living persons—in dreams or as an apparition—up to the time of the conception of the physical body for their next life; however, they believe that it loses the capacity for such communication with living persons after conception has occurred. In principle then, announcing dreams among Burmese Buddhists should occur before the subject's mother becomes pregnant, and in an analysis of this feature we found that 64% of announcing dreams in Burma occurred before the pregnancy began (Stevenson, 1983). This contrasts with the announcing dreams among the Tlingit of Alaska, among whom the majority of announcing dreams occur during the pregnancy, with some clustering of them at the end of the pregnancy just before the subject's birth (Stevenson, 1966).

Burmese Buddhists familiar with the traditional beliefs concerning when announcing dreams should occur may unconsciously adjust their memories to suit the belief and date the dream backwards in time. Daw Htwe may have done this, but she did not claim assertively that she knew exactly when the dream occurred. The dreamer, U Tun Nyunt, lived in A-lai-ywa village, and we did not meet him.

Comment. The second phrase of the words in the dream attributed to the discarnate U Sein Htun suggests that in the discarnate state he had been staying around his home in A-lai-ywa village, but was then preparing to leave the village and join Ma Htwe in Rangoon, before being reborn. In this case the statement about location during the discarnate state occurred in a dream; but in other cases the subjects have themselves said or implied that they remembered remaining in a discarnate state near the place where the previous personality had lived or died.[8]

Maung Myint Soe's Statements

Although Maung Myint Soe never directly gave U Sein Htun's name, the few statements he made leave little doubt that he was referring to U Sein Htun. He said he was from A-lai-ywa, where he had a house and five children; and he said that he drowned "when the motor-boat sank." He also said that he wanted to go to his hut in A-lai-ywa village. This was all his parents could remember of his statements when he was a young child.

In 1979 Maung Myint Soe told U Win Maung and me that in the previous life he had drowned because he was trapped in the engine room. His parents had not mentioned this detail of his memories to us. By 1979 he might have learned it normally.

Maung Myint Soe's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

Maung Myint Soe's Phobia of Water. Maung Myint Soe from an early age had a marked phobia of water. If he was obliged to cross a river or a creek, for example in traveling with his parents, he would cling to them tightly. Indeed, up to the age of 4 he would refuse to cross even creeks in a boat. (There was a small creek near his family's house in Rangoon, so that they often had occasion to observe this behavior.) Daw Htwe thought that Maung Myint Soe had continued to be phobic of water up to the age of 6, but Maung Myint Soe told us in 1975—he was then more than 13 years old—that he still had some fear of crossing rivers in boats, although it had much diminished. He had never learned to swim.

Maung Myint Soe's Play at Drowning. Daw Htwe said that when Maung Myint Soe was between 2 and 3 years old, he would in his play occasionally enact a scene of a man trying to escape from a sinking ship and shout: "The boat is sinking. Help! Help!" Daw Htwe observed him enacting this scene with his playmates. She tried to suppress this type of play, thinking that Maung Myint Soe might cause a panic or even an accident if he shouted like this while they were actually crossing a river.[9]

[8]Subjects who made statements of this kind include: Puti Patra, Veer Singh, U Tinn Sein, Maung Myo Min Thein, Maung Thein, Ma Par, Ma San San Nyunt, and Ma Khin Mar Htoo.

[9]Subjects of other cases have seemed to re-enact in play the deaths in the previous lives remembered. One child in Lebanon, Ramez Shams, used to re-enact the suicidal shooting of the previous life he remembered by placing a long stick under his throat and pretending that it was a rifle. (*continued*)

Maung Myint Soe's Interest in Gambling. Maung Myint Soe's other noteworthy trait when he was a young child was a penchant for gambling, which corresponded with a similar trait in U Sein Htun. When we asked Maung Myint Soe about this trait (in 1975), he tried to deny it, but at the same time grinned and thereby acknowledged its truth, of which he was apparently embarrassed. He was not hardened in vice, but both his parents as well as U Bo Sein (who knew the family well) stated that Maung Myint Soe liked to gamble.

Maung Myint Soe's Birth Defect

Figure 18-6 shows the small appendage anterior to Maung Myint Soe's left external ear. The appendage was about 4 millimeters in diameter, and it protruded between 5 and 6 millimeters from the surrounding surface of the skin.

U Tin Aung and Daw Htwe said that no other member of the family known to them (except U Sein Htun, who was related only by marriage) had a similar auricular appendage. I myself examined both of them and also all of Maung Myint Soe's four younger brothers. Daw Yin, U Bo Sein's wife and Daw Htwe's maternal aunt, was present during part of our interviews in 1975, and we asked her about such auricular appendages in her family. She said that neither of her two sisters (she had no brothers) had had such a defect. (One of her sisters was Daw Htwe's mother.) She also said that her (Daw Yin's) parents (Maung Myint Soe's maternal great-grandparents) had no such defect. These examinations and statements took in everyone in Daw Htwe's family as far as any living member could remember. We did not have an informant of Daw Yin's age for U Tin Aung's family, but, as I mentioned, he said that he knew of no member of his family having an auricular appendage like Maung Myint Soe's.

U Bo Sein said that he thought the appendage in front of U Sein Htun's ear had been slightly larger than Maung Myint Soe's.

[9](*continued*) Another child (in Burma), Maung Aung Win, used to put a piece of rope around his neck and pretend to hang himself, as the person whose life he remembered had done. Two other Burmese subjects, Daw Aye Thein and Daw Aye Thoung (twins), who remembered previous lives that had ended in suicidal drowning used to play at drowning. Another subject, Ruprecht Schulz (of Germany), had the habit as a child, when he was in trouble, of making his hand roughly into the shape of a pistol with the index finger extended and placed at his temple; he would then say "I shoot myself." This subject remembered the life of a man who had suicidally shot himself in the head.

Behavior parallel to what I have just described may occur after a trauma in this life. Thus Terr (1981, 1990) has reported extensive observations of children who after a trauma re-enacted the trauma or incorporated it into their play, producing what she called post-traumatic play. Such invasion of a past trauma into later life may occur also in adults exposed to severe stresses. This occurred often among the survivors of the German concentration camps during World War II. One survivor, for example, stated:

> The memories are so strong that they can annihilate the present, and that is a grave danger....I have a friend in Germany who tells me that it can hit him out of nowhere. He can be driving along and then have to stop the car because he has begun to cry; because it has become too much for him to bear. (Gill, 1988, p. 456)

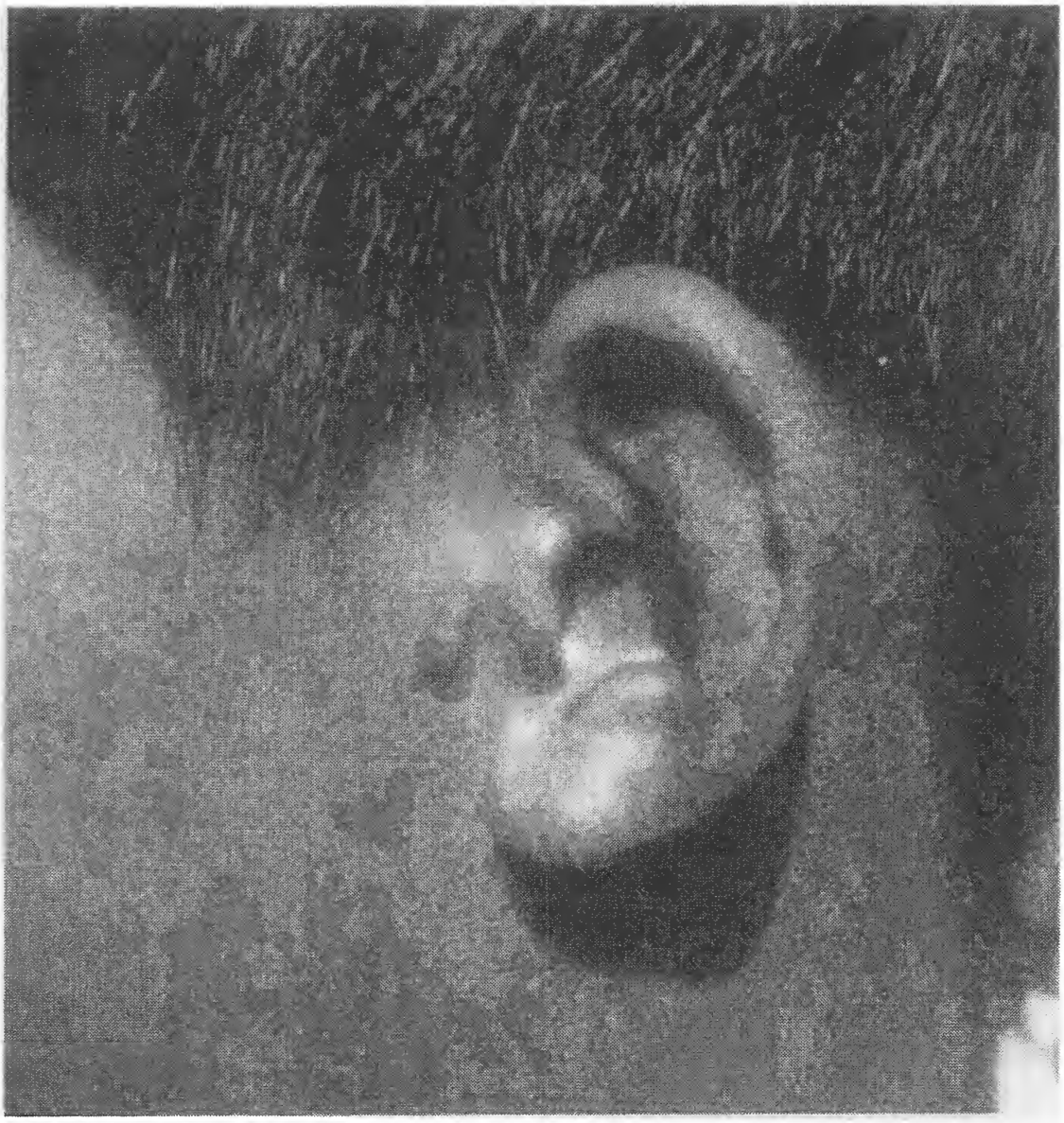

Figure 18-6 Preauricular appendage on left ear of Maung Myint Soe as it appeared in November 1975, when he was about 13½ years old. The tragus also protruded laterally and was somewhat pedunculated.

Comment. Unlike most of the birth defects described in this work, that of Maung Myint Soe is not rare. Altmann (1951, p. 119) and also Warkany (1971, p. 403) estimated that 1.5% of the population have auricular appendages. Ostmann (1903) surveyed 7,537 schoolchildren in Germany and found that 12 had auricular appendages, giving a prevalence of 1 in 628 children (0.16%).

Altmann (1951), Brander (1939), and Cohen (1982) believed that a genetic factor could be identified in the etiology of auricular appendages. This would be irrelevant to the present case, in which the subject and previous personality were related only through marriage.

Maung Myint Soe's Later Development

In 1975 Maung Myint Soe told us that he had entirely forgotten the previous life, although he still had a much reduced phobia of crossing rivers in boats, and he had not learned to swim.

In 1979 Maung Myint Soe (who was then 17) said that he still had some memories of the previous life, but they were fading.[10] He told us that he no longer thought about the previous life spontaneously, but only did so when people (like ourselves) asked him questions. He mentioned that he remembered that he had drowned in the previous life, and he told us about the detail of being trapped in the engine room of the ferryboat; this, he said, was why he had drowned in the previous life.

He seemed also to have some dim memories of the work of U Sein Htun as a farmer and said that the life had been a strenuous one. For himself, he looked forward to a less arduous occupation. He had completed high school and entered the Government Technical School to train as an electrical engineer. He was enjoying his studies and doing well at them.

Maung Myint Soe still had some phobia of water. He said that he was no longer afraid to travel on ferryboats, but he felt "nervous" about swimming in a river, and he had not learned to swim.

Maung Myint Soe had developed ties with U Sein Htun's relatives in A-lai-ywa. He had visited them a month before our meeting with him in April 1979, and he planned to visit them again a few days later.

[10]Other subjects have said at one time that they have forgotten the previous life completely (or almost so) and then, later, have said or shown that they still remembered it. Sometimes, on the later occasion, they may introduce details of the memories they had not previously mentioned, as Maung Myint Soe did in 1979. Sometimes a subject corrects an earlier statement about a memory; Ma Khin San provided an example of this. Such differences between earlier and later statements about memories may arise from several different factors.

Sometimes when we first meet a subject, he is not in a mood to discuss his memories and puts off inquiries by denying that he still remembers the previous life; at a later interview, when he knows us better, he may be willing to speak more openly about the memories. (I do not think this is the correct explanation in the present case, but I cannot exclude it.)

A second possibility is that the subject truly has forgotten when he first says he has forgotten, and truly has remembered when he later says he remembers. In the first volume of this work I quoted Ballard (1913), who wrote: "We not only tend to forget what we have once remembered but we also tend to remember what we have once forgotten" (p. 1).

A third possible interpretation is that during the interval between his two statements, the subject learned normally about additional details that he then unconsciously assimilated to his memories. In the present case, since Maung Myint Soe visited and talked with U Sein Htun's family in A-lai-ywa when he was young and later, he almost certainly would have heard some of them (and perhaps his parents also) narrating details of the accident in which U Sein Htun drowned. The matter becomes additionally complicated by the possibility that such talk might have stimulated additional real memories in Maung Myint Soe.

I have elsewhere published a discussion of the difficulties encountered in trying to decide whether and when a subject has forgotten memories of a previous life (Stevenson, 1966/1974).

In 1985 U Win Maung did not meet Maung Myint Soe, but he learned from U Bo Sein that Maung Myint Soe still had some fear of water. The latest evidence of this occurred when Maung Myint Soe—by this time 23 years old—was forced to learn to swim as part of his qualifying for a position in the merchant marine. He hesitated so long to enter the water that the instructor had to kick him into the water from behind.

Comment about the Evidence of Paranormal Processes in the Case

This case illustrates how the persons concerned in a case (and its investigator also) can deduce with reasonable certainty the identity of the deceased person to whom a child refers, even when the child does not state the name of that person. The deduction comes from a combination of several features of the case. Maung Myint Soe made few statements about the previous life, showed only two items of unusual behavior, and had only one (not uncommon) minor birth defect. No single feature of the case could have led to the identification of Maung Myint Soe with U Sein Htun, but I believe that taken as a group they warrant this identification.[11] The case gives me an opportunity to say again that I think the correct appraisal of these cases requires us to consider all features of each case together. This is not to say that all the mentioned features would necessarily have equal weight as evidence; and I did not even mention U Tun Nyunt's announcing dream as evidence that U Sein Htun was the person to whom Maung Myint Soe's birth defect, statement, and behavior referred, although members of his family did so regard it, at least to some extent.

THE CASE OF RUVAN RANATUNGA

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Champika Ruvan Sri Sampath Ranatunga was born (by caesarean section) in Castle Hospital, Colombo, Sri Lanka, on July 17, 1978. His parents were Karolus Ranatunga and his wife, G. G. Joshalin Nona. Ruvan was their only child up to the time of our investigation of his case in 1982. K. Ranatunga was a landless cultivator of poor economic circumstances. He and his family lived in the village of Palugama, near the town of Dompe.

[11]Two of Maung Myint Soe's statements—that he was from A-lai-ywa and that he had drowned when a motor-boat sank—would have sufficed for deciding that he was referring to the life of U Sein Htun and no one else. U Sein Htun was the sole resident of A-lai-ywa to drown in the ferryboat accident of about 1960. Other subjects who have not stated the previous personality's name, but have stated enough other details to permit identification of the previous personality include: Indika Guneratne, Thusitha Silva, Subashini Gunasekera, and Iranga Jayakody (all of Sri Lanka). Two of these Sri Lanka children described an unusual mode of death, as did Maung Myint Soe. Subjects of this group in India include Dolon Champa Mitra and Sunita Khandelwal.

Immediately after Ruvan's birth he was found to have a birth defect (possibly a deformity) of his left ear (Figure 18-7). Joshalin Nona made some effort to straighten the ear with her fingers, but did not succeed. Ruvan's parents did not identify him as being the reincarnation of any particular person at the time of his birth.

Ruvan started to speak when he was about 2½ years old. When he was about 3, he began to make statements about a previous life. In these he showed a quality that is frustratingly common among the subjects of Sri Lanka cases: Although mentioning numerous details about the previous life, he stated only one proper name connected with it. This was "Narampola," the name of a village about 4 kilometers from Palugama. He gave a hint only of the manner of dying in the previous life—from drowning.

Unlike many subjects of these cases, Ruvan applied no pressure on his parents to take him to Narampola, and they, equally, had little curiosity to verify his statements. When he was about 3½ years old, which would have been in December 1981 or January 1982, his mother wanted to attend a ceremony at the temple in Narampola, and she took Ruvan with her. (He accompanied her fortuitously; when they set out, she had no intention of trying to verify his statements.) Joshalin Nona said that at Narampola Ruvan "recognized the temple," by which she meant that as they approached the temple he seemed to be familiar with the road leading toward it. Then, arrived at the temple, he said that he could find the house of his previous life. So they started off in a particular direction and had walked about a mile when Joshalin Nona halted and turned back because it was late and becoming dark. Ruvan did not object to this change of plan.

During the brief visit that Ruvan and his mother paid to Narampola, some of its residents learned about his memories of a previous life. However, this did not lead directly to any further event in the case. The next development occurred when K. A. Gunawathie, a close neighbor of Ruvan's family, mentioned his statements to Dr. K.W.D. Pieris, who had a dispensary in a nearby village, Idamaldeniya. Gunawathie worked there as a dispenser. Dr. Pieris became interested in the case and made inquiries in both Palugama (about Ruvan's statements) and in Narampola (to ascertain whether they could be verified). He learned that Ruvan's statements seemed to apply correctly to a child of Narampola who had drowned about 5 years before Ruvan's birth. This child was Sampath Rupasinghe, and he had been only about 2½ years old when he died. Dr. Pieris then acted as an intermediary between the two families and arranged for them to meet at the Cooperative Shop in Palugama. (He himself was not present when they met for the first time.) At this meeting, Ruvan was credited with recognizing Sampath's father, D. J. Rupasinghe, and also a bicycle to which D. J. Rupasinghe had attached a small seat so that Sampath could ride on the bicycle with him. (The seat was not attached to the bicycle at the time, and Ruvan enquired about it.) Sampath's family verified the accuracy (with regard to Sampath) of Ruvan's statements about the previous life.

D. J. Rupasinghe's sister Karunawathie, who had accompanied him to the meeting, noticed the defect in Ruvan's left ear and commented on its exact resemblance to a birth defect (perhaps a deformation) of Sampath's left ear. This feature

removed any residual doubts the Rupasinghe family may have had about the authenticity of Ruvan's statements. They invited Ruvan to visit them in Narampola, and he went there about a week later. At the Rupasinghe house he recognized several other persons of the family and several more objects familiar to Sampath.

These meetings occurred in March 1982. Newspaper reporters learned of the case, and an account of it appeared in the Sinhalese weekly *Rivirasa* on March 21, 1982. Tissa Jayawardene noticed the report and informed Godwin Samararatne about it. In July 1982, Godwin Samararatne went to the area of the case and interviewed Ruvan's mother and Sampath's father and older brother. A few months later, in September 1982, I entered the investigation and (with Godwin Samararatne and Tissa Jayawardene) interviewed again Ruvan's mother and Sampath's father. We also interviewed Ruvan's father and Sampath's mother.

After I drafted the report of this case, I thought we needed some additional information, especially about geographical details and about how the two families had first come together. For this purpose Godwin Samararatne and Tissa Jayawardene returned to the area of the case in November 1985. They interviewed two additional informants and had further talks with Ruvan's mother, Joshalin Nona, and Sampath's father, D. J. Rupasinghe.

Still not satisfied that we understood how the two families had first met, I returned to the site of the case in February 1986, again with Godwin Samararatne and Tissa Jayawardene. I interviewed Dr. Pieris and also D. M. Sirisena, whose daughter, Dayani, had been a transmitter of news about Ruvan's statements to Sampath's family before the two families met. Sirisena said that he had been present when they first met. In February 1986 I also visited Ruvan and his parents again and learned of Ruvan's later development.

Persons Interviewed during the Investigation

In Palugama we interviewed:

Karolus S. Ranatunga, Ruvan's father
G. G. Joshalin Nona, Ruvan's mother
K. A. Gunawathie, neighbor and distant relative of Ruvan's family

In Narampola we interviewed:

D. J. Rupasinghe, Sampath's father
L. A. Jayawathie Perera, Sampath's mother
Priyasantha S. Kumar, Sampath's older brother

In Delgoda we interviewed:

Karunawathie Rupasinghe, D. J. Rupasinghe's older sister
Dr. K.W.D. Pieris, who had brought the two families together

In Biyagama, near Kaliniya, we interviewed:

D. M. Sirisena, formerly a resident of Narampola

Ruvan was a little more than 4 years old when we met him in the summer and early autumn of 1982. He cooperated readily while we examined and photographed his ears. We chatted a little with him, but I have no notes indicating that we should count him among the persons interviewed.

Relevant Facts of Geography and Possibilities for Normal Means of Communication between the Two Families

Palugama and Narampola are villages in the region of Dompe, a town which is about 22 kilometers east of Colombo. In a direct line the two villages are about 4 kilometers apart, but by road the distance between the houses of the two families is about 8 kilometers.

Ruvan's mother, Joshalin Nona, went to Narampola occasionally. Narampola has a temple, and Joshalin Nona also consulted an Ayurvedic physician at the town of Dekatana (near Narampola) from time to time. Joshalin Nona shopped in Dompe, which is between Palugama and Narampola by the main road route. Karolus Ranatunga said that he had never been to Narampola before the case developed, although he had been to Dekatana, which, by one route (along the main road) lies between Palugama and Narampola. Karolus and Joshalin Nona both said that they had not heard about Sampath's drowning before Ruvan began to talk about a previous life and his statements were verified.

K. A. Gunawathie, a close neighbor and distant relative of Ruvan's family, also said that she had not known Sampath's family before the case developed.

Dr. Pieris, the principal intermediary in bringing the two families together, knew neither of the families concerned until his curiosity was aroused by what he learned of the case from his dispenser, Gunawathie. The other intermediary, D. M. Sirisena, lived in Narampola and was a cousin of Sampath's father. He had passed through Palugama, but had no relatives or friends there and did not know Ruvan's family.

D. J. Rupasinghe gave similar answers to questions about a possible previous acquaintance between the two families before the case developed. He did his shopping in Dekatana, not in Dompe. He said that he had no connections with Palugama, had never been there before the case developed, and had never met Ruvan's parents before then. (We seem not to have asked Sampath's mother these questions.)

The roundabout way in which Sampath's family learned about Ruvan's statements adds some evidence that the two families were unacquainted before the case developed. If Karolus Ranatunga had known a family corresponding to Ruvan's statements, he might have gone directly to its members. However, I do not wish to give undue weight to this factor for two reasons. First, Ruvan had stated no proper names except that of Narampola, and he had not explicitly mentioned the mode of death in the previous life. Thus the Ranatungas, if they had wanted to trace someone corresponding to Ruvan's statements might—for all they knew—have been faced with the need for almost door-to-

door inquiries at Narampola. Second, unlike most parents of subjects in Sri Lanka, the Ranatungas showed little curiosity and no haste about verifying Ruvan's statements.

The Life, Death, and Character of Sampath Rupasinghe

Ruvan Sampath[12] Rupasinghe was born in Narampola on January 18, 1971. His parents were D. J. Rupasinghe and his wife, L. A. Jayawathie Perera, and Sampath was their second son and third child. He had an older brother and an older sister. (Subsequently, another daughter and another son were born.) D. J. Rupasinghe worked as a carpenter and also cultivated land. (Sampath's family was markedly more prosperous than that of Ruvan.)

Sampath was slightly postmature at his birth. Jayawathie said that her pregnancy with him lasted 9 months and 10 or 12 days. She described Sampath as having been "big in the womb." Her previous two deliveries had gone smoothly, but with Sampath she needed assistance from a doctor, and he was born in the hospital at Dompe. However, forceps were not used, and Jayawathie did not think that Sampath's ear had been injured during his delivery.

Immediately after Sampath's birth his left ear was found to be misshapen, perhaps deformed. I use this last word instead of *malformed*, because of the possibility that Sampath's left ear was first formed normally and then distorted by compression during the late stages of the pregnancy; this is more apt to occur during the crowding in the uterus of a multiple pregnancy, but may occur with singletons also.[13] Jayawathie (as well as other persons, including her sister-in-law Karunawathie) believed that the defect in Ruvan's ear was identical with that of Sampath's. If this was so, Sampath's ear would have had all the usual tissue, but the ear was flattened forward. (No other member of Sampath's family had a deformed or malformed ear like his.)

[12]The subject and previous personality of this case have two names in common: "Ruvan" and "Sampath." (This led to some confusion on my part for a time, and to help readers avoid this I have arbitrarily called the subject "Ruvan" and the previous personality "Sampath."

We asked Joshalin Nona how she and her husband had selected the names they gave Ruvan. She said that an astrologer they consulted after his birth had given them "some letters," and they had then derived the full names themselves.

This allows the conjecture of some telepathic influence on Ruvan's parents in the selection of names for him. In a few other cases, a subject's family has seemingly been influenced in ways that we do not understand to choose for the subject of a case the name of the person whose life the subject will later remember, that person being unknown to them at the time.

[13]This usage accords with custom among teratologists. An organ may be fully formed normally, but at some stage of gestation, or perhaps delivery, becomes damaged and *deformed*, usually through mechanical processes (Aase, 1990; Smith, 1981). (Clubfoot is a typical congenital deformation.) If, however, an organ or part does not develop morphologically like a normal one, it is considered *malformed* (Aase, 1990; Smith, 1982). Malformations often lead to secondary deformations (Cohen 1982). In some cases it may be difficult to tell whether a given abnormality is a malformation or a deformation. In the present case, I believe that the defect in Ruvan's ear was a malformation.

D. J. Rupasinghe remembered that family members had sometimes discussed the defect of the ear in Sampath's presence, but he thought Sampath was too young to understand what they were saying. He did not think anyone had paid any particular attention to the abnormality of his ear. Jayawathie, however, gave a different account of this matter. She agreed that her husband "did not pay much attention" to the defect, but speaking for herself said that it "interests me very much." She considered the defective ear "not a beautiful sight," and she had tried to change Sampath's left ear into normal shape (like that of his right ear) by massaging it for—she estimated—5 or 10 minutes a session, three or four times a week. (Her husband apparently knew nothing of this attempt to cure the defect.) Jayawathie also remembered that sometimes she showed Sampath's abnormal ear to visitors.

Sampath had no impairment of hearing.

Sampath was a healthy child; indeed he was noted for being strong and robust. He could not swim, but liked to go in the water. Ordinarily other, older persons had bathed him, and the day of his death was thought to have been the first on which he had gone to the well at the Rupasinghes' house by himself.

There were two wells in the compound of the house. The family used one for drinking water and a second one for washing. D. J. Rupasinghe had become somewhat uneasy about the safety of the wells, and he had removed a step from the well for drinking water, because he was afraid that a child might stand on it and fall into the well. He had not taken any preventive measures with regard to the washing well.

On the day of his death Sampath had had a breakfast around 10:00 a.m. at which he had eaten two buns. Some time after this he had gone to the well alone, taking a cup and a shirt, evidently with the intention of washing the shirt with water that he planned to scoop out of the well with the cup. He seems not to have been missed until about 2:00 p.m., when his body was found in the well. His body had no wounds, and a postmortem examination established that death was due to drowning.

We examined the well in question. The well was about 100 meters from the house and not readily visible from it. The water was held in a large rectangular basin of concrete walls that was about 3 meters square. It was on sloping terrain, and some steps led down to a platform giving access to the water. At the time of our visit, the level of the water was about 30-40 centimeters below the top of the rectangular wall, and the water seemed to be about 1.5 meters deep. D. J. Rupasinghe conjectured that Sampath had fallen into the water when (from the platform) he reached down with his cup to withdraw water from the well. This seems almost the only plausible explanation of how Sampath had come to drown. He was not subject to epilepsy.

Sampath died on June 28, 1973, and he was almost exactly 2½ years old.[14]

[14]Other cases in which the subject remembered the life of a child who had died under the age of 5 years include those of: Rajul Shah, Ampan Petcherat, Ma Myint Myint Zaw, Daw Khin, Veer Singh, and Pratomwan Inthanu.

Sampath's death saddened his mother, and she had a strong wish that he would return, so that she could meet him again. She remembered his abnormal ear, and as her husband and his sister were leaving for Palugama to meet Ruvan and his family (when she did not accompany them), she told them to look for a deformed ear on the boy who was claiming to have been their son. She told us: "They [meaning other members of the family but principally her husband] had more or less forgotten about it, but I was concerned about it."[15]

Sampath died young, and he had not developed many notable features of personality. However, his father remarked that he liked animals. He was also fond of eating buns, and his father recalled that he often asked for them. His older sister ate buns, but did not ask for them; and his older brother showed no special interest in them.

The temple at Narampola is about 1 kilometer from the Rupasinghes' house, and Sampath had gone there often, perhaps two or three times a month. However, his parents did not present him to us as having been precociously religious.

Sampath had no phobia of water; he liked it.

Physically Sampath was unusually strong. D. J. Rupasinghe, to illustrate his emphasis on this quality in Sampath, showed us a large wheeled cart and said that Sampath was able to push this along even when his older brother was sitting in it.

Statements and a Recognition Made by Ruvan

In Table 18-2 I have listed Ruvan's statements about the previous life. For items 1-13 his mother was our informant with his father remembering two of these items. K. Ranatunga also remembered one item (item 14) that his wife did not mention. This item, Ruvan's reference to taking a cup to the well, was as close as he came to describing how Sampath had died. I believe Ruvan made the statements of items 1-14 before the two families met.

Items 15 and 16 were statements we learned about from Sampath's parents, although Joshalin Nona remembered a fragment of item 16, referring to carpentry in the previous life. I assume that Sampath's family had learned about these additional statements from Ruvan's family and that Ruvan's family had forgotten them when we asked for a list of what he had said.

Comment. Some of the individual statements are not specific and would apply to many Sinhalese village families. (My associates and I in Sri Lanka have

[15]In the case of Juggi Lal Agarwal, the previous personality's father examined Juggi Lal's head as soon as he met him, searching for the birthmark that, in his view, Juggi Lal should have had if he was the reincarnation of his son.

Another example of a birthmark predicted by the family of the previous personality occurred in the case of Savitri Devi Pathak. She remembered the life of a girl called Munni. Munni's parents expected any child claiming to be Munni reborn to have a mark on the nail of the left thumb. Still another example occurred in the case of Faris Yuyucuer. The mother of the boy (Hasan Derin) whose life Faris later recalled required Faris to have a birthmark on his left buttock in order to qualify as the reincarnation of her son.

Table 18-2 **Summary of Statements and a Recognition Made by Ruvan**

Item	*Informants*	*Verification*	*Comments*
1. He was from Narampola.	G. G. Joshalin Nona, Ruvan's mother K. Ranatunga, Ruvan's father	D. J. Rupasinghe, Sampath's father	
2. He had a father.	G. G. Joshalin Nona K. A. Gunawathie, neighbor and distant relative	D. J. Rupasinghe	
3. He had a mother.	G. G. Joshalin Nona K. A. Gunawathie	L. A. Jayawathie Perera, Sampath's mother	
4. He had a grandfather.	G. G. Joshalin Nona	D. J. Rupasinghe	
5. He had an older sister.	G. G. Joshalin Nona	D. J. Rupasinghe	
6. He had an older brother.	G. G. Joshalin Nona	D. J. Rupasinghe Priyasantha S. Kumar, Sampath's older brother	
7. His brother had a limp.	G. G. Joshalin Nona K. A. Gunawathie	Priyasantha S. Kumar	Priyasantha was burned on his thigh when boiling water was spilled on it. Afterward, he limped for a few months. He believed that he was still limping when Sampath drowned.

Table 18-2 *(continued)*

Item	*Informants*	*Verification*	*Comments*
8. His house at Narampola was bigger and better than his family's house.	G. G. Joshalin Nona K. Ranatunga	We verified this by examining both houses. That of Sampath's family was markedly superior to that of Ruvan's in both size and quality.	
9. There was a tractor there [at the house].	G. G. Joshalin Nona K. A. Gunawathie	D. J. Rupasinghe	Tractors were still rare on farms in Sri Lanka.
10. They had a bullock-cart.	G. G. Joshalin Nona	D. J. Rupasinghe	In contrast to tractors, bullock-carts were commonly found on farms in Sri Lanka.
11. They had a lorry [truck].	G. G. Joshalin Nona	D. J. Rupasinghe	
12. They had a vegetable called *kohila*.	G. G. Joshalin Nona	D. J. Rupasinghe	Sampath's family had grown kohila.
13. They made mats from *pun* leaves.	G. G. Joshalin Nona	D. J. Rupasinghe	
14. He had taken a cup to the well, and the cup fell into the well.	K. Ranatunga K. A. Gunawathie	D. J. Rupasinghe	K. A. Gunawathie remembered Ruvan as saying that "he had taken a cup to the well and had come here" (meaning to Palugama). She did not mention the detail of the cup's having fallen into the water. Sampath had taken a cup and a shirt to the well, apparently planning to wash the shirt with water that he would remove from the

			well with the cup. It was assumed that he had fallen into the well as he had reached down with the cup to fill it with water.
15. He had drunk goat's milk.	L. A. Jayawathie Perera	L. A. Jayawathie Perera	
16. His father did carpentry work.	D. J. Rupasinghe G. G. Joshalin Nona	D. J. Rupasinghe	Joshalin Nona said that Ruvan had mentioned carpentry work, but she did not say that he had specified who was doing this work.
17. Recognition of D. J. Rupasinghe's bicycle	D. J. Rupasinghe Karunawathie Rupasinghe, D. J. Rupasinghe's older sister		D. J. Rupasinghe had ridden to the meeting place in Palugama on his bicycle. It was obviously his bicycle, and the value of Ruvan's recognition of it derives from his having spontaneously asked about the small seat that D. J. Rupasinghe had attached to the bicycle so that Sampath could ride on it with him. The seat had been removed and was not on the bicycle when Ruvan saw it.

sometimes noted with amusement the frequent occurrence in Sri Lankan cases of an *akka* [Sinhalese: "older sister"], and this case was not exceptional.) However, some of Ruvan's statements are *not* typical for Sinhalese villages. These include his references to a truck (rare in the villages), goat's milk (cow's milk is commonly drunk, not goat's milk), carpentry (most villagers are farmers only), and a brother with a limp. Ruvan's statement about taking a cup to the well and the cup having fallen into the well was taken to mean that the previous personality had drowned. This naturally narrowed the possibilities, and when Dr. Pieris began inquiries in Narampola he sought to learn about a family in which a child had drowned. Taken altogether, therefore, Ruvan's statements did seem to point clearly toward Sampath and no one else. Even so, one might have had some reasonable doubts about whether the correct previous personality had been identified if Ruvan's malformed left ear had not resembled so closely that of Sampath. Judging by the emphasis our informants gave to this feature of the case, I believe they themselves might agree with this view of it.

Ruvan's Statements about His Ears. Ruvan did not make any statement about the abnormality of his left ear before the two families met. Later, however, he began to refer to his left ear as "the Narampola ear" and to his right ear as "the Palugama ear."

Ruvan's Other Recognitions. In Table 18-2 I have listed only one of the recognitions attributed to Ruvan (item 17). It occurred when he commented that a small seat formerly attached to D. J. Rupasinghe's bicycle was no longer on it. This was a seat specially fitted to the bicycle so that Sampath could ride with his father.

For the numerous other recognitions attributed to Ruvan we obtained insufficient information about their circumstances to give them full credit.

Ruvan's mother thought that he showed familiarity with the road to the temple at Narampola and also with the road from the temple to Sampath's house (even though they did not go all the way to the house at that time). However, an appearance of being familiar with some place does not amount to a clear recognition of it.

When Ruvan was taken to Sampath's house, he was said to have recognized everyone present, except a "cousin sister" of Sampath whom he failed to recognize. One of these recognitions may have been spontaneous and uncued by other persons. Priyasantha S. Kumar, Sampath's older brother, said that when Ruvan saw him he spontaneously said "Ayiya" (the Sinhalese word for older brother). For another recognition Ruvan almost certainly received some cues. I refer to his recognition of Jayawathie, Sampath's mother. D. J. Rupasinghe said that Ruvan had recognized Jayawathie, but he did not give any details of how he did this. However, Joshalin Nona, who was present, said that a large crowd had assembled, and Ruvan was given a packet of biscuits and asked to give it as a gift to "his previous mother," which he did. "Similarly he recognized the other members of the family." When Ruvan was asked to recognize a particular person, such as the previous mother (who would be known to most of the assembled persons), the crowd members would turn and look at the person in question, so that the child could hardly make a mistake. Scenes of this kind explain why I discount most recognitions attributed to the subjects of these cases.

D. J. Rupasinghe said that Ruvan, when asked, had shown the well where Sampath had drowned. However, in this instance also, the glances of the persons present might easily have guided him.

Ruvan's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

Ruvan showed two traits that corresponded with ones noted in Sampath. First, he too was fond of animals; but this is not unusual among Sinhalese village children (or adults). Second, he was extremely fond of buns. He clearly expressed this philia at the end of Godwin Samararatne's first visit to Ruvan and his family in July 1982. For that visit Godwin Samararatne had brought Ruvan a packet of biscuits. As he was leaving, he asked Ruvan what he should bring him in the event that he returned. Ruvan said, enthusiastically: "Buns, buns."

Ruvan had no siblings with whom we could compare his behavior, but neither of his parents had any special liking for buns. Joshalin Nona had noted no special craving for buns during her pregnancy with him.

Other Observations of Ruvan's Behavior

Unlike many subjects who remember previous lives that ended in drowning, Ruvan had no phobia of water.[16] On the contrary, he liked water and enjoyed being bathed.

Ruvan also differed from most subjects in seeming to have no strong desire to visit the previous family. He did ask to go to Narampola, but he certainly lacked the driving pressure to meet the previous family that many other subjects have shown. However, Karunawathie Rupasinghe said that Ruvan was moved to tears when he first met Sampath's father, D. J. Rupasinghe (her brother).

Ruvan's Birth Defect

Figures 18-7, 18-8, and 18-9 show the defect on Ruvan's left ear compared with his normal right ear. The tissues of the pinna appeared to be fully present, and the abnormality derived from a flattening anteriorly and medially of the superior part of the helix. I measured the distance at the level of the abnormality between the anterior edge of the helix and the crus helicis opposite it. On the right ear this distance was 18 millimeters, but it was only 15 millimeters on the left ear. Inferiorly, the distance between the anterior edge of the helix and the meatus was the same—30 millimeters—on both ears. The flattening was therefore confined to the superior part of the left helix.

[16]Subjects who remembered previous lives that ended in drowning and who did have a phobia of water include: Shamlinie Prema, Ruby Kusuma Silva, Süleyman Zeytun, Anurak Sithipan, Faris Yuyucuer, Maung Aung Than, and Maung Myint Soe.

Figure 18-7 Left side of Ruvan Ranatunga's head as it appeared in September 1982, when he was a little over 4 years old. The superior part of the left helix was flattened anteriorly.

Figure 18-8 Right side of Ruvan's head showing the normal right ear for comparison with the abnormal left one.

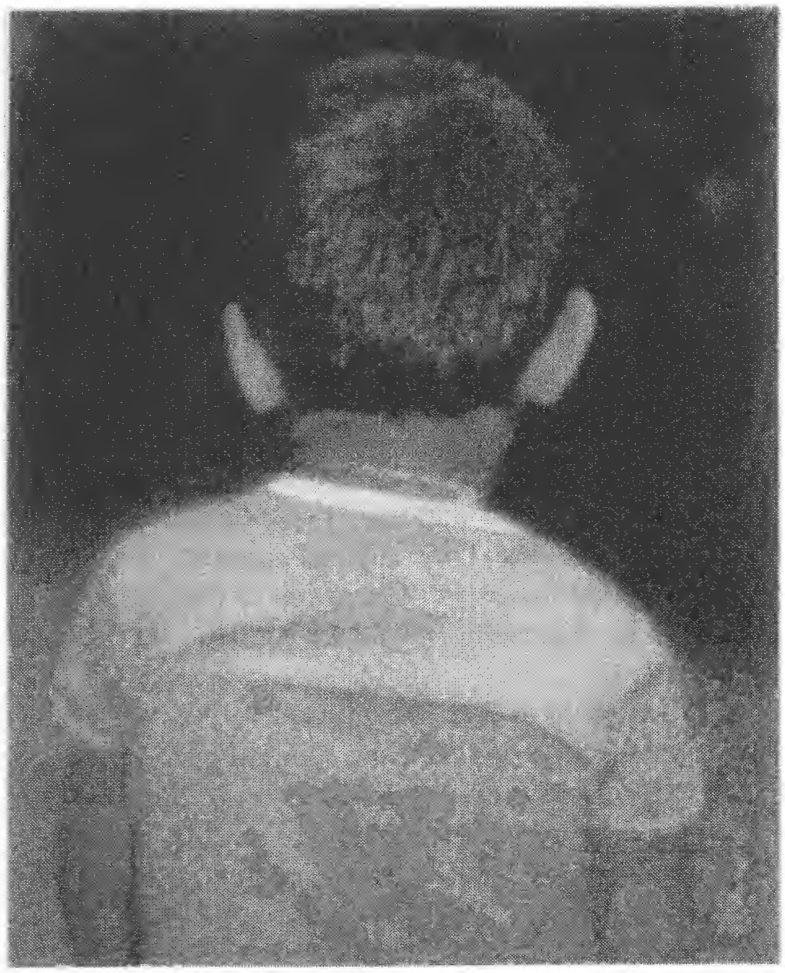

Figure 18-9 Rear view of Ruvan's ears showing some medial flattening of the left ear compared with the right one. All these photographs were taken at the same time.

Ruvan's mother said she noticed the defect of his ear "a few days after his birth." As Sampath's mother had done with his ear, Joshalin made an effort to correct the abnormality. However, unlike Jayawathie, she did not persist in her efforts.

Sampath's parents and his aunt Karunawathie all said that the abnormality of Ruvan's left ear was identical to that of Sampath's left ear. (D. J. Rupasinghe and Karunawathie were not positive that Sampath's affected ear had been the left one, but Sampath's mother was sure that it had been.) We were told that other persons who had both known Sampath and seen Ruvan also agreed that the abnormalities of their left ears were identical; however, we did not interview these other persons ourselves.

Ruvan's hearing was normal.

Other Relevant Medical Information. Joshalin Nona's pregnancy with Ruvan was affected by her having hypertension, and this condition may have been why she underwent a caesarean section for the delivery of Ruvan. She had no other major illness during her pregnancy and took no (Western) drugs and no alcohol. However, she suffered from constant headaches and "pain in the body." For these symptoms she consulted an Ayurvedic physician in Dekatana, and he prescribed Ayurvedic medicines for her.

Joshalin Nona and Karolus Ranatunga were not related.

No other member of the family had a deformed ear like Ruvan's.

Joshalin Nona did not see a person with a deformed or malformed ear during her pregnancy with Ruvan; I think we can exclude a maternal impression in the case.

Ruvan's Robustness

Ruvan seemed large for his age and unusually sturdy and well built.

Additional Possibly Relevant Information

I mentioned above that Joshalin Nona sometimes consulted an Ayurvedic physician in Dekatana. She had gone to him 1 or 2 months before conceiving Ruvan. And she visited him for consultations about twice when she was about 3 or 4 months pregnant with Ruvan. The Ayurvedic physician's home was about 1 kilometer from that of Sampath's family.

Comment. Joshalin Nona's visits to Dekatana (and Narampola) before and during her pregnancy with Ruvan bring the case into the group of those having what I call a geographical factor, by which I mean some contact between the subject's family and the area where the previous personality died. However, Joshalin Nona would not have passed close to the Rupasinghes' house, either when visiting the temple at Narampola or visiting the Ayurvedic physician in Dekatana. (The Rupasinghes' house was about 0.2 kilometer from the temple and about 1.6 kilometers from Dekatana.)

Ruvan's Later Development

In February 1986 Ruvan was 7½ years old. His health was generally good, and he was in the second grade of school. He still had some memories of the previous life, but they were fading. He was still fond of buns, but his desire for them was diminishing. Visits between the two families were continuing, and D. J. Rupasinghe had been to see Ruvan 2 or 3 weeks before our visit that year.

Comment about the Importance of the Attention Given to the Birth Defect of Sampath's Ear

In Chapter 26 I discuss the role of attention given by the previous personality to wounds or marks on his or her body. I believe heightened attention is an important factor in the occurrence of birthmarks and birth defects. Jayawathie's repeated efforts to straighten out Sampath's ear were not only ineffective in doing what she intended; they may have contributed to the occurrence of a similar defect in Ruvan's ear.

THE CASE OF MAUNG KYAW MYINT

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Maung Kyaw Myint was born on August 23, 1960, in Yedwinphyu village, Tatkon Township, Upper Burma. His parents were U Chit Tin and his wife, Daw Pu; he was the youngest of their 10 children. U Chit Tin was a farmer; he had died by the time this case was investigated.

Maung Kyaw Myint was born with a birth defect of his left ear (Figure 18-10). No one in his family seems to have paid much attention to this until, some years later, Maung Kyaw Myint said that he was one Maung Mya and that his ear was abnormal because, as Maung Mya, he had fallen from an electric pylon and damaged his ear. (The two principal informants for the case, Maung Kyaw Myint's mother and his older brother, made different estimates of his age when he spoke about the previous life.) Maung Mya had been U Chit Tin's younger brother, and he had died in the manner described by Maung Kyaw Myint.

Maung Kyaw Myint said almost nothing else about the life of Maung Mya. His older brother U Kyaw Nyunt said that he had given the names of Maung Mya's parents: U Khant and Daw Hla Mai. (These were Maung Kyaw Myint's paternal grandparents, and so Maung Kyaw Myint would have known their names normally; however, this does not by itself account for his claiming that they were his parents, because for him they were grandparents, not parents.)

U Win Maung learned of this case from U Kyaw Hlaing, one of his numerous informants in Upper Burma. In September 1980, he went to Yedwinphyu village and recorded a statement from U Kyaw Nyunt, Maung Kyaw Myint's older brother. Maung Kyaw Myint, however, was reluctant to talk with U Win Maung about the previous life; and his mother, Daw Pu, was away from the village on that day.

In February 1984, U Win Maung and I went to Yedwinphyu together, and we were able to meet Daw Pu and also to have a further interview with U Kyaw Nyunt. On this occasion, Maung Kyaw Myint was more forthcoming, and he answered some questions about his health.

The Life and Death of Maung Mya

Maung Mya was the youngest of the four children of U Khant and Daw Hla Mai. U Chit Tin was his older brother. Two sisters were born between the two brothers. It is impossible to be precise about the date of Maung Mya's birth. His nephew (U Kyaw Nyunt) gave his age at death as about 18, but we could not learn exactly when he had died. Daw Pu thought that Maung Mya had died about a year before Maung Kyaw Myint's birth, but U Kyaw Nyunt believed the interval to have been longer and suggested 2 or 3 years as correct. This would accord better with U Kyaw Nyunt's stated age (about 40 in early 1984) and his memory that he had been about 12 years old when his uncle died. I estimate therefore that Maung

Mya was born in about 1939 and died in about 1957. Fortunately, nothing hangs on these dates. I did not learn where Maung Mya was born, but he grew up and lived in Yedwinphyu.

Maung Mya, before his death, had been helping to look after the family cattle and taking them out to pasture. He had a girlfriend at this time, and one day she, with some other girls, passed near where he was herding cattle. Maung Mya climbed up a nearby pylon that was carrying high voltage electric wires, apparently with the intention of waving at his sweetheart and the other girls and perhaps also to show them how brave he was. He slipped and fell about 40 feet to the ground. He did not die immediately, but was rendered unconscious. He was carried to his house, where he died 2 to 3 hours later without regaining consciousness. He was bleeding from his nose, and one of his ears was injured. (U Kyaw Nyunt, the principal witness for information about Maung Mya's death, could not remember which was the injured ear, and Daw Pu, although she saw Maung Mya's body after he fell, said that she did not notice his ears.)

U Kyaw Nyunt, in his first statement to U Win Maung, had said that Maung Mya had fallen onto the high voltage lines carried by the pylon and received a bad electric shock. However, neither he nor Daw Pu recalled seeing any evidence of burns on Maung Mya's body, and it seems more likely that he died solely from the effects of his fall (presumably resulting in severe brain damage) and not from electric shock.

Maung Kyaw Myint's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

Maung Kyaw Myint had a phobia for heights. He did not like to climb trees or otherwise be high above the ground. This phobia was persisting at the age of 23 when we met him in 1984.

I have already mentioned that Maung Kyaw Myint was reluctant to talk with U Win Maung about Maung Mya. Daw Pu said that Maung Kyaw Myint had not spoken about the previous life until he was 10 years old. This was much later than the usual age when children start speaking about previous lives, if they are going to do so. U Kyaw Nyunt remembered hearing his brother speak about the previous life at a much younger age; in fact, he said that Maung Kyaw Myint had begun to lose his memories when he was 4 or 5 years old, and that they had totally faded by the age of 7 or 8.

Comment. It is possible that Daw Pu misremembered her son's age when she heard him speak about the previous life to her; but she was only 63 when we interviewed her and appeared to have a good memory. It seems just as likely that Maung Kyaw Myint felt free to confide in his older brother, but was embarrassed to speak to his mother about the previous life when he was young, overcoming this shyness as he grew older. U Win Maung conjectured that Maung Kyaw Myint's shyness in talking about the previous life derived from the circumstances of its ending, when Maung Mya tried to attract the attention

of his girlfriend. Unfortunately, I did not notice until later the discrepancies between the ages of his first speaking about the previous life stated by his mother and older brother; if I had, I would have been able to ask them how they might account for the differences in their memories concerning this feature of the case.

Maung Kyaw Myint's Birth Defect

Figure 18-10 shows the birth defect on Maung Kyaw Myint's left ear. (Figure 18-11 shows his normal right ear.) The pinna of the left ear was markedly smaller than that of the right ear; it was both shorter and narrower. Its lower part was bent anteriorly so that the lobe was at right angles to the surface of the neck instead of being more or less parallel to the neck as that of the right ear was. The left ear also showed a break in the tissue of the anterior part of the helix above the tragus; there was no similar break on the right ear.

Daw Pu said that the defect of the ear had not changed in shape between Maung Kyaw Myint's birth and the time of our meeting him in 1984.

Maung Kyaw Myint told us that he had never suffered from headaches and had never had either pain in the affected ear or a discharge from it. His hearing was normal.

Other Relevant Medical Information

Daw Pu and U Chit Tin were not related. Daw Pu was an Indian, not a Burman, although U Chit Tin was a Burman. Daw Pu had been healthy during her pregnancy with Maung Kyaw Myint and had taken no drugs or alcohol. Although U Win Maung and I did not ask about Daw Pu's delivery when Maung Kyaw Myint was born, we can be reasonably sure that the delivery of her 10th child would have been uneventful and that no forceps—possibly injurious to a baby's ear—would have been used.

No other member of the family had a malformed ear.

Comment

If Maung Kyaw Myint really had not spoken about the previous life until he was 10 years old—for which there are a very few parallel cases, such as that of Suleyman Andary—he might have learned normally about Maung Mya's death, including the injury to his ear, before he spoke about the previous life. The birth defect of Maung Kyaw Myint's ear might have seemed to support a fantasied identification with his uncle. This explanation, however, would still leave the malformed ear to be accounted for. We cannot explain it as due to any of the known medical causes of such defects.

This is a case in which we cannot exclude a maternal impression. Daw Pu saw Maung Mya's injured body before he died, and even though she later could

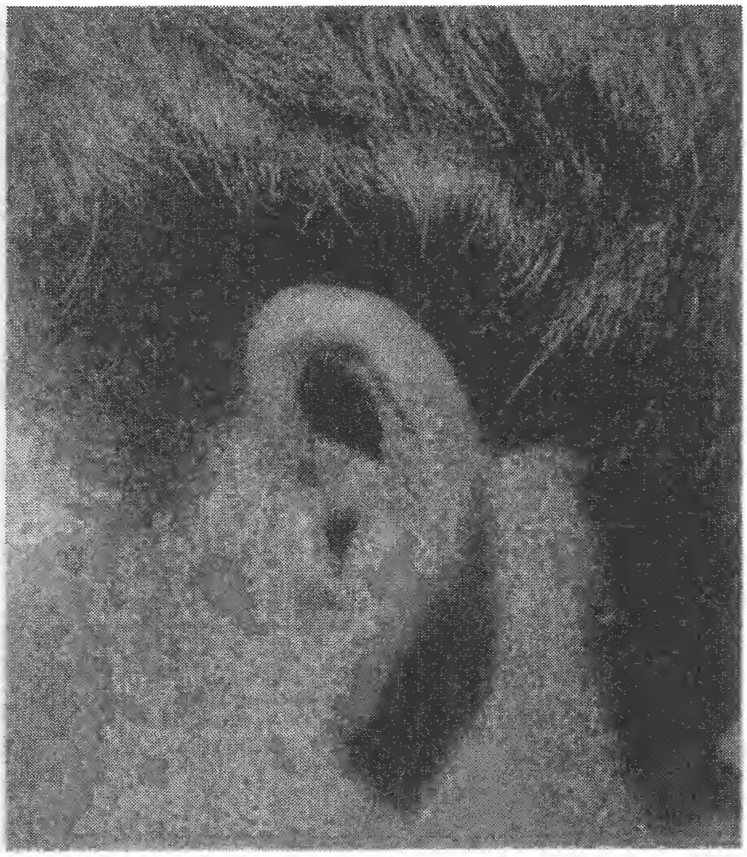

Figure 18-10 Left ear of Maung Kyaw Myint as it appeared in September 1980, when he was 20 years old. The pinna of the ear was small (compared with the normal right ear; Figure 18-11), and the lower part was bent anteriorly, so that the lobe lay at right angles to the surface of the neck. There was also a break in the tissue of the anterior part of the helix above the tragus.

Figure 18-11 Normal right ear of Maung Kyaw Myint also photographed in September 1980 for comparison with the defective left ear.

not remember having noticed Maung Mya's ear, it would have been almost impossible for her not to have seen it. Podiapolskii (1903-04) reported the case of a woman in the 1st trimester of a pregnancy who, greatly frightened by a fire near her house, put her hand up to her right ear, which she nervously rubbed and ruffled; even as she did this she became afraid that her baby would have a defective right ear, and it did.

THE CASE OF SÜLEYMAN ÇAPAR

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Süleyman Çapar was born in 1966 in the village of Madenli, south of İskenderun, Hatay, Turkey. His parents were Habib Çapar and his wife, Hekime. Süleyman was the fourth child in a family of five children. Habib Çapar worked as a laborer and a guard for a warehouse at Madenli.

Hekime Çapar had a dream during her pregnancy with Süleyman. In it a man on horseback approached her. She said: "Why are you coming to me?" He replied: "I was killed with a blow from a shovel. I want to stay with you and not with anyone else." Hekime Çapar said that she did not recognize the man in the dream at the time she had it; and she appears to have given it little attention.

When Süleyman was born, the occipital portion of his skull was noted to be somewhat depressed, and it had a prominent birthmark (Figures 18-12, 18-13, and 18-14).

Soon after Süleyman began to speak, he pointed away from his house and said he wanted to go to "the stream." He started making fragmentary allusions to a previous life and then gradually told additional details about it. He described how he had been a miller and had been killed during a quarrel with a customer about which of several waiting customers should have their grain milled first. In response to such statements, his mother one day let him show the way to a village called Ekber, where there is a stream and a mill. At Ekber, Süleyman indicated a house and said that he had lived there in his previous life. A little later, Süleyman's father took him on a second visit to Ekber, where Süleyman met the mother of the man whose life he seemed to be remembering. Habib Çapar said that Süleyman was around 2½ years old at the time of this second visit.

By this time (and possibly earlier), it had become clear that Süleyman was referring to facts in the life of Mehmet Bekler, who had been a miller at Ekber. Mehmet Bekler had been killed several years earlier during a quarrel with a customer of his mill.

I first learned of this case in February 1973 when Yaşar Atakam, who was assisting Reşat Bayer and me in the study of cases, obtained preliminary information about it. In September of that year, Reşat Bayer and I were in the area of İskenderun investigating other cases, and we began the study of this one. We had a

long interview with Habib Çapar, Süleyman's father, and exchanged a few words with Süleyman, who was then about 7 years old. Süleyman's mother, Hekime, was not at Madenli, but we were able to meet and talk with her a few days later near Adana, where she had gone to pick cotton. We also met several informants in Ekber who furnished information about Mehmet Bekler. The most important of these was his mother, Katibeh.

After he was injured, Mehmet Bekler was transported to the Government Hospital in İskenderun, and he died there. Reşat Bayer and I obtained from the hospital a copy of the report of the autopsy performed on his body. Subsequently, Reşat Bayer examined at the courthouse in Antakya the transcript of the trial of Mehmet Bayrakdar, who had killed Mehmet Bekler. Reşat Bayer made notes of relevant passages in the transcript, which he then translated for me.

In March 1977 Reşat Bayer and I had a short follow-up interview with Habib Çapar. We also saw Süleyman again, and on this occasion he talked with us more than he had in 1973.

Persons Interviewed during the Investigation

In Madenli village I interviewed:
Süleyman Çapar
Habib Çapar, Süleyman's father

In Ekber village I interviewed:
Katibeh Bekler, Mehmet Bekler's mother
Süleyman Aşkar, villager of Ekber
İbrahim Satmaz, headman of Ekber

Near Adana I interviewed:
Hekime Çapar, Süleyman's mother
İbrahim Çapar, Süleyman's cousin

Mehmet Bekler's wife had remarried after his death and no longer lived at Ekber.

I interviewed Hekime Çapar in a field near Adana, where she was picking cotton. The circumstances were far from ideal for a satisfactory interview. Our sudden appearance in the cottom field would have perplexed Hekime, even without the small crowd that quickly gathered around us. I therefore confined the exchange to a few questions that I regarded as minimally necessary. Accordingly, Süleyman's father is my sole informant for his statements about the previous life.

The transcript of the trial of Mehmet Bayrakdar included depositions that Ali Bekler, Mehmet's brother, and Mehmet Bayrakdar made to the police in the course of their initial inquiries. Thus, although I did not meet these persons, I have been able to avail myself of the information they gave the police.

Relevant Facts of Geography and Possibilities for Normal Means of Communication between the Two Families

Madenli is on the coast of the Gulf of İskenderun (an arm of the Mediterranean Sea) about 15 kilometers south of the city of İskenderun in the direction of the small town of Arsus. Ekber is about 2 kilometers southeast of Madenli, although the distance by road between them is probably 5-6 kilometers.

The two families concerned in this case were not acquainted before its development. Habib Çapar said that he knew Mehmet Bekler by sight only. Since there was a mill in Madenli, Süleyman's family had no need to go to the one at Ekber; and Süleyman's mother, Hekime, said they had no acquaintances at Ekber before the case developed. I have mentioned earlier that at the time of her dream, she did not identify the man who came to her in it; and she did not then even know about Mehmet Bekler's death. As for the other family concerned in the case, Katibeh Bekler denied being acquainted with the Çapars before the development of the case.

If we grant, as I believe we should, that the two families had no personal acquaintance before the development of the case, this does not mean that the Çapars knew nothing about Mehmet Bekler's murder. From what I know of the distances involved and the communities concerned, I think it likely that Habib Çapar learned about the murder soon after it occurred, perhaps immediately afterward. However, he may not have mentioned it to his wife, and I believe Hekime Çapar's statement that she knew nothing about Mehmet Bekler's murder when she had her dream and did not identify the man who appeared to her in it until 6 months later.[17] This was after Süleyman's birth and about 2 years before he began to talk about the previous life.

The Life and Death of Mehmet Bekler

Mehmet Bekler was born in Ekber in about 1940. (The records of İbrahim Satmaz, headman of the village of Ekber, listed Mehmet's year of birth as 1938.) He was the son of Hamit and Katibeh Bekler. He had at least one brother, Ali, and a sister; he may have had other siblings about whom I did not learn. His father took a second wife while his first one was still living.[18] He moved into another

[17]I have unsatisfactory information about this dream. As I mentioned, my interview in the cotton fields with Hekime Çapar was brief and conducted under difficult circumstances. I neglected to ask her when she had had the dream in relation to her pregnancy with Süleyman. The person who gave us preliminary information for the case said that the dream occurred 5 or 6 days before Süleyman's birth. His account of the dream differed from that of Hekime, but we almost expect this from secondhand informants.

[18]Although in 1926 polygamy was forbidden by law in Turkey, some Turks ignored the law and married a second wife, and even a third, while the first was still living. (See Appendix A.) The wives did not necessarily quarrel; they often lived harmoniously in nearby houses. Hamit Bekler's two wives were sitting together when Süleyman recognized Katibeh Bekler, Mehmet Bekler's mother. Another example of two Turkish wives of the same husband who associated pleasantly together occurred in the case of İsmail Altınkılıç.

house nearby with his second wife, while Mehmet continued to live with his mother. Mehmet performed the obligatory military service required of all Turkish men. He then returned to Ekber and operated the family flour mill. It was located on a stream outside the village. He married and had three children, two sons and a daughter. His daughter was still an infant, or a little older, when he died.

Although I know—from the medical records—the immediate cause of Mehmet Bekler's death, I do not understand the details of the quarrel that preceded his being struck on the head by Mehmet Bayrakdar. The testimonies made to the police by Ali Bekler, Mehmet Bekler's brother, and by Mehmet Bayrakdar himself were obviously the opening moves in an adversarial legal contest that ended in the conviction of Mehmet Bayrakdar. Similarly, Mehmet Bekler's mother, Katibeh, did not present herself as an objective witness when she talked with me in 1973. However, the several testimonies were concordant on the point relevant to the present case: that a quarrel at Mehmet Bekler's mill ended by his being hit on the head with a flour shovel. All informants agreed that Mehmet Bayrakdar came to Mehmet Bekler's mill with wheat that he wished to have ground immediately. He claimed later that his family had nothing to eat and that he urgently needed flour with which to make bread. Mehmet Bekler pointed out that other customers were already waiting to have their grain milled. At this, Mehmet Bayrakdar began pouring some of his grain into the funnel of the running mill, whereupon Mehmet Bekler stopped the mill. The quarrel then became physical. The witnesses disagreed about who struck the first blow. Mehmet Bayrakdar said at his deposition that Mehmet Bekler had struck him first and that he hit back in self-defense. Ali Bekler said that Mehmet Bayrakdar struck Mehmet Bekler on the head with a flour shovel and then choked and beat him fiercely.

Mehmet Bekler was transported to the Government Hospital in İskenderun. He was admitted there on November 23, 1965, and died there on November 28. The postmortem report that Reşat Bayer and I obtained at the Government Hospital included the following statement: "...a portion of the skull of the approximate size of the palm of the hand was fractured and depressed about a centimeter. This caused tearing of the meninges and rupture of blood vessels in the area..."

The record of Mehmet Bekler's admission to the Government Hospital in İskenderun gave the cause of his death as: "Subarachnoid hemorrhage due to trauma to the head."

At the trial of Mehmet Bayrakdar, his attempt to exculpate himself by pleading self-defense failed to convince the court. Judgment was given against him, and the appeals court upheld his conviction.

Both the postmortem report and the transcript of Mehmet Bayrakdar's trial mentioned that Mehmet Bayrakdar had struck Mehmet Bekler on the head with a flour shovel. None of the records specified at precisely what part of the skull the blow had fallen. Katibeh Bekler said that her son had been struck on the right side of the head. She appears, however, to have seen her son only after he had been taken to the hospital. Almost certainly his head would have been bandaged when she saw him, and I think her judgment about the site of his wound was probably

more influenced by the location of blood on his bandages than by accurate knowledge of just where the blow had wounded him.

We have then satisfactory assurance that Mehmet Bekler died of the effects of a depressed fracture of the skull; but we are left without accurate knowledge concerning the exact location of the injury to the skull and underlying brain.

Statements and Recognitions Made by Süleyman

Table 18-3 lists the statements and two recognitions attributed to Süleyman. His father was my sole informant for Süleyman's statements and for one of his two recognitions.

In 1973 Süleyman said little to Reşat Bayer and me. He was shy and appeared to be a little frightened of us. When we asked him whether he could remember the name of the person he thought he had been in the previous life, he gave no reply. When we asked him the name of that person's murderer, he said: "Mehmet." We did not press him with questions. His father remarked that he would talk more about the previous life after we had left.

Habib Çapar said that when Süleyman had been younger he had given additional names, besides those I have listed in Table 18-3. He had, for example, stated the family name, father's name, and wife's name of the person whose life he claimed to remember. But Habib Çapar himself no longer remembered these names.

When Reşat Bayer and I met Süleyman and his father again in March 1977, Süleyman, who was now 3½ years older than he had been in September 1973, spoke more affably. He gave a rather circumstantial account of the quarrel between Mehmet Bekler and Mehmet Bayrakdar (without, however, mentioning these names). He included the avowal that Mehmet Bekler had struck Mehmet Bayrakdar with his hand and so was the first to resort to physical violence in the quarrel.

Süleyman's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

Circumstances and Manner of Süleyman's Speaking about the Previous Life. Almost as soon as Süleyman began to speak, he wanted to go to "the stream." Although Mehmet Bekler's (water) mill was located on a stream, Süleyman in his first utterances seemed to emphasize his wish to go to the stream rather than to the mill; he did, however, mention that he (in the previous life) had had a mill.

Süleyman used the present tense when he referred to the people he remembered of the previous life. For example, he used such expressions as: "I *have* a wife"; I *have* a horse"; and "I *have* two sons and a daughter."

Süleyman's Attitude toward Mehmet Bekler's Family. Süleyman liked to visit Ekber. He and members of Mehmet Bekler's family exchanged numerous visits, at least up to 1973. Süleyman had spent one night with Mehmet Bekler's family at Ekber. He had a somewhat possessive attitude toward their property. He complained that Mehmet Bekler's family (his family, as he saw the situation)

Table 18-3 **Summary of Statements and Recognitions Made by Süleyman**

Item	*Informants*	*Verification*	*Comments*
1. His name was Mehmet.	Habib Çapar, Süleyman's father	Katibeh Bekler, Mehmet Bekler's mother	
2. He lived in Ekber.	Habib Çapar	Katibeh Bekler	
3. He was married.	Habib Çapar	Katibeh Bekler	Habib Çapar said that Süleyman had given the name of Mehmet's wife, but he (Habib) no longer remembered the name in 1973.
4. He had two sons and a daughter.	Habib Çapar	Katibeh Bekler	
5. His father had taken a second wife.	Habib Çapar	Katibeh Bekler	
6. He had a mother.	Habib Çapar	Katibeh Bekler	
7. He had a horse.	Habib Çapar	Doubtful	Katibeh Bekler said that Mehmet's father, Hamit, had a horse. Mehmet may have thought that this horse belonged to the family and hence partly to himself.
8. He had a vegetable garden.	Habib Çapar	Incorrect	I learned that Mehmet Bekler's brother owned a vegetable garden near the house where Mehmet Bekler had lived, and perhaps Mehmet regarded the garden as to some extent his.

9. He owned the mill at Ekber.	Habib Çapar	Katibeh Bekler Ali Bekler's deposition to the police following the wounding of Mehmet Bekler	The mill belonged to the Bekler family, not to Mehmet alone.
10. He had a lot of money.	Habib Çapar	Unverified	Süleyman may have been comparing the economic situation of his family—an extremely modest one—with the position that he remembered having in the previous life. Katibeh Bekler inhabited a humble clay house—the one in which Mehmet Bekler had lived; so I do not think the families lived under widely different economic conditions.
11. He was killed by Mehmet.	Habib Çapar	Transcript of the trial of Mehmet Bayrakdar	
12. Mehmet wanted to have his grain ground ahead of that of other customers at the mill.	Habib Çapar	Transcript of the trial of Mehmet Bayrakdar	
13. He stopped the mill and said that he would not grind any more grain.	Habib Çapar	Mehmet Bayrakdar's deposition to the police following the wounding of Mehmet Bekler	
14. They hit him on the head.	Habib Çapar	Report of the postmortem on the body of Mehmet Bekler Records of the Government Hospital, İskenderun	I find the use of the pronoun *they* here somewhat puzzling. There may have been a slip in translation. According to one account of the murder that I

Table 18-3 *(continued)*

Item	*Informants*	*Verification*	*Comments*
			heard, other customers besides Mehmet Bayrakdar engaged in the quarrel. Thus, there may have been a melee in which Mehmet Bekler became uncertain about who had struck him. But Süleyman clearly identified Mehmet Bayrakdar as Mehmet Bekler's murderer.
15. They hit him with a wooden post.	Habib Çapar	Unverified, possibly incorrect	The fatal wound was delivered with a flour shovel. All witnesses, including Mehmet Bayrakdar, agreed about that. It is possible, but unlikely that Mehmet Bekler was also struck with a post.
16. He did not die immediately.	Habib Çapar	Records of the Government Hospital, İskenderun	
17. He was taken to a large hospital.	Habib Çapar	Records of the Government Hospital, İskenderun	
18. He died in the hospital.	Habib Çapar	Records of the Government Hospital, İskenderun	
19. Recognition of Katibeh, Mehmet Bekler's mother	Habib Çapar Katibeh Bekler		This recognition occurred when Habib Çapar took Süleyman on his (Süleyman's) second visit to Ekber. Katibeh was sitting with her husband's second wife. Süleyman went to Katibeh. Katibeh said

		that Süleyman's father was not with him when he (Süleyman) came to her. (She said that Habib Çapar had gone to the mill, apparently allowing Süleyman to go into the village by himself.) If so, Habib Çapar was not a firsthand witness of the recognition. But Katibeh, who was otherwise skeptical about the case, agreed that Süleyman had found his way to her without any assistance. Süleyman, however, had not given her any verbal sign of recognition.
20. Recognition of Mehmet Bayrakdar, Mehmet Bekler's murderer	Habib Çapar	Süleyman spontaneously noticed Mehmet Bayrakdar on the street in Madenli. He pointed at him angrily and said: "He killed me."

behaved ungenerously in not giving him more olives, of which they had an abundant supply. He also once remarked: "I suppose my father's new wife has spent the money." (He made this remark before his first visit to Ekber.)

Süleyman's Attitude toward Mehmet Bekler's Murderer. Süleyman expressed considerable anger toward Mehmet Bayrakdar. He said that when he was older he would kill him. On at least one occasion, he asked his father to give him a gun for the purpose of carrying out this threat.

When Süleyman saw Mehmet Bayrakdar once in Madenli, he pointed to him and said angrily: "He killed me." (See item 20, Table 18-3.)

Katibeh Bekler's Dissentient Attitude

Katibeh Bekler verified nearly all of Süleyman's statements about which I enquired; and she acknowledged that Süleyman had somehow "found" her in the village of Ekber without any assistance (item 19, Table 18-3). She had also gone over to visit Süleyman in Madenli at least once. Yet she remained bafflingly aloof from the case. She had not noticed Süleyman's birthmark. When I brought up the topic of the birthmark, she said at first that she had not enquired about it or looked for one. Then she changed her statement and said that she had examined Süleyman's head and could find no birthmark. I found this last statement particularly puzzling, because Süleyman's birthmark has for long seemed to me to be one of the more prominent ones that I have ever seen. (In this respect, my photographs do not do it justice.) I asked Katibeh directly: "Are you convinced that Süleyman is your son reborn?" To this she replied: "No." This reply was not a denial that Süleyman *might* be her son reborn; but it indicated a degree of reserve about the case that I do not understand in relation to the other testimony about it, including that of Katibeh herself. I think I owe it to readers to record her attitude toward the case, even though I cannot explain it. She may have been afraid that Süleyman would claim some of the Bekler property; he had grumbled about the Bekler family's stinginess with olives. She may also have been afraid that if she endorsed Süleyman's claim to be her son reborn, she might activate animosities between the Bekler family and Mehmet Bayrakdar. I had wished to interview other informants for this case, including Mehmet Bayrakdar, but my visits to Turkey were interrupted before I could do so.

Süleyman's Birthmark and Birth Defect

Süleyman's parents, who, as I have explained, testified independently (in 1973) without hearing each other's statements, gave similar descriptions of the appearance of his head when he was born. They said that the back (occipital) portion of his head was depressed and soft. It did not bleed or discharge fluid, as have some birthmarks figuring in these cases at the time of the subject's birth. İbrahim Çapar (Süleyman's cousin), who, however, did not examine Süleyman's head until he was about a year old, agreed that it was then depressed at the area that Süleyman's parents indicated.

Figure 18-12 Upper part of Süleyman Çapar's head as it appeared in September 1973, when he was 7 years old. The area of the defect in skin and hair growth, which was also slightly depressed, was in the parieto-occipital region. The skin of the affected area was puckered and scarlike with deficient growth of hair.

Figure 18-12 shows the appearance of the back of Süleyman's head in September 1973. The surface of the skin was uneven and had the appearance of a healed scar. The hair grew irregularly in this area. The bone of the skull was noticeably depressed in the center of the affected area.

Figures 18-13 and 18-14 show two views of Süleyman's head from the side. In each, one can observe a slight concavity in the parieto-occipital region of the head. Many children of Süleyman's age have some flattening at the back of the head, but the depression in Süleyman's skull exceeded this. Figure 18-15 shows, for comparison, the back of the head of a man who was murdered in North Carolina by being struck with a hammer.

Süleyman had not suffered at any time from headaches.

Comments on the Evidence of Paranormal Processes in the Case

Because we should assume that Süleyman's father, and possibly his mother also, knew about the murder of Mehmet Bekler before Süleyman began to discuss it, I would not credit Süleyman with paranormal knowledge about Mehmet Bekler's life and death. He showed a strong identification with Mehmet Bekler—both in his statements and in his attitudes toward Mehmet Bekler's family and

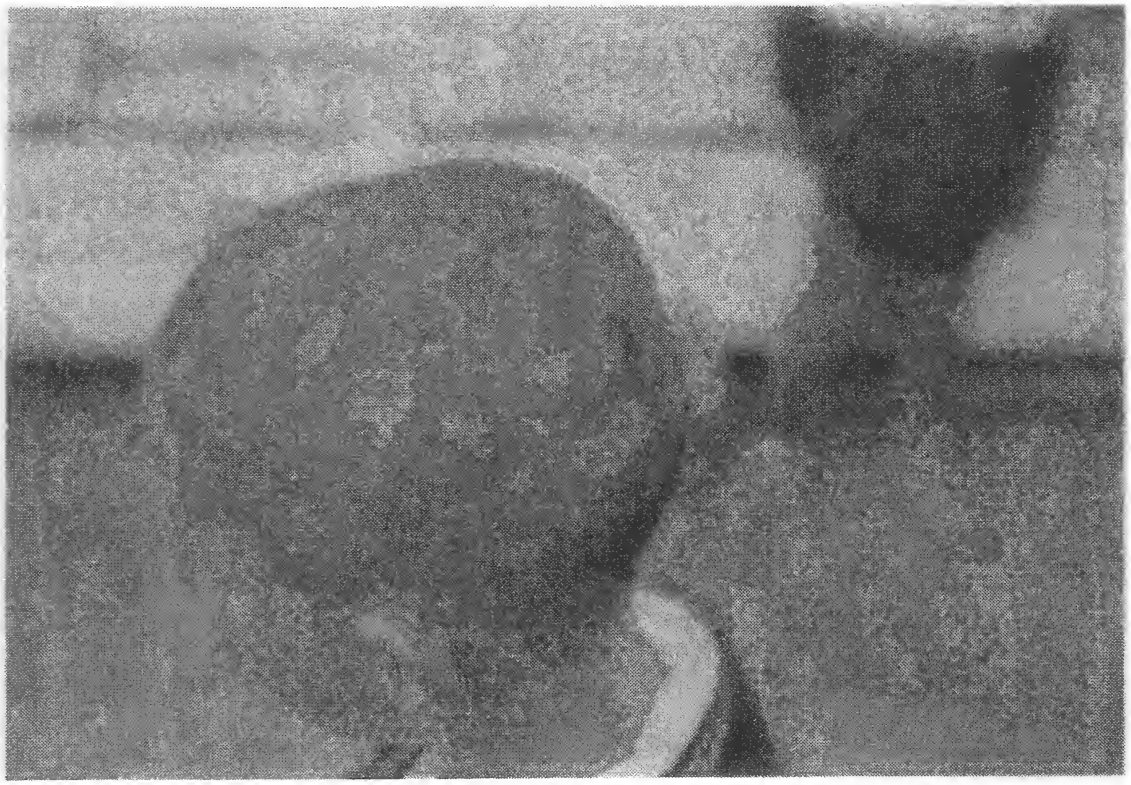

Figure 18-13 Side view of Süleyman Çapar's head in September 1973. This exposure shows the slight concavity of the depressed area in the parieto-occipital region of the head.

Figure 18-14 Another side view, also photographed in September 1973, of Süleyman Çapar's head. The concavity is again seen in the area of the birthmark.

Figure 18-15 Shaven skull of a man murdered in North Carolina by a blow on the head with a hammer. The skull was depressed inwards at the site of the blow. (Courtesy of William K. Brinkhous, Office of the Chief Medical Examiner, North Carolina.)

Mehmet Bekler's murderer. However, as in other cases, the most important features of this one are the birthmark and birth defect on Süleyman's skull that corresponded to the wound from which Mehmet Bekler died.

Süleyman's Later Development

In March 1977, Süleyman still talked from time to time about the previous life. He still liked to go to Ekber and visit surviving members of Mehmet Bekler's family. But his father restrained this tendency on the grounds that it was better for

him to remain at home and study. Süleyman had stopped talking about vengeance against Mehmet Bayrakdar.

When Reşat Bayer and I asked Süleyman whether he still remembered the details of the previous life as clearly as he had earlier, he said that he was gradually forgetting them. He nevertheless gave the rather detailed account of Mehmet Bekler's murder that I have mentioned above. Since Süleyman had visited Mehmet Bekler's family often, we cannot say to what extent the details he mentioned in 1977 derived from original imaged memories and to what extent they were based on conversations he had had about his memories and about the life of Mehmet Bekler, both with his own family and with members of Mehmet Bekler's.

In 1982 Ertan Kura was investigating cases in Turkey on my behalf, and I asked him to visit Süleyman and his family. I hoped that we could fill in some gaps in the information we had for the case and learn about Süleyman's further development. Unfortunately, the Çapars had moved, and we could not learn their new address.

THE CASE OF MEHMET SAMİOĞLU

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Mehmet Samioğlu was born on January 20, 1963, in Büyükdere, in the province of Hatay, Turkey. His parents were Haşim Samioğlu and his wife, Naime. They had eight children, of whom Mehmet was the second. Haşim Samioğlu was a laborer working for the municipality at İskenderun, the principal seaport of Hatay.

Mehmet's parents observed at his birth what they called (as translated to me) a birthmark at the back of his head (Figure 18-16). In the area affected there was bleeding for about a month. What they observed was, or developed into, a meningocele. Later, Dr. Mehmet Karadayi, the surgeon who successfully operated on it, described it for me.

When Mehmet was about 2 years old and just beginning to speak, he began to say that his name was Ali and that he was the son of Süleyman Köybaşı of Hatun Köy. He stated further details of the previous life that he seemed to remember, including that of being murdered by a man whom he named. He expressed a wish to go to Hatun Köy, but he also showed a fear that he would be killed "again" if he went there.

It seems, however, that the family of Ali Köybaşı of Hatun Köy had already come over to take a look at Mehmet, even before he had begun to refer to Ali's life. Ali Köybaşı had been killed during a postelection riot at Hatun Köy in which his brother Haşim Köybaşı had also been killed.[19] Ali's wife, Emine, had dreamed after her husband's death that he had been reborn at Pirinçlik, a village in the dis-

[19]This report of Mehmet Samioğlu's case should be read in connection with the report in Chapter 6 of Metin Köybaşı's case. Metin claimed to remember the life of Ali Köybaşı's brother Haşim.

trict of Büyükdere. A rumor about the birth of a child with a birth defect at the site of Ali's most prominent wound had reached the Köybaşı family at Hatun Köy; and this had led them to visit Mehmet (when he was barely a year old) and later to believe that Mehmet was Ali reborn.

Later, members of the Köybaşı family visited Mehmet again in Büyükdere. At one of these visits Mehmet was said to have recognized members of Ali Köybaşı's family. Still later, when Mehmet was between 3 and 4 years old, he was taken to the outskirts of Hatun Köy but not into the village itself. Haşim Samioğlu said that Mehmet then met some members of the Köybaşı family who came to where he was in order to meet him.

I first learned of this case when I was in the area of İskenderun on November 7, 1967. Reşat Bayer and I began to investigate it that same day and the following one. We had interviews with Mehmet's mother, Naime Samioğlu; his uncle, Ali Samioğlu; Ali Köybaşı's mother, Rahmiye; and two other less important informants. We also made our first examination of Mehmet's head and saw both the scar of the operation he had had to correct the meningocele and the residue of another small birthmark (Figure 18-16). In 1970 we continued the investigation with, in particular, a long talk with Mehmet's father, Haşim Samioğlu. We also met Dr. Mehmet Karadayi, who had operated on Mehmet, and Emine Köybası, Ali's widow. Some other persons furnished background information.

In 1973 we had a further short meeting with Mehmet and a longer one with his paternal grandmother, Hatice Şem.

We obtained some additional information from examining the records of the trial of Süleyman and Kamil Köklü for the murder of Haşim Köybaşı.

In May 1983, Dr. Can Polat, at my request, went to the area of the case. He was able to fill some gaps in our knowledge of the case, and he also learned about Mehmet's later development.

Persons Interviewed during the Investigation

At Büyükdere we interviewed:

Mehmet Samioğlu
Naime Samioğlu, Mehmet's mother
Ali Samioğlu, Mehmet's paternal uncle
Hatice Şem, Mehmet's paternal grandmother
Mehmet Kürt, teacher at Mehmet's school

At Hatun Köy we interviewed:

Rahmiye Köybaşı, Ali Köybaşı's mother
Emine Köybaşı, Ali Köybaşı's widow
Racine Diken, principal of the school
Nuretten Köybaşı, one of Ali Köybaşı's cousins
Süleyman Köybaşı, neighbor and distant relative of Ali Köybaşı (*not* Süleyman Köybaşı, Ali's father)

At İskenderun we interviewed:

Haşim Samioğlu, Mehmet's father

Mahmut Köybaşı, resident of Hatun Köy, where Ali Köybaşı was killed

Dr. Mehmet Karadayi, surgeon of the Government Hospital, who operated on Mehmet

Süleyman Köybaşı, Ali's father, had died by the time of our investigation of the case.

Relevant Facts of Geography and Possibilities for Normal Means of Communication between the Two Families

Büyükdere is a district south of İskenderun. Pirinçlik is a village of the district located about 17 kilometers from İskenderun.

Hatun Köy is a slightly larger village in another area, comprising several grouped villages, known as Karaağaç. It is about 6 to 8 kilometers south of İskenderun, but farther east from the coastal road than is Büyükdere. The two villages concerned in the case are thus about 10 kilometers apart.

Haşim Samioğlu's sister was married and was living in Hatun Köy when the case developed. (It was probably she who first told the Köybaşı family about Mehmet's birth defect, but I did not meet her or otherwise confirm this conjecture.) Haşim went over to Hatun Köy to visit his sister from time to time. He thought that he might have seen the Köybaşı brothers at such times, but was sure that he had never actually talked with Ali Köybaşı. His wife, Naime, was sure that she had never met either of the Köybaşı brothers.

Except for Haşim Samioğlu's visits to his sister in Hatun Köy, the two families would have been unlikely to meet in the ordinary course of their lives. Villagers from both Büyükdere and Hatun Köy did their major shopping in İskenderun, and some of them worked there; but residents of one of the villages would not have had any reason to visit or pass through the other village on their way to or from İskenderun. This would be particularly true of the people of Hatun Köy with regard to their going to Büyükdere, which was 10 kilometers farther from İskenderun in a direction away from the city. Emine Köybaşı said that she had no relatives or connections with Büyükdere and had never even been there before the case developed.

The double murder of Ali and Haşim Köybaşı in Hatun Köy was certainly known in Büyükdere soon after it occurred. I think we can assume also that Haşim Samioğlu, even if he had never actually met the Köybaşı brothers in Hatun Köy, must have learned something about them on his visits to his sister. I would not defend a claim that Mehmet made statements of matters unknown to Haşim Samioğlu; the strength of this case lies in some of its other features.

In 1967 Naime Samioğlu said that they (meaning she and her husband) had not heard of Ali's murder before Mehmet's birth; however, in 1970 she remembered that they had heard about the murder before Mehmet's birth, and this accorded with what her husband, Haşim, told us.

In 1970 Naime also said that (although she had heard of Ali's murder) she knew nothing about the details of it before Mehmet narrated them (see Table 18-4). Murders were distressingly common in that part of Turkey at that time, and busy housewives could not be bothered to learn and remember the minutiae of one in a place as remote as Hatun Köy was from Büyükdere.

The Death of Ali Köybaşı

Ali Köybaşı was a young married man of about 24 at the time of his death. His family and its friends comprised one of the two factions in the village of Hatun Köy. After an election for muhtar (headman) of the village, the winners and losers became drunk and quarreled. When the ensuing violence subsided, several persons had been wounded, two of them—Ali and Haşim Köybaşı—fatally so.[20]

Haşim Köybaşı was killed at the scene of the riot. When Ali saw that his brother had been shot, he ran to help him and was himself fatally wounded. He was put into a Jeep and carried into İskenderun, where he died the following day, January 15, 1963.

I obtained some information about the wounding of Ali Köybaşı from the testimony of his wife, Emine (who may not have been an eyewitness), and from a distant relative, Mahmut Köybaşı. He also was not an eyewitness of the wounding of Ali, although he said he heard the shot that killed him fired and arrived on the scene of the riot almost immediately afterward. He said that he carried the wounded Ali to the Jeep.

The report of the postmortem examination on Ali Köybaşı's body furnished additional details. The autopsy took place at the Government Hospital; and two physicians along with the assistant procurator general signed the report. It described three wounds. The first, a superficial wound on the right arm, was not important. The other two were. One of these was described as "in the midline of the skull," but its location was not further specified. It was 3 centimeters long and judged to have been made by "a solid object." (The phrase "blunt instrument" would be commonly used in Western postmortem reports instead of the phrase used here: "a solid object.")

The second important wound was located in the upper lip to the left of the midline. The report described it as "a wound of entry made by a bullet, half a centimeter in diameter with the edges lightly burned." No wound of exit was found at the back of the head. The throat and cranium were opened and the bullet searched for inside the head and neck. Holes made by the bullet's passage were found both in the palate and in the tongue. Portions of the axis and atlas were fractured, and the medulla oblongata was damaged. The bullet, however, was not retrieved despite a prolonged search for it.

[20]I have given further details about this postelection quarrel and riot at Hatun Köy in the report of Metin Köybaşı's case. Metin remembered the life of Haşim Köybaşı.

In assigning the cause of death, the pathologists ignored the wound on Ali's skull and attributed death to hemorrhage from the areas of the throat traversed by the bullet that was shot into his mouth through the lip. They further concluded that "the shot must have been fired from some place higher than that where the deceased man was when he was shot."

Comment. The burns around the edges of the bullet wound of entry tell us that Ali was shot at close range. The postmortem report, together with the testimony of Emine Köybaşı (although she was perhaps not an eyewitness), suggest that when Ali went to the aid of Haşim and was kneeling beside him, he was struck on the back of the head by "a solid object." This blow must have felled him, and to finish him off one of his adversaries shot him through the mouth. The assailant may have hoped to conceal the crime by shooting Ali through the mouth,[21] but missed slightly so that the bullet went through the upper lip.

The other possible sequence for the wounds on Ali makes no sense. If the shot through the mouth and neck into the brain stem had wounded him first, it would have immobilized him. (The pathologists judged later that this shot had killed Ali.) There would then have been no need to club the prostrate Ali on the back of the head.

The Interval between Ali Köybaşı's Death and Mehmet's Birth

The report of the postmortem examination on Ali Köybaşı's body states that he died on January 15, 1963.

Both Haşim and Naime Samioğlu said that Mehmet was born a week after Ali's death.

Mehmet's identity card recorded his date of birth as January 20, 1963, which would be 5 days after Ali's death.[22] I do not think we can ascertain the exact interval more closely than to say that it was not more than a few days.

Two Announcing Dreams

Emine Köybaşı told us that she had dreamed that her husband had been reborn at Pirinçlik. This is the name of the village in the district of Büyükdere where the Samioğlu family lived; so the designation of Mehmet's birthplace was correct. The dream did not include the communication of a family name or any other details. Emine said that she had the dream 4 days after Mehmet's birth. (She said that he had been born a week after her husband's death. The actual interval was perhaps 5 days.) She must have made her calculations later, after she had learned of Mehmet's birth.

[21]Murderers sometimes shoot a victim through the open mouth in the hope that no wound will later be noticed. Fatteh (1976) published examples of this.

[22]In my book on the cases of Lebanon and Turkey (Stevenson, 1980) as well as elsewhere in this work (for example, in the reports of the cases of Celal Kapan and B. B. Saxena) I have described some of the reasons why dates on identity cards in the countries of these cases and elsewhere are frequently inaccurate.

Haşim Samioğlu told us in 1970 that his wife had dreamed, the day before Mehmet's birth, that Ali Köybaşı was "returning" to their family. Earlier, in 1967, Naime Samioğlu had told us that she had not had any dream before Mehmet's birth, but in 1970, when we asked her about a dream again, she remembered that she had had one before Mehmet's birth. However, she could no longer recall its details. Her memory, she said, had been much impaired by grief over the recent deaths of several of her children.

Comment. The usual dreamer of announcing dreams is the mother of the subject of a case. Dreams of this general type experienced by members of a deceased person's family occur less often. I refer to these as "departing dreams." It is also unusual for announcing (or departing) dreams to occur *after* the subject's birth, as Emine Köybaşı's dream did.[23]

Statements and Recognitions Made by Mehmet

I have listed in Table 18-4 the principal statements about the previous life that informants attributed to Mehmet. For this list I obtained most information from Mehmet's mother, Naime Samioğlu. His father, Haşim, said that Mehmet had stated personal names, but he (Haşim) no longer recalled them; he therefore does not figure as an informant for names in the table.

Mehmet himself talked with us a little in 1970, but he was extremely shy, I would say perhaps frightened, and we learned nothing from him about what he still remembered of the previous life.

Although I was told about various recognitions that Mehmet was said to have made (for example, of Ali's father, Süleyman Köybaşı; his wife, Emine; and his daughter, Besime), none of the accounts impressed me as including evidence of paranormal processes in the recognitions. The early meeting between the families concerned even before Mehmet had begun to speak about the previous life vitiated the possibility of obtaining such evidence. Haşim Samioğlu said that at that first meeting, when Mehmet was just beginning to speak, he had smiled when he saw Süleyman Köybaşı and had seemed happy when Süleyman took him in his arms. These responses may have been part of a recognition, but I do not think we can be positive that they were.

Mehmet's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

Circumstances and Manner of Mehmet's Speaking about the Previous Life. I did not learn of special stimuli for Mehmet's remarks about the previous life. I did not ask specifically how often Mehmet spoke about the previous life, but my notes suggest that he spoke often about it.

[23]Such dreams (occurring *after* the subject's birth) have been reported in 13 cases, and I have referred to some of them earlier in this work in my reports of the cases of Mahmut Ekici, Ali Uğurlu, Navalkishore Yadav, and Pratima Saxena. In four of the cases the dreamer was a member of the previous personality's family, in the other nine a member of the subject's family.

Table 18-4 **Summary of Statements Made by Mehmet**

Item	*Informants*	*Verification*	*Comments*
1. His name was Ali.	Naime Samioğlu, Mehmet's mother Ali Samioğlu, Mehmet's paternal uncle	Rahmiye Köybaşı, Ali Köybaşı's mother	
2. He was the son of Süleyman Köybaşı.	Naime Samioğlu	Rahmiye Köybaşı	
3. His mother was called Rahmiye.	Naime Samioğlu	Rahmiye Köybaşı	
4. He was from Hatun Köy.	Naime Samioğlu	Rahmiye Köybaşı	Hasim Samioğlu said that Mehmet said he was from Karaağaç. Hatun Köy is one of several villages grouped together in the area known as Karaağaç. It is possible that Mehmet referred to both names, perhaps at different times.
5. His wife was called Emine.	Naime Samioğlu Emine Köybaşı, Ali Köybaşı's wife	Emine Köybaşı	Emine Köybaşı heard Mehmet give her name when she met him at his home.
6. He had a daughter called Besime.	Naime Samioğlu Ali Samioğlu Emine Köybaşı	Emine Köybaşı	Emine Köybaşı heard Mehmet give Besime's name when he met her (Besime) at his home.

7. He had not been married very long when he died.	Naime Samioğlu	Unverified; probably incorrect	The accuracy of this item depends on what one means by "very long." Ali's daughter, Besime, was perhaps 3 or 4 years old when he died.
8. He was murdered.	Naime Samioğlu	Record of postmortem examination of Ali Köybaşı	
9. He was killed because his sister started a quarrel.	Ali Samioğlu Haşim Samioğlu, Mehmet's father	Unverified	Naime Samioğlu and Racine Diken both said that quarrelsome women had ignited the tumult in which Ali and his brother Haşim were killed. However, neither was a firsthand witness of the riot.
10. His brother Haşim was killed at the same time.	Ali Samioğlu	Records of the trial of Süleyman and Kamil Köklü for the murder of Haşim Köybaşı	Haşim Köybaşı was killed just before Ali was wounded. For this item, Naime Samioğlu in one interview corroborated that Mehmet had spoken about Haşim Köybaşı's murder; but in another interview, a week later, she denied that he had referred to Haşim's death.
11. His wife was pregnant when he died.	Ali Samioğlu	Emine Köybaşı	Emine Köybaşı gave birth to a girl 2 days after Ali's death.
12. Kamil Garip killed him.	Naime Samioğlu	Records of the trial of Süleyman and Kamil Köklü for the murder of Haşim Köybaşı	The family called Köklü had formerly used the name Garip. Süleyman and Kamil Köklü were convicted of murdering Haşim Köybaşı. Apparently they were tried for only one of the murders, but it was generally understood that they had killed both Haşim and Ali.

Table 18-4 *(continued)*

Item	*Informants*	*Verification*	*Comments*
13. He was shot with a pistol.	Naime Samioğlu	Report of the postmortem examination of the body of Ali Köybaşı	That Ali Köybaşı was shot was well established. (See the text for evidence of this.) The weapon used was not determined.
14. He was hit on the head with an iron bar.	Naime Samioğlu	Emine Köybaşı Report of the postmortem examination of the body of Ali Köybaşı	I doubt whether Emine Köybaşı saw with what object her husband's head was struck, but it may well have been an iron bar. The postmortem report stated only—and could only state—that Ali had been struck on the head with "a solid object."

His grandmother, Hatice Şem, said (in 1973) that he cried—even then, at the age of 10—when he described how he had been killed in the previous life. He slept with her—at least in 1973—and she said that he would sometimes jerk in his sleep. When asked why he did this, he said: "I am afraid." However, he never uttered words when asleep; so I am uncertain that he was having nightmares about the previous life.

Mehmet's identification with Ali Köybaşı was strong enough for him to insist upon being called Ali when he was young. His father said that for a time he even refused to respond when he was called Mehmet. During this period he was also denying that Haşim and Naime Samioğlu were his parents and was saying that his parents lived at Karaağaç. Ali Samioğlu, Mehmet's paternal uncle, said that Mehmet seemed to be astonished to find himself at Büyükdere.[24] By 1970, however, he had accepted the name Mehmet and had become reconciled to having Haşim and Naime as his parents.

Mehmet's Attitudes toward Hatun Köy and Its Inhabitants. I have already mentioned that Mehmet behaved in a friendly manner when he met Ali Köybaşı's father, Süleyman. He was friendly also with other members of the Köybaşı family. For example, when he met Besime (Ali's daughter), he took her in his arms. There was an exception, however, to the recipients of his cordiality. This was Makhbula Köybaşı, Ali's oldest sister, whom Mehmet accused of inciting the riot in which Ali had been fatally wounded (item 9, Table 18-4). (I did not meet her.) In my report of the case of Metin Köybaşı, I mentioned that Metin's mother, Celile, had been identified as the igniter of the riot; but the records of the trial of the Köklü brothers said only that "the quarrel had begun among women and children." Mehmet blamed it on Makhbula. Haşim Samioğlu said that when Mehmet first saw Makhbula, he became "enraged." When he became older, he went over to Hatun Köy fairly often, but he always refused to embrace Makhbula.

Mehmet showed ambivalent attitudes about visiting Hatun Köy. On the one hand, he wanted to meet there the members of the Köybaşı family (except Makhbula), whom he regarded as his true family. On the other hand, he was afraid that at Hatun Köy he would be killed "again." Ali Samioğlu said that when Mehmet saw members of the Köklü family, he would say: "Take me away from here. Those people could kill me."

But Mehmet's fear of the Köklüs mingled with hatred of them, and he made repeated promises of some day avenging himself on Ali's murderers. In 1973, when he was more than 10 years old, he was still saying that when he became big enough, he would kill Ali's murderers.

Mehmet's Birthmark and Birth Defect

Haşim Samioğlu said that when Mehmet was born, he had two birthmarks (on his head), which bled. He said that "a part of the brain was outside the skull."

[24]Other subjects have expressed surprise at finding themselves in an unfamiliar location. Another example occurred in the case of Celal Kapan (Chapter 21).

Naime Samioğlu remembered only one birthmark, which she said discharged and bled for a month.

Dr. Mehmet Karadayi of the Government Hospital at İskenderun had operated on Mehmet when he was a young child, and I was able to interview him in 1970. He recalled Mehmet's birth defect well. It was a meningocele of the cranium. The opening of the bone was about 1 centimeter in diameter. He pushed the extruding meninges back inside the skull and then tightly sewed up the skin over the opening. He hoped that with the growth of the skull the opening in the bone would close, and it did.

Dr. Karadayi had operated on Mehmet at his private clinic, not at the Government Hospital. He had no records of the location and condition of the meningocele before he operated on it, and he could not recall how old Mehmet had been at the time. He said that he remembered the case because meningoceles occur most often on the back and rarely on the head.

Figure 18-16 shows two abnormal areas, one to the left and one to the right of the midline. When I first showed Dr. Karadayi crude sketches that I had made of these areas, he said that he thought the meningocele had been at the location of the hairless area to the left of the midline. However, a few days later, when I again discussed the operation with him, he seemed to have remembered it more clearly; and he then said that the meningocele had been at the site of the large, scarlike area to the right of the midline.

Concerning the two abnormal areas, Ali Samioğlu, Mehmet's uncle, said that they had been closer together at Mehmet's birth than they subsequently became as he grew older and as his skull increased in size.

After I read the report of the postmortem on the body of Ali Köybaşı, I examined Mehmet's upper lip to see whether I could detect any trace of a birthmark there, where the bullet had made a wound of entry on Ali Köybaşı. Although I could see some faint area of darkened pigmentation there, I think it is safer to say that Mehmet had no birthmark on the lip. Certainly his parents had not noticed one there when he was born.

Both of Mehmet's parents and Mehmet himself said that he had never suffered from headaches.

Comment. Haşim Samioğlu's statement that the brain protruded through the opening in the skull was uninformed. According to Dr. Karadayi, Mehmet had a meningocele, not an encephalocele. This perhaps accounts for the good results of the operation: Mehmet appeared to have made a complete recovery with no physical sequelae. The outcome in such cases is much better when the extruding sac contains no brain tissue (Guthkelch, 1970; Lorber, 1967).

The commonest proximate cause of meningoceles of the skull is a "defect in the membranous bones of the skull...through which meninges or neural tissue protrudes....The lesion is usually in the midline and most commonly occurs in the occipital bone or between the nasal and frontal bones" (Kissane, 1975, p. 923). Mehmet's lesion was away from the midline and in this respect unusual. Occipital meningocele, whether in the midline or not, is an extremely rare birth

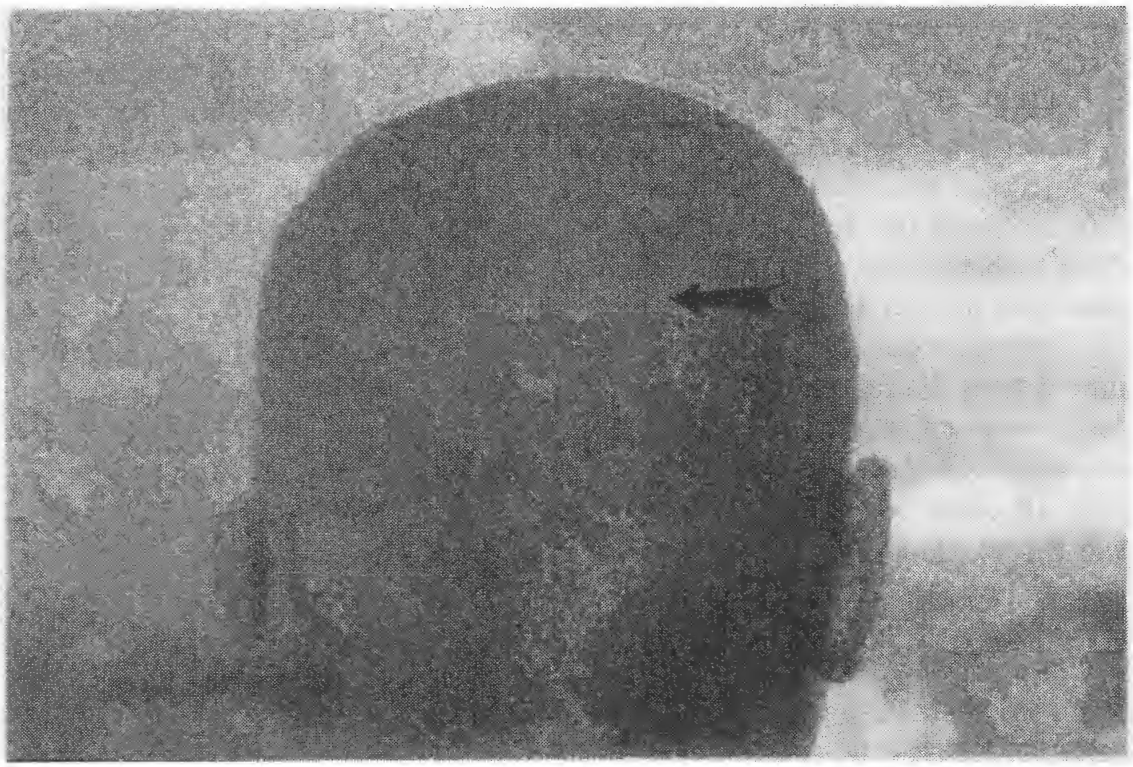

Figure 18-16 The hairless area to the right of the midline is the scar of the operation for the closure of Mehmet's meningocele. The photograph was taken in March 1970, when Mehmet was a little more than 7 years old. The smaller hairless, scarred area to the left of the midline may have been part of the original defective area that became separated as Mehmet grew and his head enlarged.

defect. A. C. Stevenson et al. (1966, p. 31) identified 16 cases in their survey of 416,695 single births, giving an incidence of 1 case in 26,000 births.

The report of the postmortem examination on the body of Ali Köybaşı stated that he had been struck on the skull in the midline. The report did not say whether the wound had been at the front or back of the head. Yet the description, regrettably lacking as it does some of the detail we could wish, nevertheless indicates a close correspondence between the probable location of the wound on Ali's head and the location of Mehmet's meningocele.

If we accept reincarnation as the best explanation for the case, we have to suppose that the "psychic force" generated by Ali's wound acted destructively on existing tissues in Mehmet's skull. I say this because of the short interval of a few days between Ali's death and Mehmet's birth. This obliges us to conceive not a mere retardation in the formation of tissues, but a dissolution of tissues already formed.

Mehmet's Later Development

Mehmet Kürt, Mehmet's schoolteacher at the Büyükdere Primary School, thought that he was somewhat backward. But he seems to have based this judg-

ment largely on Mehmet's inability to express himself well in the Turkish language. Other schoolteachers whom I met in Hatay made similar comments about their pupils. They grumbled that although Turkish was the medium of instruction in the schools, many of the children spoke Arabic in their homes. However, a poor performance in school by an Arabic-speaking child could have resulted from a difficulty with the Turkish language and need not signify mental retardation. In 1973 Mehmet was in the fourth class of school, which is about where he should have been then, at the age of 10.

Mehmet was more affable in 1973 than he had been in 1970, and he spoke a little with us. He recalled that in the previous life he had been called Ali and that he had been struck on the head with an iron bar. He remembered also that his murderer was named Garip and that his (Ali's) brother Haşim had been killed at the same time. He could not recall the cause of the quarrel that had led to the deaths of Ali and Haşim. He seemed to be forgetting the imaged memories he had had. But he had not forgotten his grievance, and I have already mentioned that he still hoped to avenge the death of Ali Köybaşı when he became big enough to do so.

In May 1983, Dr. Can Polat met Haşim Samioğlu for a follow-up interview about the case. Mehmet was then a little over 20 years old, and Dr. Polat did not meet him because he was away on his military service. He had stopped speaking about the previous life when he was between 10 and 12 years old, that is, shortly after my own last meeting with him. He had graduated from primary school and thereafter worked in a garage until called for his military service. He had had no ill effects from his birth defect.

THE CASE OF MAUNG MYO MIN THEIN

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Maung Myo Min Thein was born in Wundwin, Upper Burma, on September 14, 1967. His parents were U Aung Maw, and his wife, Daw Thoung Nyunt. They had (up to 1975) one other child, Ma Tin Tin Moe, who was born in 1969. U Aung Maw was a schoolteacher.

Maung Myo Min Thein was born with a prominent birthmark on the back of his head, which was also somewhat malformed (Figures 18-17 and 18-18). I shall describe these abnormalities later. Although U Aung Maw said that Maung Myo Min Thein was born with this mark, it did not lead immediately to his identification with the man whose life he later remembered. Moreover, his parents gave little attention to the birthmark until Maung Myo Min Thein himself drew attention to it when he spoke about being killed in a previous life.

Maung Myo Min Thein gave the first indication that he remembered a previous life when his parents took him, at the age of about 8 months, to the nearby Thein-gottara Monastery. They had intended to pass the entire day at the monastery in religious observances, but when they reached the monastery, Maung

Myo Min Thein became frightened and began to cry. He could not be pacified, and his parents abandoned their plans and returned home.

I have no note of Maung Myo Min Thein's age when he first spoke coherently. His father said that he was about 3 when he began to refer to a previous life. At first he could not express himself adequately in words. He used to point to the nearby Thein-gottara Monastery and show by gestures that he had been hit on the head. He also seemed at that age to be unusually afraid of unfamiliar monks. He was not, however, afraid of all monks, because he was noticeably friendly toward one, the Ven. U Zawtika.

By the age of 4 or 5 Maung Myo Min Thein could narrate details of the previous life verbally. He said that he had been the Ven. U Warthawa of Thein-gottara Monastery and that he had been hit on the back of the head with a heavy door bolt. This remark stimulated his parents to examine his head more closely, and they then discovered a depression on the back of their son's head that apparently they had not noticed before (Figure 18-18). Elderly persons of the locality then informed them that the depression and some other marks at the back of Maung Myo Min Thein's head corresponded closely to wounds on the head of the late Ven. U Warthawa, who had been murdered many years before. U Aung Maw and his wife had themselves, as young children, known the Ven. U Warthawa and had seen his body after his murder.

Maung Myo Min Thein made a few other remarks about the previous life and recognized some objects and persons familiar to the Ven. U Warthawa.

When Maung Myo Min Thein was still less than 6 years old, he showed some of the habits and attitudes of monks. I shall describe these later.

U Win Maung and I first learned of this case in November 1972. On November 5, 1972, we met Maung Myo Min Thein (who was then 5 years old) and his parents in Wundwin, but only briefly. We made a few notes of the case, but did not have time for a thorough investigation.

In the following spring, U Aung Maw sent U Win Maung a long letter dated May 5, 1973. In it he described many details of his son's case. In November 1975, U Win Maung and I visited Wundwin again and interviewed both U Aung Maw and Daw Thoung Nyunt. We also met two other informants for the case in Wundwin and Mandalay.

On February 22, 1977, we returned to Wundwin and had further interviews with U Aung Maw and Daw Thoung Nyunt. We also interviewed two other residents of Wundwin who had known the Ven. U Warthawa and had been his disciples.

Persons Interviewed during the Investigation

In Wundwin we interviewed:

Maung Myo Min Thein
U Aung Maw, Maung Myo Min Thein's father
Daw Thoung Nyunt, Maung Myo Min Thein's mother
Ven. U Adicca, abbot of Pyaw Nyaung Monastery and friend of the Ven. U Warthawa

U Pe Khin, disciple of the Ven. U Warthawa
Daw Thein Nyunt, resident of Wundwin

In Mandalay we interviewed:
U Ba Kun, a friend of the Ven. U Warthawa

Of the above informants, U Ba Kun contributed the least information. He had known the Ven. U Warthawa at one time, but had not seen him between the time he (U Ba Kun) moved to Mandalay (in the early 1930s) and the Ven. U Warthawa's death in 1949.

Maung Myo Min Thein was present on the first two occasions when U Win Maung and I talked with his parents; but I do not recall that he said anything, and I have no notes of questions that we put directly to him. However, in 1977 he talked with us a little and answered a few questions about his memories.

Relevant Facts of Geography

U Aung Maw's house, where Maung Myo Min Thein was born and lived, is in a compound of Wundwin that adjoins the compound of the Thein-gottara Monastery. The building of the monastery where the Ven. U Warthawa was murdered was about 100 meters from Maung Myo Min Thein's birthplace.

The Life, Death, and Character of the Ven. U Warthawa

My information about the Ven. U Warthawa derives mainly from the statements of U Aung Maw and the Ven. U Adicca. Since U Aung Maw was born in 1943, he was only 6 years old when the Ven. U Warthawa died, and much of his testimony was secondhand. In 1975 the Ven. U Adicca was about 65 years old, and he was recalling events that had happened many years earlier. However, his account of these accorded closely with that of U Aung Maw.

The Ven. U Warthawa was born in the village of Nga-nwa-seik (which is near Wundwin) in about 1889. (His name as a layman was U Po Aung.) He lost both his parents when he was very young. When still a youth he became a novice in a monastery. His uncle, the Ven. U Na Mein, who was the abbot of the Thein-gottara Monastery in Wundwin, invited the Ven. U Warthawa to join him at this monastery, and when his uncle died, the Ven. U Warthawa succeeded him as its abbot. He remained abbot there until his death.

Maung Myo Min Thein's grandparents on both his father's and mother's side were close disciples of the Ven. U Warthawa. Maung Myo Min Thein's parents later considered themselves also to have been his disciples, although they were only young children when he died.

The Ven. U Warthawa was a person of exemplary character, completely without interest in money or other material possessions. (All Buddhist monks should have this quality, but some are less successful in cultivating it than others.)

He was fond of theatricals and both wrote and produced plays. He organized a dancing troupe in his village of Nga-nwa-seik and brought it into Wundwin for performances. He taught his students to sing, dance, and play musical instruments. He himself played the Burmese flute and xylophone expertly.

He appears to have been extremely fastidious about cleanliness. He kept for his own use a knife, fork, cup, and saucer, which no one else was allowed to touch. When he was invited for a meal at a private residence in the town, he took along his own eating utensils.

One day in 1949 a monk who was a stranger came to the monastery, and the Ven. U Warthawa offered him its hospitality. Almost anyone may stay in a monastery in Burma, and no one appears to have noticed that this particular monk was deranged. The Ven. U Warthawa gave the visitor some robes and other objects. He then knelt down in the temple of the monastery to worship before the image of the Buddha. The mad monk (as my informants called him) seized a large bolt of a type used for closing heavy doors (Figure 18-21) and struck the kneeling abbot on the back of the head with this. (No one could think of any motive for this unprovoked assault against a benefactor.)

The Ven. U Warthawa was said to have called for help when he was first struck by the bolt, but before assistance could reach him, his assailant had taken a huge mallet used for striking a gong (Figure 18-22) and hit him on the back of the head with this. A general melee ensued, and when it ended, the dead included not only the abbot but another monk, who was the abbot's assistant, and also the mad monk, whom an angry crowd dispatched.

U Aung Maw and Daw Thoung Nyunt, small children then, went to the monastery, where they saw the body of the Ven. U Warthawa. The Ven. U Adicca later went to the Civil Hospital in Wundwin to see the body of the murdered abbot, with whom he had been friendly for many years. He and Daw Thoung Nyunt described the back of the Ven. U Warthawa's head as "caved in." U Aung Maw said that the head was "flattened at the back."

The Ven. U Warthawa died on April 1, 1949. He was about 60 years old at the time.

There was a big storm on the day of the Ven. U Warthawa's murder, an event pertinent to one of Maung Myo Min Thein's phobias.

Statements and Recognitions Made by Maung Myo Min Thein

As I have already mentioned, when Maung Myo Min Thein became able to speak with sufficient clarity, he stated that he had been the Ven. U Warthawa of Thein-gottara Monastery and that he had been killed by a mad monk who had struck him on the back of the head with a heavy iron door-bolt. He also stated that the monk was a stranger visiting the monastery. Maung Myo Min Thein further recalled that before the murder of the Ven. U Warthawa he had asked one of the monks of the monastery not to take a trip to Mandalay that he had planned. The monk had gone off on this journey anyway, and Maung Myo Min Thein thought

that if the monk had remained at the monastery he (as the Ven. U Warthawa) would not have been killed. The monk in question was the Ven. U Zawtika, who succeeded the Ven. U Warthawa as abbot of the monastery. He had died 2 months before our interviews of November 1975.

Maung Myo Min Thein asked his parents to take him to the Pyaw Nyaung Monastery (also in Wundwin). (This was the monastery of the Ven. U Adicca.) He gave the name of that monastery, but could not remember the name of the Ven. U Adicca, although the Ven. U Warthawa and the Ven. U Adicca had known each other for 35 years.

Maung Myo Min Thein's parents did not recall any other statements that he had made about events in the previous life prior to the Ven. U Warthawa's death.

U Aung Maw said that Maung Myo Min Thein had recognized some persons who had known the Ven. U Warthawa. I met two of these persons. One of them, U Ba Kun, did not recall that Maung Myo Min Thein had recognized him, although he had found the boy not at all shy in his presence. The other, the Ven. U Adicca, remembered that when Maung Myo Min Thein was first taken to the Pyaw Nyaung Monastery, he went to the Ven. U Adicca and sat on his knees.

The Ven. U Adicca said that Maung Myo Min Thein had not been able to recognize any of the property of the Ven. U Warthawa, but U Aung Maw recounted such a recognition. The Ven. U Warthawa had presented a walking stick to one U Tun Sein who lived in the village of Nga-nwa-seik. (U Tun Sein was an uncle of U Aung Maw; he had died before 1973.) U Aung Maw told us that Maung Myo Min Thein had recognized this stick and had said that it had been brought back from Nga-nwa-seik village. I did not learn other details about this recognition.

Maung Myo Min Thein's Memories of Events between the Death of the Ven. U Warthawa and before His Birth. U Aung Maw asked his son how he had spent the time after his death and before his birth. Maung Myo Min Thein replied: "After my death I continued to live in the compound of the Rajamuni Pagoda [within the compound of the Thein-gottara Monastery].[25] I was still dressed like a monk, and I met another monk who was dressed similarly." Maung Myo Min Thein further said that he noticed his parents as they went to and from the school where U Aung Maw taught. He said that his mother was already pregnant when he entered their house secretly.[26]

[25]Daw Thoung Nyunt told us that between the time of the Ven. U Warthawa's death and the birth of Maung Myo Min Thein, the apparition of the Ven. U Warthawa was often seen at the Rajamuni Pagoda. These manifestations ceased after Maung Myo Min Thein's birth. Other cases in which an apparition of a previous personality was seen include those of the Ven. Chaokhun Rajsuthajarn, Maung Yin Maung, and Ma Khin Mar Htoo.

[26]As I mentioned in the report of Maung Myint Soe's case, this sequence of events does not accord with the expectations of Burmese Buddhists. They believe that a discarnate personality becomes associated with the mother of the next rebirth before her pregnancy begins or perhaps at the moment of conception, but not afterwards.

Maung Myo Min Thein's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

Circumstances and Manner of Maung Myo Min Thein's Speaking about the Previous Life. Maung Myo Min Thein expressed some memories of the previous life with gestures before he used words to communicate his memories. U Aung Maw remembered that when Maung Myo Min Thein first expressed his memories in words, there had been a big storm with a heavy rain. Thereafter, he had some tendency to talk about the previous life during cloudy and stormy weather.[27]

Maung Myo Min Thein's Phobias. Maung Myo Min Thein showed several phobias that his parents related to the previous life he remembered. First, he showed fear during thunderstorms. His father attributed this phobia to the fact that a big storm had raged in Wundwin on the day the Ven. U Warthawa had been murdered. Second, he showed a marked reluctance to visit the Thein-gottara Monastery, where the Ven. U Warthawa had been murdered. U Aung Maw said that he manifested this reluctance even before he could speak. This phobia gradually diminished, and, as I shall explain, he actually lived in the monastery for a month when he was 7½ years old. Some fear of the monastery seems nevertheless to have outlasted this experience. In November 1975 Maung Myo Min Thein accompanied his parents when they took U Win Maung and me to visit the monastery; and his father said afterwards that Maung Myo Min Thein seemed somewhat apprehensive in the monastery and had clung tightly to his father's hand while we were in the monastery compound. Third, he showed a strong aversion to unfamiliar monks, a fear apparently related to the murder of the Ven. U Warthawa by a monk who had been a stranger.[28] And finally, Maung Myo Min Thein showed sensitivity about his head and always tried to protect it from accidents and injuries.

Maung Myo Min Thein's Interest in a Monk's Life. When Maung Myo Min Thein was a young child, he liked to sit with his legs crossed in the posture commonly adopted by Buddhist monks. He also always chose a better and higher place on which to sit. He refused to sit on the empty rice-bags of woven jute spread out on the floor, as the rest of the family did.[29]

[27]In connection with other Burmese cases I mentioned that informants often report that the subjects talk more about the previous life during cloudy, overcast days. I explained that the children are then likely to be indoors instead of playing outside; and it is thought that they have a greater tendency to think about the past—including previous lives, if they remember any—on such days. Thus Maung Myo Min Thein's tendency to talk about the previous life on such days may have had no direct connection with the storm that occurred on the day the Ven U. Warthawa was murdered.

[28]This is another example of generalization on the part of a subject with regard to a whole class of persons of whom one member was concerned in the previous personality's death. Other examples occurred in the cases of Nirankar Bhatnagar (aversion to Moslems), Cemil Fahrici (phobia of police), Sujith Lakmal Jayaratne (phobia of police), Sivanthie and Sheromie Hettiaratchi (phobia of police), and Lal Jayasooria (phobia of police).

[29]The reverence due to Buddhist monks requires that laymen who visit a monk should sit at a lower level than the monk. If a monk sits on a chair or low bench, laymen visiting him should sit on lower chairs or on the floor.

In March 1975, at the age of 7½, he was placed as a novice for a month in the Thein-gottara Monastery, for which by this time he had less fear. He greatly enjoyed this experience and at the end of the assigned month returned to his home life reluctantly. More than 6 months later, when U Win Maung and I visited the family in November 1975, his father said that he still wanted to wear a monk's robes as he had during the month of his novitiate.

Maung Myo Min Thein's Interest in Music and Dramatics. Maung Myo Min Thein also showed much interest in music and was fond of singing and dancing. He often played with theatrical dolls and set up a miniature toy stage. He presented plays with the dolls and other toys. He was fond of Burmese movies, theatricals, and other shows.

Maung Myo Min Thein's Cleanliness. Maung Myo Min Thein dressed himself neatly and showed much greater cleanliness that the average Burmese boy of his age.

Other Behavior of Maung Myo Min Thein Related to the Previous Life. U Aung Maw said that Maung Myo Min Thein showed marked precocity in learning at school and particularly in reciting Buddhist mantras and *suttas* (passages of the Buddha's discourses). He developed an interest in reading when he was only 4, and at the age of 6 he was working at the level of the second class. In 1975, at the age of 8, he had reached the fourth class of school; he was about one year ahead of his peers. His father attributed his advancement to the scholarly aptitudes and accomplishments of the Ven. U Warthawa that he thought had been carried over to Maung Myo Min Thein's life.

Some abbots of monasteries accumulate and bury treasure that may later be used for the upkeep and repair of the monastery. Members of Maung Myo Min Thein's family asked him if he (in the previous life) had buried any treasure. He replied that a Buddhist monk was not allowed to handle money and therefore he had had no treasure to bury. This reply accorded with the known character of the Ven. U Warthawa, who had shown no interest in money or other material possessions.

As I mentioned earlier, the Ven. U Zawtika, a monk of the Thein-gottara Monastery, had taken a trip just before the murder of the Ven. U Warthawa, his abbot. The Ven. U Warthawa had asked him not to go, but he had gone anyway. It was supposed later that perhaps the mad monk would not have been able to murder the Ven. U Warthawa if the Ven. U Zawtika had not been away. Maung Myo Min Thein remembered that the Ven. U Warthawa had asked the Ven. U Zawtika not to make this trip and that the latter had disobeyed him. When he met the Ven. U Zawtika, he behaved with distinct coolness toward him.

The Ven. U Zawtika had succeeded the Ven. U Warthawa as abbot of the Thein-gottara Monastery. Then he himself died in September 1975. The trustees of the monastery, of whom U Aung Maw was one, discussed the disposition of the Ven. U Zawtika's body. One mooted project called for opening the tomb of the Ven. U Warthawa and placing the body of the Ven. U Zawtika therein along with that of his predecessor. Maung Myo Min Thein overheard a discussion of this proposal and became enraged. He declared that he would not allow such an offense to occur.

Table 18-5. **Correspondences between Maung Myo Min Thein's Behavior and Behavior of the Ven. U Warthawa or Events in His Life**

Maung Myo Min Thein	*Ven. U Warthawa*
1. Phobia of thunderstorms	He was murdered during a storm
2. Fear of Thein-gottara Monastery	He was murdered at the Thein-gottara Monastery
3. Aversion to unfamiliar monks	An unfamiliar monk had murdered him
4. Sensitive about his head	He had been killed by blows on the head
5. Interest in the life of a monk; assumed posture and attitudes of a monk	He had been a much respected abbot of a monastery
6. Interest in music and dramatics	He played musical instruments and produced plays and dances
7. More concerned about cleanliness than children of his age	Fastidious about cleanliness
8. Aloof toward and apparently disapproving of the Ven. U Zawtika	The Ven. U Zawtika had left on a journey against the Ven. U Warthawa's wishes just before he (the Ven. U Warthawa) was murdered

Summary of Maung Myo Min Thein's Behavior Related to the Previous Life. The individual traits of unusual behavior that the subjects of these cases show are often not specific. For example, many persons have a phobia of thunderstorms. However, several unusual behaviors occurring in one person as a syndrome constitute something more remarkable and more specific than any single trait. I think the case of Maung Myo Min Thein illustrates this point well, and I have accordingly listed his unusual behaviors and their apparent relation to the previous life in Table 18-5.

Maung Myo Min Thein's Birth Defect and Birthmarks

Maung Myo Min Thein had a small circular hairless area at the back of his head in the midline (Figure 18-17). It was approximately 6 millimeters in diameter and depressed about 1-2 millimeters below the surface of the surrounding skin.

A side view of Maung Myo Min Thein's head shows a definite flattening of the back of his head (Figure 18-18). I know that many children of his age tend to have some flattening at the back of the head;[30] however, I believe the flattening of Maung Myo Min Thein's head exceeded any "normal" flattening; and indeed Figure 18-18 shows a slight concavity of the parieto-occipital region of his head.

[30]The Burmese do not cradle their babies on horizontal wooden boards, as the people of Albania and Montenegro did, a practice that can result in marked flattening of the occipital region of the skull.

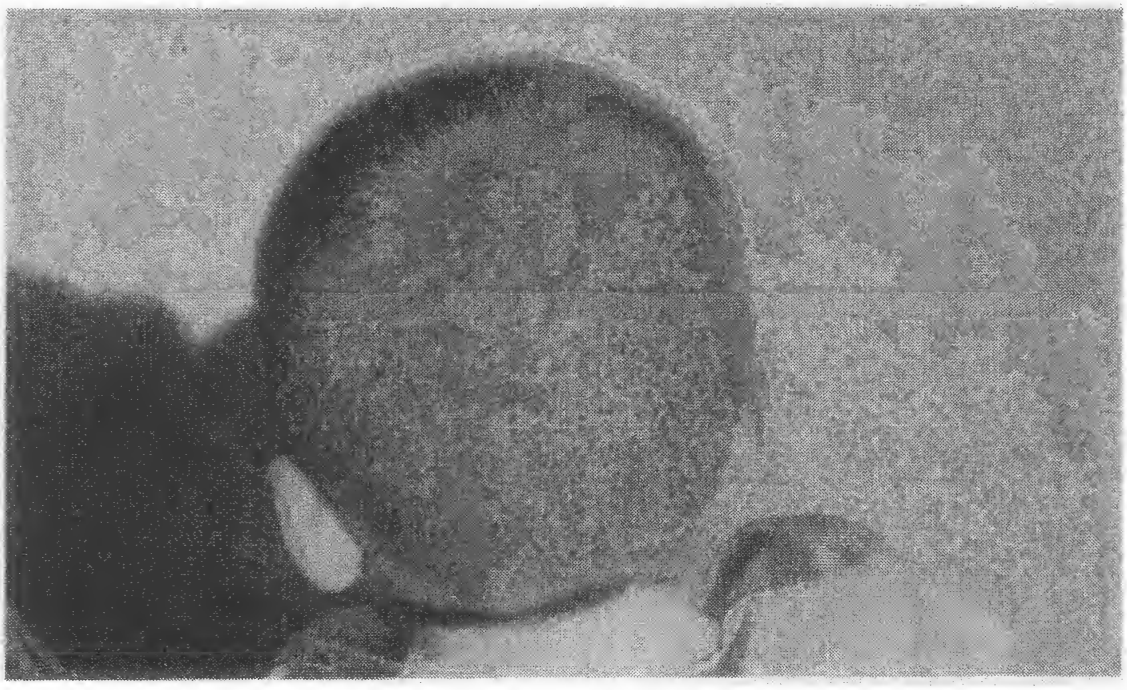

Figure 18-17 Back of Maung Myo Min Thein's head as it appeared in November 1972, when he was just over 5 years old. The birthmark was a round hairless area approximately 6 millimeters in diameter. The area of the birthmark was depressed 1-2 millimeters below the surface of the surrounding part of the skull.

Figure 18-18 Lateral view of Maung Myo Min Thein's head as it appeared in November 1972. The slight depression in the area of the birthmark can be seen.

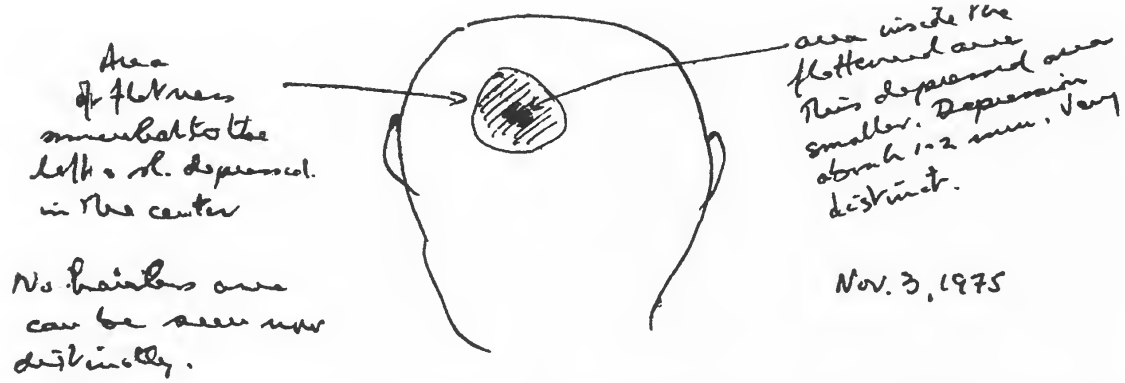

Figure 18-19 Sketch of the depressed area of Maung Myo Min Thein's head as it appeared in November 1975. Maung Myo Min Thein was then just over 8 years old.

Figure 18-20 This photograph, taken in February 1977, when Maung Myo Min Thein was 9½ years old, shows the persistence of the round hairless area previously seen.

In 1975, when I examined Maung Myo Min Thein's head again, his hair was long, and I did not locate the area of hairlessness. However, I again noted the flat region in the parieto-occipital area of the skull and the small depression in its center. I sketched these features (Figure 18-19). I did not search thoroughly enough in 1975 for the hairless area, because in 1977 I again located it, even though Maung Myo Min Thein's hair was still long (Figure 18-20). If anything, the hairless area was more prominent in 1977 than it had been in 1972.

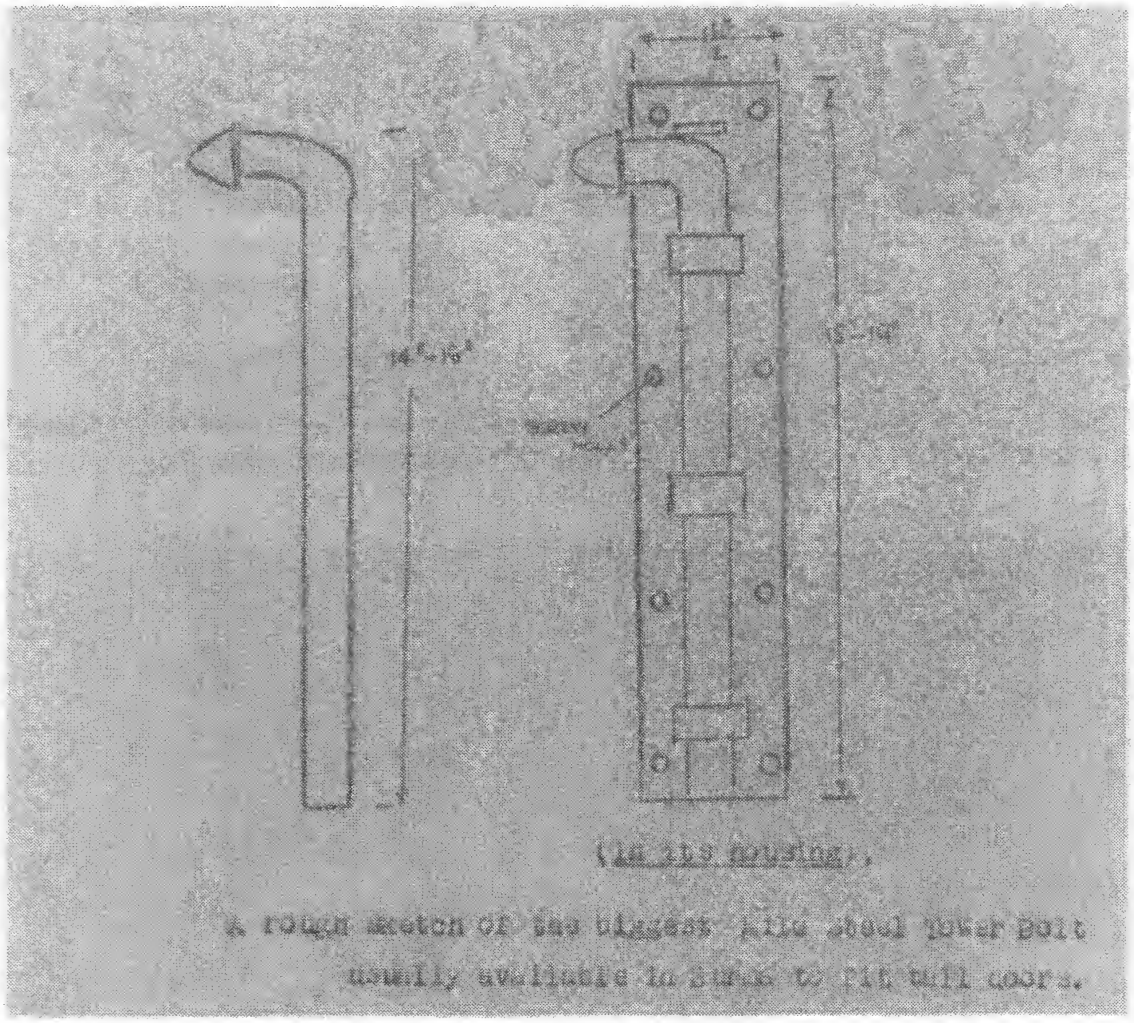

Figure 18-21 Heavy door bolt of type commonly used in Burma (and elsewhere). The Ven. U Warthawa was first struck on the head with a bolt of this type. (Sketch by U Win Maung)

Figure 18-21 shows U Win Maung's sketch of one of the heavy door bolts used for large doors in Burma. The mad monk first struck the Ven. U Warthawa with a bolt of this type and then hit him with a gong mallet similar to the one shown in Figure 18-22.

U Aung Maw said that the birthmark at the back of Maung Myo Min Thein's head did not discharge at his birth. The area was, however, red when he was born. Maung Myo Min Thein did not suffer from headaches, unlike some other subjects who recalled previous lives that ended with blows on the head. (Cevriye Bayrı and Salem Andary are examples of such subjects.)

Maung Myo Min Thein also had a birthmark at the bridge of his nose. I could see this myself in a good light, but my photograph did not bring it out adequately for reproduction in this work. Figure 18-23 reproduces a sketch I made of it in 1975. This birthmark was said to correspond to the mark made on the nose of the Ven. U Warthawa by the spectacles that he wore for the last 35 years or more

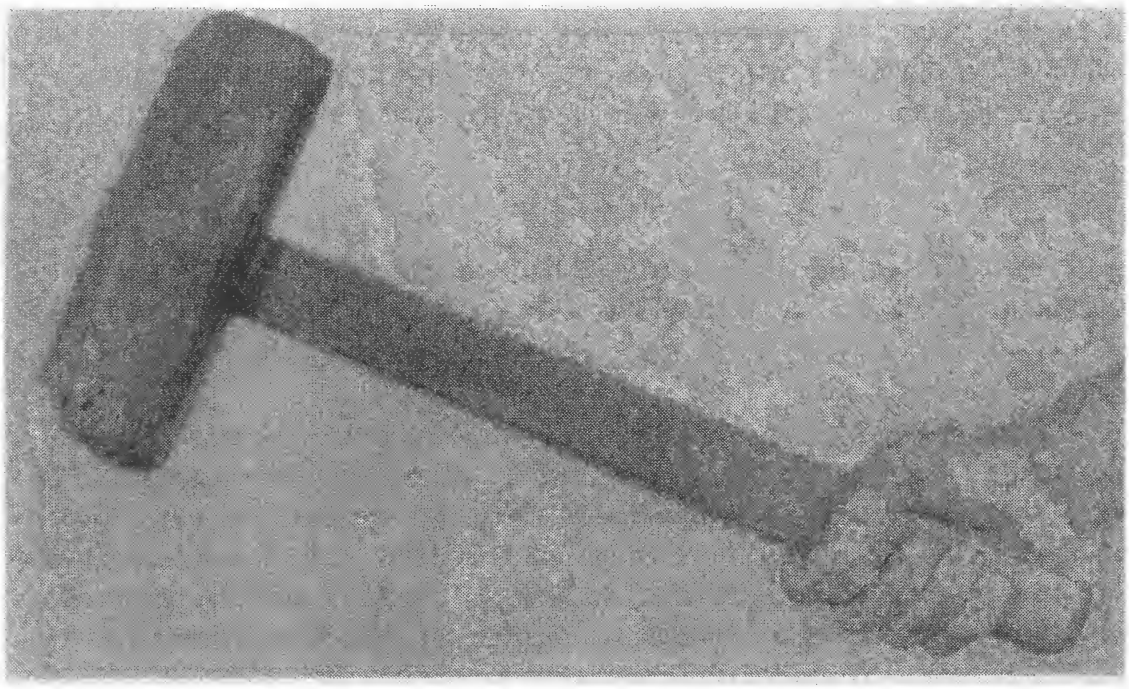

Figure 18-22 Gong mallet of Burma. The monk who killed the Ven. U Warthawa struck him with a mallet of this type after he had first hit him with the door bolt. (This mallet was purchased in Pyawbwe.)

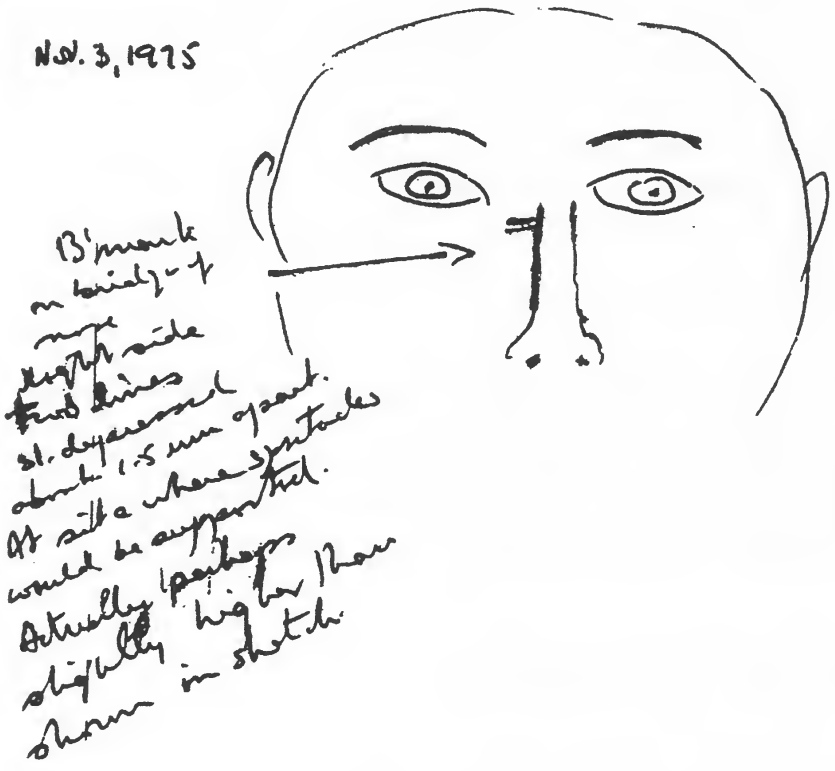

Figure 18-23 Sketch of Maung Myo Min Thein's face to indicate location of birthmark at the base of his nose that was said to correspond to the marks made on the Ven. U Warthawa's nose by the bridge of his spectacles.

of his life. They were rimmed and joined with gold or gold plate. U Aung Maw said (in 1975) that the birthmark on his son's nose had been much more prominent when he was born and that it had faded markedly since then.

Comment

Maung Myo Min Thein said nothing about the previous life that was both verifiable and outside his parents' knowledge. The principal interest of his case derives therefore from his somewhat unusual behavior and from his birth defect and birthmarks.

Since Maung Myo Min Thein's parents were devotees of the Ven. U Warthawa and believed that he had been reborn as their son, they may have encouraged behavior that imitated that of the deceased monk whom they venerated. But even if such an influence suffices to account for Maung Myo Min Thein's behavior, it does not adequately explain the prominent defect and birthmark of his head or the birthmark on his nose. Three witnesses, two speaking independently, described a fatal injury to the skull of the Ven. U Warthawa that corresponded closely to the location of the prominent defect and birthmark on the back of Maung Myo Min Thein's skull.

The first blow struck on the Ven. U Warthawa's head with the iron bolt apparently did not render him unconscious, because he is said to have called for help after it. Maung Myo Min Thein knew that the Ven. U Warthawa had been hit with an iron bolt and that a mad monk had struck him. So presumably the Ven. U Warthawa became aware of these details before the monk struck him again on the head—with a gong mallet.

I should draw attention to the comparatively long interval in this case—18 years—between the previous personality's death and the subject's birth. (Table 14-4 lists other cases with a similarly long interval or a longer one.)

Maung Myo Min Thein's Later Development

In February 1977 Maung Myo Min Thein was 9½ years old. He was in the fifth class of school and among the first three in a class of 52 students.

Maung Myo Min Thein told us that ordinarily he did not think about the previous life, but sometimes did so on cloudy days. However, when we asked him what, in particular, he then remembered, he was unable to tell us.

THE CASE OF MAUNG HTOO

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Maung Htoo was born in April 1978 in the village of Sipin Tabetkar in Upper Burma. His parents were U Kyaw Maung and Daw Win Kyi, and Maung Htoo was the second of their four children. U Kyaw Maung was a blacksmith.

Figure 18-24 Maung Htoo in infancy before repair of his cleft lip.

At his birth Maung Htoo was found to have a cleft lip (Figures 18-24 and 18-25) and a cleft palate (Figure 18-26). From his birth until he was about 1½ years old, he cried almost continuously unless one or the other of his parents held him in a lap. When he seemed to be asleep and they would put him down again, he would immediately begin to cry once more. U Kyaw Maung and Daw Win Kyi never understood the cause of Maung Htoo's crying, but thought that he might have been in pain. When he was about 1½ years old, they used their savings and took him to a hospital in Taunggyi, where his cleft lip was surgically corrected; and thereafter he slept well. (Correction of the cleft palate was deferred until Maung Htoo became older.)

Daw Win Kyi could not remember having had any announcing dream during her pregnancy with Maung Htoo.

When Maung Htoo was about 2 years old, he began speaking and soon made a number of statements that led his parents to suspect he was remembering

Figure 18-25 Maung Htoo in February 1986, when he was nearly 8 years old. The photograph shows an excellent result from the repair of the cleft lip.

the life of Daw Win Kyi's uncle, U Paw Kywe. He also showed behavior characteristic of U Paw Kywe.

My assistant Daw Hnin Aye learned about the case in July 1984 from an informant for another case in Sipin Tabetkar, and she began investigating the case almost immediately. In Sipin Tabetkar she interviewed Maung Htoo's parents, one of U Paw Kywe's children, and Ko Mya Win, one of his close friends. She also had a brief talk with Maung Htoo himself. She sent U Win Maung and me a report of her interviews, and I mailed to Burma a list of additional questions that I hoped the informants could answer. Daw Hnin Aye returned to Sipin Tabetkar in July 1985 and, using my questions, obtained much additional information about the case.

On February 24, 1986, U Win Maung and I (accompanied by Daw Hnin Aye) went to Sipin Tabetkar, where we met and talked with Maung Htoo's parents. We also interviewed Ko Mya Win, the close friend of U Paw Kywe mentioned above. Daw Kyi, Maung Htoo's paternal grandmother (whom Daw Hnin Aye had not earlier interviewed), told us about one statement Maung Htoo had made. I was able to examine Maung Htoo and to take some new photographs of his (repaired) cleft lip and (still unrepaired) cleft palate.

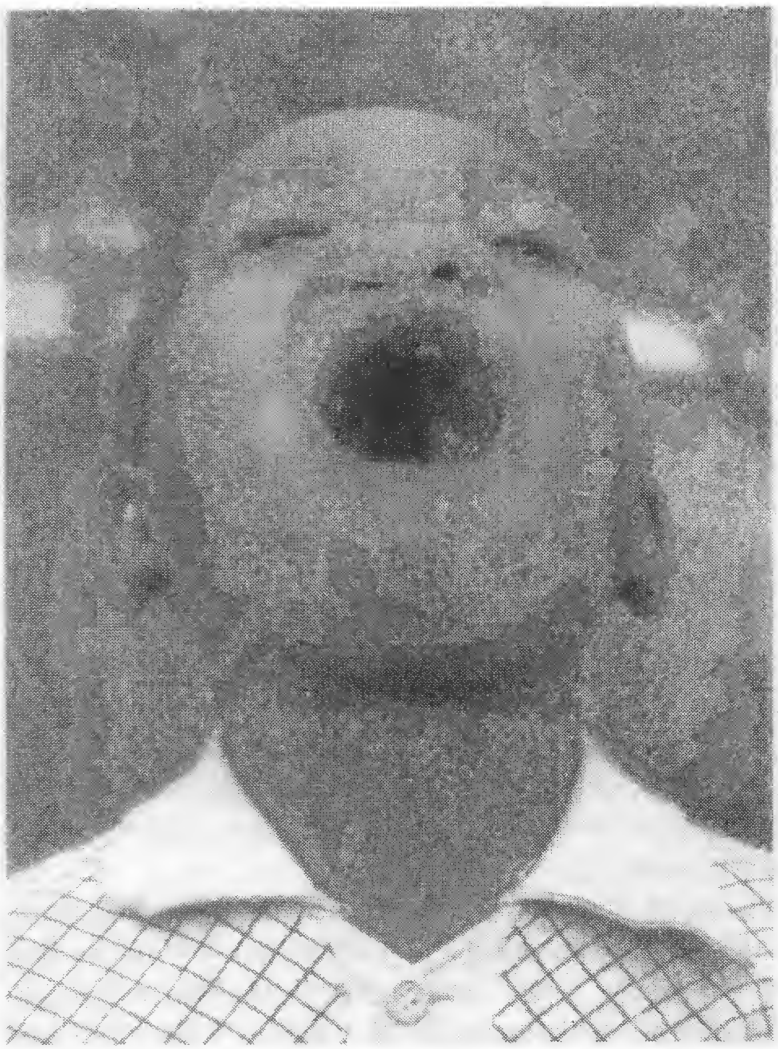

Figure 18-26 Maung Htoo (also in February 1986) with his mouth open to expose the still unrepaired cleft palate.

In January 1987 Daw Hnin Aye visited Sipin Tabetkar once more and obtained some additional information. She met Maung Htoo's father again and also obtained information about a detail from a new informant, U Maung Ko, a villager of Sipin Tabetkar who had known U Paw Kywe intimately. She also learned the address of one of U Paw Kywe's brothers, who was living in Rangoon. This was U Chit Maung, and Daw Hnin Aye interviewed him there a few weeks later.

Persons Interviewed during the Investigation

In Sipin Tabetkar the following persons were interviewed:

U Kyaw Maung, Maung Htoo's father
Daw Win Kyi, Maung Htoo's mother
Daw Kyi, U Kyaw Maung's mother
Ko Mya Win, close friend of U Paw Kywe
Maung Khin Maung San, U Paw Kywe's son (interviewed only by Daw Hnin Aye)
U Maung Ko, friend of U Paw Kywe (interviewed only by Daw Hnin Aye)

In Rangoon Daw Hnin Aye interviewed:
U Chit Maung, U Paw Kywe's younger brother

I have not listed Maung Htoo as an informant, because, although he was friendly with us, I do not think it correct to characterize our brief exchanges with him as an interview.

When we were in Sipin Tabetkar, I expressed an interest in meeting U Paw Kywe's widow, Daw Aye Kyi, but we were advised that she would not cooperate with us. As will be seen, she did not accept Maung Htoo's claim to be her husband reborn.

The informants for this case gave generally closely concordant testimony, and I feel justified in combining their statements in this report for most of what I shall include. However, where one informant made some particular observation or had some knowledge that others lacked, I shall identify that person.

The Life and Death of U Paw Kywe

U Paw Kywe was born in Sipin Tabetkar in about 1936. He was the son of U Yan Shin (a farmer) and his wife, Daw Nyunt. He worked mainly as an assistant to a lorry driver. He married Daw Aye Kyi, and they had three children. Of these, the oldest, Maung Khin Maung San, was later an informant for Daw Hnin Aye. He said that his father had been fond of him and of his younger sister, but not of the middle child of the family, Ma Ahmar Kyi.

U Paw Kywe was active in the social life of the village. He had some knowledge of electricity, and he was known to be unafraid of climbing to high places. Accordingly, he was regularly called on to mount to the tops of pagodas and arrange the illuminations there. (There is typically a light of some kind, now usually electric, at the top of a pagoda in Burma.)

On one occasion he climbed up on a pagoda in order to place an electric light at its very top. However, bees swarmed out and stung him. Afterward he developed Hansen's Disease (leprosy), which the bee stings were thought to have initiated. (Burmese villagers often think that some trauma, such as a snakebite or bee stings, can initiate leprosy. However, educated Burmese know that it is a contagious disease, and many villagers know this also.) There can be little doubt that U Paw Kywe did have leprosy, because a mobile leprosy team that circulates to villages with known cases of this disease had him under their care for several years before he died. The team had a physician member, and a physician would surely have known how to diagnose the illness, especially since Upper Burma still had many cases of leprosy at this time.

U Paw Kywe's disease particularly affected his face. The area of his mouth and nose became ulcerated and eaten away; his face, Daw Win Kyi said, "was horrible to look at." His voice became nasal before he died, from which we can infer that the disease had eroded his palate.

Later, the disease affected U Paw Kywe's hands, and the fingers of both his hands became permanently flexed.

When U Paw Kywe became unable to work any longer as a lorry driver's assistant, the owner of the lorry on which he worked generously bought him a pony-cart, and he drove this for hire until he was no longer able to do even this.

Because of U Paw Kywe's repulsive appearance and because his disease was thought to be contagious, neighbors and even his family began to shun him. His wife deserted him and took their children with her to Pyawbwe, which is the nearest large town. U Paw Kywe then had no one to care for him. In this extremity of social isolation his niece, Daw Win Kyi, and her husband, U Kyaw Maung, looked after him. Daw Win Kyi cooked food for her uncle and sent it to him while her husband fetched water for him from a well and put it in pots that U Paw Kywe could reach. This service was the more touching because U Paw Kywe had disapproved of Daw Win Kyi's marriage to U Kyaw Maung; he had in fact spoken so strongly against her marriage that for a time—prior to his illness—they had not been on speaking terms. When U Paw Kywe saw that U Kyaw Maung, far from bearing a grudge against him for his previous attitude toward Daw Win Kyi's marriage, was fetching water for him, he apologized to U Kyaw Maung and asked forgiveness for his previous harsh language.

U Paw Kywe was sensitive about his illness and appearance, and he did not wish to give his disease to other persons. He had a good friend, Ko Mya Win, whom he liked to visit. However, not wishing to spread his disease, he did not enter Ko Mya Win's house. Instead he would sit on a stone outside the house (where Ko Mya Win used to sharpen his knives) and converse with Ko Mya Win from there.

Daw Win Kyi and U Kyaw Maung continued helping U Paw Kywe by taking food and water to him—sometimes every day, sometimes only every 2 or 3 days. On one occasion they did not go to him for 2 or 3 days, and when they did go to his house, they found him dead. The villagers were afraid of the contagiousness of U Paw Kywe's body, and they did not wish to touch it; so they simply wrapped it up in the plastic sheet on which U Paw Kywe had been in the habit of sleeping. They then carried the body thus wrapped in the plastic sheet and buried it in a cemetery.

U Paw Kywe died in 1976 at the age of about 40. At that time his oldest son Maung Khin Maung San was about 20 years old.

Statements and Recognitions Made by Maung Htoo

Maung Htoo started speaking when he was about 2 years old. He could not speak clearly then (or later, at the time of Daw Hnin Aye's interviews) because of the cleft palate. He pointed toward the east and told his mother he came from that direction; he said he came from where there was a pagoda. He said "Aye Kyi" and pointed toward the house of U Paw Kywe, whose wife, Daw Aye Kyi, had returned from Pyawbwe and was then living in the house. Maung Htoo also held up three fingers for his mother and said: "I got three," meaning that he had three children. This was correct for U Paw Kywe, and when Maung

Htoo's parents saw and heard his various communications, they suspected that he was U Paw Kywe reborn.

I learned of only a few other statements that Maung Htoo made. He said that in the previous life his body had been wrapped in "his" plastic sheet and buried in it. (This, as I have mentioned, was correct for the burial of U Paw Kywe.) Maung Htoo's paternal grandmother, Daw Kyi, told us that Maung Htoo had referred to an incident in which U Paw Kywe's pony had got out of control and had run a pony-cart over his leg, bruising it, but not breaking it. This accident occurred when U Paw Kywe was about 30 years old and so 10 years before his death. Daw Kyi had herself been a witness of the accident. Maung Htoo also said that the bees had stung him at the Sipin pagoda and mentioned this as the reason why he did not like to go to the pagoda.

Maung Htoo seems not to have made many *different* statements about the life of U Paw Kywe. He did, however, often repeat the name of Aye Kyi and point in the direction of her house, which was where U Paw Kywe himself had also lived and died.

Maung Htoo still seemed to remember the previous life when he was 6, at the time Daw Hnin Aye first met him. He then told her the names of U Paw Kywe's three children; but by that age he might easily have learned these normally.

We learned of only two recognitions that informants credited to Maung Htoo. When Maung Htoo went to Ko Mya Win's house, Ko Mya Win, to test him, told him to go and sit on "your old place." Maung Htoo left the house and went to the stone outside, where U Paw Kywe used to sit after he became ill, was thought to be infectious, and yet wished to visit and talk with Ko Mya Win. This incident occurred when Maung Htoo was about 2 years old. On later occasions, Ko Mya Win would sometimes repeat this test and tell Maung Htoo to go and "sit in your old place"; whereupon Maung Htoo would leave the house and sit on the stone outside the house.

I describe the second recognition in the following section.

Maung Htoo's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

Maung Htoo's Familiarity with U Paw Kywe's Family and Friends. In the summer of 1985, U Paw Kywe's younger brother, U Chit Maung, came to Sipin Tabetkar to attend the funeral of his brother-in-law. He visited Maung Htoo's parents, and as they were talking, Maung Htoo came up, stood in front of U Chit Maung, and said: "Hey! Kaung! When did you arrive?" His parents rebuked him for addressing an adult visitor in this way. The expression "Hey! Kaung!" is appropriate in addressing a younger person with whom one is on intimate terms, but not an older adult who is a stranger. (The nearest English equivalent would be "Hey! You oaf!") It was acceptable for U Paw Kywe to address his younger brother in this way, but a Burmese child of 7 should not use such words to an adult from another community. U Chit Maung remained in the village 8 days, and he became convinced that Maung Htoo was his older

brother reborn. He ended by addressing Maung Htoo as "Ah Ko," meaning "older brother." When Daw Hnin Aye met U Chit Maung in Rangoon (early in 1987), he confirmed this incident. He remembered that Maung Htoo had called out to him, when he saw him: "Hey! Kaung!" And he said that this was the usual way in which his older brother U Paw Kywe had addressed him. U Kyaw Maung was going to beat Maung Htoo for thus impertinently addressing an older man, but U Chit Maung intervened and explained that this manner of talking was just what he would have expected of U Paw Kywe. U Maung Ko, a villager of Sipin Tabetkar who had known U Paw Kywe intimately, confirmed that U Paw Kywe habitually addressed his younger brother with the words "Hey! Kaung!"

U Maung Ko also said that he had heard Maung Htoo addressing U Paw Kywe's son (Maung Khin Maung San) with the same familiar phrase: "Hey! Kaung!"

Maung Htoo showed much attachment to U Paw Kywe's old friend, Ko Mya Win, and liked to visit him. Ko Mya Win described Maung Htoo as being "very attached to me."

Maung Htoo also liked to visit U Paw Kywe's home, but there he was received with different attitudes by the members of U Paw Kywe's family, who had returned to their house after his death. U Paw Kywe's oldest son, Maung Khin Maung San, welcomed Maung Htoo. He had observed that Maung Htoo would come into the house, open an old trunk, and finger two old shirts that U Paw Kywe had worn. He would then close the trunk again, say nothing, and go back to his parents' house. In 1984 he was still showing this behavior "quite often." Maung Khin Maung San seemed to find it acceptable. In contrast, his sister, Ma Ahmar Kyi, did not welcome Maung Htoo's visits and even told him that she would beat him if she saw him in their house. Upon hearing this, Daw Win Kyi told Maung Htoo that he should not go to U Paw Kywe's house anymore.

Maung Htoo's Phobia of the Sipin Pagoda. Maung Htoo had a marked phobia of the Sipin pagoda where, he said, bees had stung him. When he was a young child, he would not go to the pagoda at all. By 1986, when he was about 8 years old, he would go to the pagoda with a group, but still would not go there alone.

Other Behavior of Maung Htoo Related to the Previous Life. Maung Htoo had several habits that U Paw Kywe had had. He wore his longyi short, as U Paw Kywe had done. He often put his hands behind his back as U Paw Kywe had had a habit of doing. Maung Htoo was also inclined to swear profusely, a characteristic of U Paw Kywe.

Maung Htoo's Birth Defects

As I have mentioned, Maung Htoo's cleft lip was repaired when he was between 1 and 2 years old. Figure 18-25 shows the slight scar left by this repair.

He continued to have some impairment of speech from the residual cleft palate (Figure 18-26).

U Paw Kywe's hands had been affected by severe flexion contractures, but Maung Htoo had no abnormality of the hands. (I examined his hands, and they seemed entirely normal.)

Other Relevant Medical Information. U Kyaw Maung told us that he and his wife were remotely related, but the relationship was so distant that he could not specify it. (Earlier he had told Daw Hnin Aye that he and his wife were not related at all; but he must later have remembered some distant connection between them.)

Daw Win Kyi's pregnancy with Maung Htoo was entirely normal. She took no alcohol or medicines during it. Maung Htoo was delivered at home by a midwife.

No other member of the family had had a cleft lip or cleft palate. Maung Htoo's parents were also unaware of any other case of these birth defects in their village.

When I last had news of Maung Htoo, early in January 1987, his parents were planning to take him to Taunggyi for the repair of his cleft palate.

Comment. Cleft lip (and palate) is a fairly common birth defect. Wilde (1843) and also MacMahon and McKeown (1953, p. 178) found an incidence of 1 in 2,100 births. A. C. Stevenson et al. (1966, p. 51) found a higher incidence (1 in 1,000) in a large international survey of births.

Comments on the Evidence of Paranormal Processes in the Case

The two families concerned in the case were related, lived in the same village, and were well acquainted. As we have seen, Maung Htoo's parents cared for U Paw Kywe when nearly everyone else, including his wife, had deserted him. All of the few statements that Maung Htoo made about the previous life concerned matters known to Maung Htoo's parents and grandmother. Maung Htoo might have learned normally everything he said about the life of U Paw Kywe. (This does not mean that he did learn about these matters normally, only that we cannot say that he could not have done so.)

Maung Htoo's unusual behavior, which accorded with what we could learn about U Paw Kywe's behavior, has greater strength as evidence of a paranormal process. We might suppose that his parents, having decided that he was U Paw Kywe reborn, could have imposed this behavior on Maung Htoo. This seems to me unlikely. In some other cases an announcing dream prepares the subject's parents to believe that he is a particular deceased person reborn. In this case no announcing dream occurred (or none was afterward remembered), and Maung Htoo's parents did not identify him with U Paw Kywe until he himself began to talk about U Paw Kywe's life. (They may, nevertheless, have conjectured this earlier from the correspondence between the lesion around U Paw Kywe's mouth and nose and Maung Htoo's cleft lip

and cleft palate.) This correspondence provides the strongest evidence of a paranormal process in the case.

THE CASE OF TIMOTHY CURRAN

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Timothy Curran was born in Kake, Alaska, on January 9, 1964. His parents were Bruce Curran and his wife, Margaret (later Margaret Manuelo). They belonged to the Tlingit tribe. Margaret belonged to the Killer Whale Clan and, following the matrilineal custom of the Tlingit, so did Timothy. Timothy was born with a left-sided cleft lip (Figure 18-28). He was given his great-grandfather's tribal name for reasons that I will next explain.

This case can be said to have begun when a Tlingit warrior (of Alaska) called Maaksaa was shot in a tribal feud, probably in the 19th century. He was wounded in the jaw or (some said) in the lip. Subsequently, a boy of the same clan as Maaksaa claimed to have been Maaksaa in his previous life. This boy, Henry Wicklow, who was born in 1883, had a left-sided cleft lip. It was never repaired surgically, but proved no impediment to a normal life, and Henry Wicklow lived to the age of 74 before he died in 1957. Figure 18-27 shows his left-sided cleft lip in later adulthood.

Some years after Henry Wicklow's death, two members of his family dreamed about him in ways suggesting that he was going to reincarnate as the son of his grandson. When Timothy was born (with a left-sided cleft lip), he was identified as the reincarnation of his great-grandfather on the basis of the announcing dreams and the presumed recurrence of a left-sided cleft lip. He never made any explicit statements about a previous life, although he did show some unusual behavior that corresponded to similar behavior on the part of Henry Wicklow.

I first learned of this case in 1965 from an informant in Kake. He was Walter Curran, whose wife, Susan Wicklow Curran, was one of Henry Wicklow's daughters. She and her husband were Timothy Curran's grandparents and so centrally placed between the two members of the family who had a cleft lip. My investigation of the case continued at Kake, and also in Juneau, until 1981. Readers may find it puzzling that the study of a case with a comparatively small number of details compared with most others should have extended so long. Part of the explanation lies in the difficulty of reaching Kake, which is one of the less accessible islands of southeastern Alaska. Another difficulty arose from the occupations of the Tlingit. The majority work in one or another aspect of the fishing industry—either as fishermen or employed at canneries—and as they were not always available at the times of my visits, I often had to return to an informant at a later occasion.

Roxanne Turner, who worked as an assistant for me in Alaska during the 1970s, conducted two valuable interviews for this case in 1975.

Persons Interviewed during the Investigation

In Kake I interviewed:

Susan Wicklow Curran, Henry Wicklow's daughter
Walter Curran, Susan Wicklow Curran's husband
Clara Wicklow Chase, another daughter of Henry Wicklow
Bruce Curran, Timothy Curran's father
Leo Plotnov, friend of Henry Wicklow
James Wilson, informant about Maaksaa

In Juneau I interviewed:

Timothy Curran
Margaret Manuelo, Timothy Curran's mother

In addition to my interviews, Roxanne Turner interviewed (at Kake) Timothy's father, Bruce Curran, and Clara Wicklow Chase.

Timothy's parents separated when he was a few years old. Each subsequently remarried, and Timothy lived mainly with his mother, Margaret Manuelo, in Juneau. She was reluctant to talk about Timothy's case. She alluded to his unusual behavior (presumably related to the previous life), but would not give particulars about it. She emphasized that she did not believe in reincarnation and implied that to discuss what her son had said and done might condone a belief in it. I thought that her evasiveness was more than doctrinal in origin. I conjecture that her unhappy relationship with Timothy's father may have made the whole subject of Timothy's early childhood uncongenial to remember and discuss. She was not opposed to talking only with me, because she declined to talk about the case with Roxanne Turner (with whom two other informants for the case spoke affably). Nevertheless, in 1981 Margaret Manuelo cooperated graciously in arranging for me to meet Timothy again and to take photographs of his lip.

The Life and Death of Maaksaa

Maaksaa undoubtedly existed, but none of my informants had ever met him, and they tended to locate him remotely in the history of the Tlingit. One of them said that Maaksaa had lived "before the white man came," and another dated him back "perhaps two centuries," which would have placed him in the late 18th century. Yet this same informant said that Maaksaa had been shot during a war at the Todd Cannery. Both these statements are incompatible with a life in the 18th century. Canneries were not started in Alaska until the 19th century, and the Tlingit did not obtain firearms, except sporadically, until the middle of the same century.

The informants about Maaksaa all agreed that he had been shot during a tribal war, and this makes me place his life in the middle of the 19th century. They

also agreed that he had been shot in the front of the face, but there were disagreements about exactly where he had been fatally wounded. These disagreements were not generational. For example, two informants who were in their 70s were willing to say where Maaksaa's wound had been. The first, James Wilson, said that Maaksaa had been shot in the lip; but the second, Leo Plotnov, said that he had been shot in the jaw. (As he spoke, Leo Plotnov indicated the right side of his own jaw near his mouth.) Similarly, one of two informants of the next younger generation said that Maaksaa had been shot in the jaw, the other in the lip (at the site of Henry Wicklow's cleft lip).

None of these four informants could have known Maaksaa personally, but the older ones at least, and just possibly the younger ones, might have talked with persons who had known him and perhaps even seen where he was wounded.

Maaksaa was a member of the Bear Clan, and so was Henry Wicklow, who was said to be Maaksaa reincarnated.

The Case of Henry Wicklow

Before Henry Wicklow's birth, Maaksaa was said to have appeared to a member of his family and announced his impending rebirth. I did not learn whether he "appeared" in a dream or during the waking state of the percipient; nor did my informant say to whom Maaksaa had appeared.

Henry Wicklow was born in about 1883. (I obtained this year of birth from his *death* certificate, which indicated also some doubt about the date of birth.) He had a left-sided cleft lip that can be seen in Figure 18-27, which shows him in late adulthood. (He never had the cleft lip repaired, but to some extent concealed it with a mustache.)

Henry Wicklow's daughter, Susan, said that when he had been a child, he had talked about a previous life, but she was not a firsthand witness of whatever he said, and she did not state any details of his statements. She did not even say about what previous life he had spoken, but since he was regarded as the reincarnation of Maaksaa, I assume it was of Maaksaa's life that he spoke when a child.

When Henry Wicklow grew up, he married and had (at least) four daughters, of whom two were informants for this case. Like most of the Tlingit he worked as a fisherman and greatly enjoyed fishing. He also seems to have enjoyed alcohol, probably excessively. His daughter Clara hinted to me that he had been an alcoholic, but did not say so explicitly.

In his later years Henry Wicklow considered his future death and prospects for reincarnating. He was (like Maaksaa) a member of the Bear Clan, but said that he would not reincarnate in this clan. He thought its members did not take good care of their children. He also said: "If I die I am going to come right back." However, unlike some of the Tlingit, he did not select the parents for his next life.

Henry Wicklow drowned while fishing on November 14, 1957.

Figure 18-27 Photograph of Henry Wicklow taken in later adulthood. The photograph shows his left-sided cleft lip.

Announcing Dreams Related to the Birth of Timothy Curran

About a year before Timothy's birth, his father, Bruce Curran, dreamed that his grandfather, Henry Wicklow, called to him and asked him to take his hand.

Walter Curran (Henry Wicklow's son-in-law) also dreamed of Henry Wicklow before Timothy's birth. In the dream he was with Henry Wicklow, who somehow communicated to his son-in-law that he "was happy about coming back to us." Walter Curran had similar dreams two or three times before Timothy's birth.

Walter Curran told me that Timothy's mother, Margaret Manuelo, had also dreamed that her husband's grandfather "was coming." However, during my principal interview with Margaret Manuelo, she did not mention any dream that she herself had had. Instead, she gave me a (somewhat discrepant) account of her husband's dream. She said that she had met Henry Wicklow a few times and had decided to name Timothy after Henry Wicklow "long before he was born." (This refers to giving Timothy his great-grandfather's tribal name, not his registry or "white man's" name.) She did not tell me the basis for this decision.

Recognitions Made by Timothy

So far as I know, Timothy never made any statements about the previous life. However, he was credited with some recognitions appropriate for Henry Wicklow; and he showed some behavior that seemed unusual for a child of his age and harmonious with what I learned about Henry Wicklow.

According to Clara Wicklow Chase, when he was a young child, Timothy recognized "many people" known to Henry Wicklow. He would walk up to them and shake their hands. Most of these persons had died by the time of the investigation of this case, and Clara did not remember their names. However, she was convinced that Timothy had identified members of Henry Wicklow's family without being told who they were. She remarked about this: "It is enough to give you the creeps."

Clara was able to describe the details of one indirect recognition of which she had been a firsthand witness. It occurred when Timothy had just begun to talk. He spontaneously grabbed the hands of Clara's husband, William Chase, and said: "Thank you." This seemed like an extremely strange remark considering that William Chase could not have done anything to earn the gratitude of such a young child. However, as a member of the clan opposite to that of Henry Wicklow, William Chase had participated in Henry's funeral rites. (It is customary for members of the clan opposite to that of the deceased man to walk around the deceased man's grave three times.) William Chase concluded that Timothy was thanking him for his part in Henry Wicklow's funeral.

Timothy's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

Timothy showed a strong desire for alcohol at an early age. His great-aunt, Clara Wicklow Chase, said (in 1972) that Timothy had once seen a bottle of alcohol just visible in her husband's clothes and had said to him: "Give me some of that." She also recounted another incident that occurred when Timothy was about 4. He asked some persons who were drinking alcohol for a drink; a member of the adult group then filled a shot glass with soda water and gave it to Timothy. He refused to drink it saying he wanted whisky, and when he was denied this he walked out.[31]

[31]Three years later (in 1975) Clara Wicklow Chase related to Roxanne Turner a similar incident in which Timothy went up to his father, Bruce Curran, and asked him for some alcohol from a bottle that he was carrying. This second account is a recognizable variant of the first, and I think that in telling it Clara had misremembered the alcohol-bearing adult as Timothy's father, instead of his great-uncle. Bruce Curran could not remember that Timothy had ever asked for alcohol as a young child, and surely he would have remembered if his son had asked him for some. He was probably not a witness of the episodes in which Timothy had asked for alcohol.

Other subjects who remembered the lives of persons who drank alcohol excessively and who, as young children, asked for alcohol (or drank it surreptitiously) include: Sujith Lakmal Jayaratne, Maung Zaw Thein Lwin, Bishen Chand Kapoor, Maung Myint Tin, Maung Kyaw Thein, Muhittin Yılmaz, Ma Zin Mar Oo, Bhopal Singh, Maung Aung Myint, and Wilfred Meares.

Timothy early showed a strong interest in fishing, and Clara Wicklow Chase said that as soon as he was able to have some money of his own, he saved it to buy a fishing rod and reel. He even tried to earn some money so that he could buy a rod and reel. When he had enough money, he went to Sitka to buy the rod and reel. It would be strange indeed to meet a Tlingit who did not like to fish; I have certainly never met one. What impressed Clara Wicklow Chase about Timothy's interest in fishing, however, was the young age at which he first expressed it and the intensity with which he pursued it. To balance this account I need to add that Bruce Curran was also fond of fishing.

Timothy also had a special affection for Clara Wicklow Chase. (She had been Henry Wicklow's favorite daughter.) According to her, his first spoken word was her name: "Clara." When he was still in a crib (but able to speak), he was once observed to stand up in the crib and call out: "Clara, give me drinks." (Clara was not a firsthand witness of this incident.) When Clara passed by the Currans' house, Timothy would call out to Clara. Sometimes he would ask Clara to do something for him; and sometimes he would ask his mother to do something for Clara, for example, by saying: "Give Clara some coffee."

Other Relevant Behavior of Timothy

Unlike many other subjects who remembered previous lives that ended in drowning, Timothy had no phobia of water.

Timothy's Birth Defect

I was able to obtain the hospital records of Timothy's birth and of one admission, when he was 8 years old, for the revision of an earlier repair of his cleft lip. (A first repair had been done when Timothy was 4 months old.)

The cleft lip was on the left side, and Figure 18-28 shows the excellent final result of its repair; the scar of the repair was barely visible in 1981.

His examination immediately after birth showed that Timothy had no palatal birth defect.

When I met Timothy in 1981, I learned that he was obliged to wear braces on his teeth to reduce some separation between his upper front teeth in the area of the cleft lip. When I examined his upper teeth in the area of the cleft lip, they seemed normal.

Other Relevant Medical Information. Timothy had no full siblings, but he had three half-siblings through his father's second marriage. His father, Bruce Curran, had four sisters and two brothers, and he (Bruce Curran) said that none of them had a cleft lip. His father's mother, Susan Wicklow Curran (who was a daughter of Henry Wicklow), had at least three sisters, none of whom had a cleft lip. Clara Wicklow Chase (Henry's Wicklow's daughter) was in a generation between Henry Wicklow (her father) and Timothy (her great-nephew), and she said that her father and Timothy were the only members of the family to have a cleft lip.

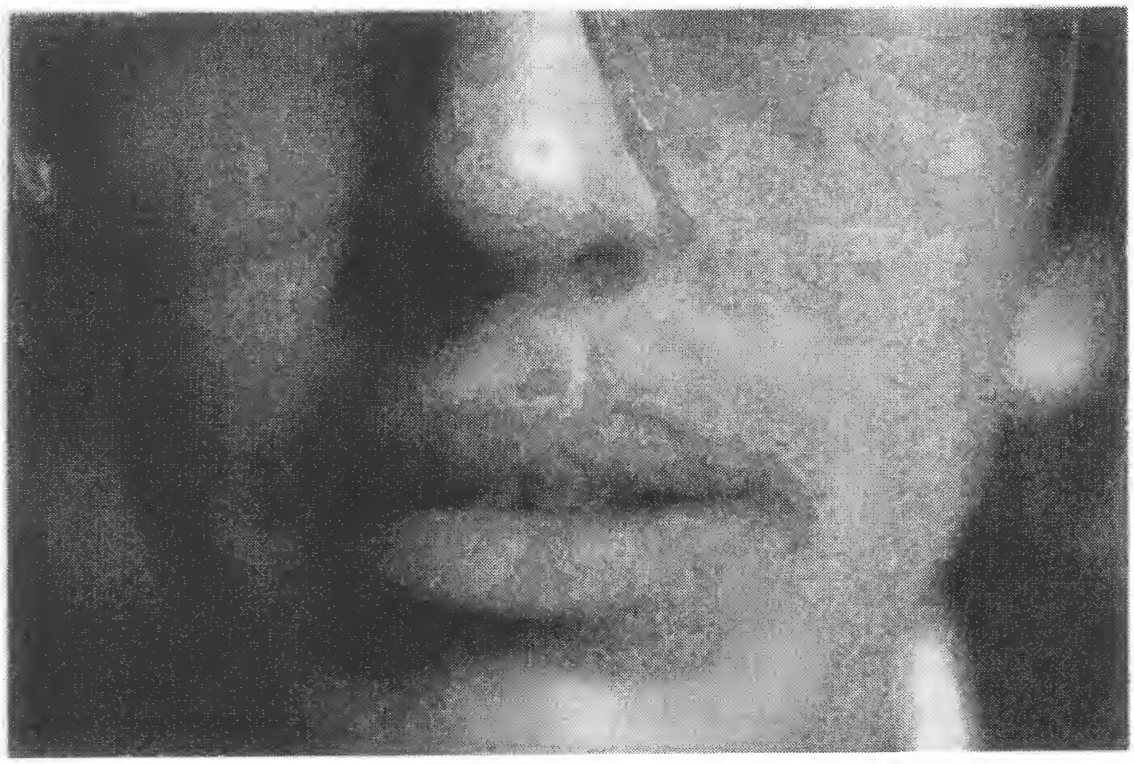

Figure 18-28 Lower face of Timothy Curran as it appeared in 1981, when he was 17 years old. Only a thin scar can be seen at the line of the surgical repair of the left-sided cleft lip.

However, Bruce Curran said that he thought that a member of the family—he did not say who—in some generation before that of Henry Wicklow had had a cleft lip.

Timothy's Further Development

When I last met Timothy in Juneau in May 1981, he was a few months more than 17 years old. He was then studying in the 11th grade of high school in Juneau. He was living with his mother, but still went to Kake during vacations to spend some time with his father and stepmother. I had met him there, by chance, in 1977.

Timothy still liked to fish, but did not intend to make fishing his main occupation. He was fond of art and hoped to qualify to study architecture at a college in the state of Washington.

He had no memories of a previous life. He was aware that he was identified as the reincarnation of his great-grandfather, but mistakenly believed that this man (his great-grandfather) had been shot in the lip.

Comment

I cannot disagree with any reader who thinks the evidence for regarding Timothy as the reincarnation of Henry Wicklow is meager. Indeed, since the caus-

es of cleft lip include a genetic factor, one might plausibly say that Timothy had inherited his cleft lip from Henry Wicklow. Yet cleft lip cannot be purely of genetic origin, and I summarized the evidence that shows this in Chapter 16. Here I will only remind readers that I believe we should always ask why one member of a family instead of another develops a heritable defect. To this question in the present case it may be replied that Timothy inherited the cleft lip "by chance" and that the few fragments of unusual behavior he showed were imposed on him by family members eager to attribute his birth defect to reincarnation.

This interpretation still leaves the announcing dreams in need of an explanation. We may link with them Margaret Manuelo's decision to name her son after his great-grandfather long before he was born. These events minimally suggest some precognition of the birth of a child resembling Henry Wicklow—physically and behaviorally. Perhaps some readers will want to say that a strong desire in family members for the return of Henry Wicklow led to the dreams and also to the development in Timothy of a cleft lip—through the action of a maternal impression. In Chapter 3 I referred to maternal impressions as a possible cause of cleft lip and gave some illustrative examples.

Somewhat similar arguments could be applied to the case of Henry Wicklow. If his grandson, Bruce Curran, is correct in his memory that someone in the family farther back than his grandfather had a cleft lip, then we have still to account for why Henry Wicklow instead of another member of the family inherited the cleft lip in that generation. Although we know little about Maaksaa, who was shot in the lip or jaw during a tribal war, he was said to have "appeared" to a member of Henry Wicklow's family to announce his coming reincarnation before Henry's birth; and Henry, as a child, was said to have remembered a previous life, presumably that of Maaksaa. If we accept as authentic the reports I obtained of these events, they must be accommodated in any complete account of Henry Wicklow's case as well as in one of Timothy Curran's.

THE CASE OF MA HMWE LONE

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Ma Hmwe Lone was born on May 21, 1953, in the village of Inbetgone, Tatkon Township, Upper Burma. Her parents were U Kyaw Mya and Daw Shwe Tin, and they had one other child, a younger brother of Ma Hmwe Lone. Daw Shwe Tin's father was a first cousin of U Kyaw Mya. U Kyaw Mya was a cultivator.

No one had a dream pertinent to Ma Hmwe Lone's birth.

Ma Hmwe Lone was born with a prominent birthmark in the area of her left ear (Figure 18-29) and an asymmetry of her face (Figure 18-30) that I believe resulted from a defect of the left seventh cranial (facial) nerve. Her birthmark led her family to identify her as the reincarnation of a man called Ko Hmwe who had been killed about a year before Ma Hmwe Lone was born and whose principal

wound (from a cut with a sword) corresponded to Ma Hmwe Lone's birthmark and birth defect. The correspondence between wound and birthmark seemed so exact that her family named Ma Hmwe Lone after Ko Hmwe.

When Ma Hmwe Lone was about 3, she began to speak coherently, and when she was between 4 and 5, she made a few statements describing how Ko Hmwe had died. She never said anything else about the previous life.

U Win Maung learned of this case in 1973 from one of his informants in Tatkon. On April 8, 1973, he went to Inbetgone and recorded a statement from Ma Hmwe Lone's mother, Daw Shwe Tin. It was many years before we worked further on the case, but on March 13, 1980, U Win Maung and I went together to Inbetgone, where we interviewed both of Ma Hmwe Lone's parents and (briefly) Ma Hmwe Lone herself. We had no other informants for the case. U San Mya, who had killed Ko Hmwe, had died in about 1974. U Kyaw Mya's mother, Daw Yin, who had observed the wound on Ko Hmwe's head after he was killed, had also died by the time of our investigation.

Relevant Facts of Geography and Acquaintance between the Two Families

Inbetgone village is approximately 8 kilometers northwest of Tatkon. Ko Hmwe lived at another village, Pay-taw, which is about 1 kilometer northwest of Inbetgone. He was killed, however, at a third village, Wet-chan-yoe, which is 3 kilometers south of Pay-taw and about 3 kilometers southwest of Inbetgone.

Daw Shwe Tin said that she had known Ko Hmwe, but had not been friendly with him. However, her husband, U Kyaw Mya, said that he had been "quite friendly" with Ko Hmwe.

The Life, Death, and Character of Ko Hmwe

We did not meet any member of Ko Hmwe's family or any firsthand witness of the fight in which he was killed; our information about him derives entirely from U Kyaw Mya and Daw Shwe Tin.

Ko Hmwe was born in about 1912 in the village of Pay-taw. His parents were U Kyauk Pha and Daw Kinn. He worked as a cultivator and married Daw Khin Kyi. He also had a "lesser wife" whose name we did not learn.

Ko Hmwe was a somewhat turbulent person. U Kyaw Mya said that "he was inclined to be a bit aggressive" and "would not stand any nonsense." In the slang of Burmese English he was regarded as a bad hat. Rumors in the area said that Ko Hmwe was a "part-time dacoit," which means that while mainly working as a cultivator he engaged in robbery when an occasion seemed propitious for it. However, if he had been a dacoit, he had escaped detection.

One day in 1952, Ko Hmwe went to visit some of his relatives in the village of Wet-chan-yoe. A quarrel developed between Ko Hmwe and a man called U San Mya. Ko Hmwe had a hand grenade that he threw at U San Mya. It exploded, but not within range of U San Mya, who was unhurt and who then attacked Ko Hmwe with a sword.

He slashed Ko Hmwe on the side of the head above the left ear and killed him, apparently with this single stroke. The fight occurred after dark at about 8 or 9 o'clock.

The villagers—observing the Burmese custom about the bodies of persons who die elsewhere than in their own homes—did not allow Ko Hmwe's body to be brought into Pay-taw village before its burial. Accordingly, it was brought back toward Pay-taw and left in a wayside shelter outside the village and near the public cemetery. It happened that at this time Daw Shwe Tin was working in paddy fields near Pay-taw. In the early morning after the murder and when it was still dark, she was going to work and noticed a light in the wayside shelter near the village. She approached and saw Ko Hmwe's body laid out there. Ko Hmwe's mother was with her son's body. Daw Shwe Tin was somewhat frightened by the sight of the dead body and went on into the village. There she had some breakfast, and with the coming of daylight her courage returned, and she decided to have another look at Ko Hmwe's body. Accompanied by four other young women, she returned to the wayside shelter and examined the body more closely and in better light. Ko Hmwe's only wound was covered by a piece of cloth, but Daw Shwe Tin could see that it was behind and above the left ear. She noticed that Ko Hmwe's left ear was not cut off and that he had no other wound.

Ko Hmwe's body was buried.

Ko Hmwe was a strong man and in no way effeminate. Our two informants agreed on this matter, and neither had heard that Ko Hmwe had ever expressed a desire to change sex.

The Interval between Ko Hmwe's Death and Ma Hmwe Lone's Birth

Daw Shwe Tin said that she conceived Ma Hmwe Lone "soon after" she had examined Ko Hmwe's dead body at the wayside shelter. "Soon after" is a vague expression, but I think we can take it to mean not more than 3 months. This is why I have said that Ko Hmwe was killed about a year before Ma Hmwe Lone's birth, which would mean sometime in the spring or summer of 1952.

Statements Made by Ma Hmwe Lone

Compared with other subjects of these cases (who have made any statements at all), Ma Hmwe Lone said little about the previous life. (She may have made more statements than her parents, speaking more than 20 years later, afterward remembered, but we do not know this.) Daw Shwe Tin remembered that when Ma Hmwe Lone was between 3 and 5 years old, she said: "Ko[32] San Mya cut me down with a sword. I threw a hand grenade at him, but he did not get hit although it went off."

U Kyaw Mya said that Ma Hmwe Lone seemed shy with regard to talking about the previous life to him, and she had never spoken about it in his presence.

[32]Ma Hmwe Lone used the familiar, informal honorific *Ko*, instead of the more dignified *U*.

Figure 18-29 Birthmark above Ma Hmwe Lone's left ear as it appeared in 1980. The birthmark was an extensive, irregularly shaped, hairless area of scar tissue. Most of the birthmark was superior to the ear, but the affected area extended inferiorly, posterior to the ear.

Ma Hmwe Lone's Statements in 1980. Ma Hmwe Lone returned late to her village on the day U Win Maung and I were there, and we talked only briefly with her. She said that she did not remember the previous life. She also told us that she had no unusual fears, such as of swords or grenades. She seemed to answer questions with brevity and even with some abruptness; and when U Win Maung politely suggested that this was so, she said that she was simply trying to be straightforward with us. I think she was.

Observations of Ma Hmwe Lone's Behavior

Ma Hmwe Lone appears to have developed normally with regard to sexual orientation. At the time we met her, when she was 27 years old, she was married and had had at least three children. (Her oldest son was congenitally deaf and dumb.)

Ma Hmwe Lone's parents agreed that she had never shown any masculine traits, as a child or later. They also said that she was a quiet, docile person, different in this respect from Ko Hmwe, who had been aggressive.

Ma Hmwe Lone's Birthmark and Facial Paralysis

Figure 18-29 shows a large birthmark, a hairless area with some scarring, above and behind Ma Hmwe Lone's left ear.

Figure 18-30 Ma Hmwe Lone as she appeared in 1980, when she was 27 years old. There was a definite facial asymmetry with a laxness of the muscles on the left side of the face.

Ma Hmwe Lone had a definite facial asymmetry, which was mainly due, I believe, to a weakness or paralysis of the seventh cranial (facial) nerve (Figure 18-30). For example, she could not close her left eye, a movement that requires full functioning of the seventh cranial nerve (Figure 18-31).

I think there can be no reasonable doubt that Ma Hmwe Lone's birthmark corresponded to Ko Hmwe's wound. U Kyaw Mya said that he was present when Ma Hmwe Lone was born and immediately noticed her birthmark. He had not been a firsthand witness of the wound on Ko Hmwe's head, but (as I mentioned) his wife had been. In addition, Daw Yin (U Kyaw Mya's mother), who had also seen Ko Hmwe's wound, had said that the birthmark corresponded to the wound. (I explained earlier that Daw Yin had died by 1980, and Daw Shwe Tin was our informant for what her mother-in-law had observed and said about the correspondence between the wound and birthmark.) As there had been no announcing dream before Ma Hmwe Lone's birth, the correspondence between the birthmark and Ko Hmwe's wound provided the sole reason for naming the baby after him.

Figure 18-31 Ma Hmwe Lone (also in 1980), trying to close both eyes. The left eye remained imperfectly closed. The facial asymmetry can be seen again, with definite drooping of the left side of the mouth.

Other Relevant Medical Information. I have already mentioned that Ma Hmwe Lone's parents were cousins and that Ma Hmwe Lone had a child who was congenitally deaf and dumb. There were, however, no other birth defects in the family.

Ma Hmwe Lone was born in Inbetgone village, and a midwife probably assisted at her birth. We can be sure that no forceps were used at her delivery and can exclude them as a possible cause of damage to her scalp and the facial nerve after it leaves the cranium. She was, however, the firstborn child, and the labor might have been difficult. (I do not know whether it was or was not, because we failed to enquire about this.) Facial paresis does occur in some newborn infants through pressure on the external portion of the facial nerve during the delivery. Hepner (1951) found an incidence of 6.4% of facial pareses among 875 consecutive cephalic deliveries. In cases of obstetric etiology, however, recovery occurs quickly, usually within a few weeks at most. Ma Hmwe Lone's facial paralysis lasted far beyond infancy and seemed permanent. Also, in the absence of forceps even a prolonged delivery could not account for such a birthmark as that above and behind her left ear.

Although Ma Hmwe Lone's parents said she had no masculine traits of behavior, her physique seemed somewhat masculine to me. I thought that she was taller and more muscular than the average Burmese woman. Whether I would have appraised her in this way had I not known that she was thought to have been a man in a previous life I cannot affirm, but I think that I would have done so.

We asked Ma Hmwe Lone's parents how (if the case is regarded as one of rebirth) they accounted for the feature of sex change. They replied with one of the stock answers of Burmese (and other) Buddhists who are asked such a question: They said it was due to karma. Since the Burmese consider rebirth as a woman to be a demotion in earthly circumstances, it would be easy to account for such a development in the case of Ko Hmwe by pointing to his alleged misdeeds.

Comment

I have no reason to doubt Daw Shwe Tin's report that Ko Hmwe received only one wound, and I have wondered how a single slash wound above the ear could have killed him. To account for this I think we may consider at least two possibilities. First, the sword stroke might have stunned Ko Hmwe and severed blood vessels of the scalp with resultant copious hemorrhage. Left alone—as he might have been by unsympathetic villagers happy to be rid of him—Ko Hmwe might have bled to death. I think this explanation is improbable. Moreover, it would not account for the facial paralysis of Ma Hmwe Lone, if the paralysis derived from the previous life. (It was certainly congenital.) In order to account for this feature, we should have to suppose that the sword fractured the side (squama) of the left temporal bone above the ear, penetrated the skull and struck the base of the temporal bone, in which the facial nerve runs in the facial canal. "Skull fractures through the temporal bone may cause a facial palsy" (Brodal, 1965, p. 77). A blow with a heavy sword can certainly fracture the skull. Even one with a heavy knife can do this, as the case of Thiang San Kla (Chapter 19) shows. This conjecture, however, fails to explain why Ma Hmwe Lone's abnormalities did not show correspondences with other aspects of damage to the temporal bone that such a sword blow would surely have caused—to the auditory apparatus, for example. Much of it lies in the temporal bone, close to the facial nerve.

I have, however, investigated a somewhat parallel case. It is that of Maung Maung, a subject of Nyaunglunt village, another community of Tatkon Township. (I decided to exclude his case, at least from having a detailed report in this work, because I have been unable to resolve some important discrepancies in the testimony for it.) Maung Maung was born with a defect of his left eye. Unlike Ma Hmwe Lone, who could not close her left eye, Maung Maung could not fully open his. He had a severe ptosis of the left eyelid. His left eye was rotated laterally. His left pupil was slightly smaller than his right one and did not react to light. These are indications of a paralysis of the third cranial (oculomotor) nerve.

Maung Maung, who was born in 1956, remembered the previous life of a man called U Nyi Maung, who was a member of the local defense forces fighting

Communist insurgents in 1949. During an engagement with Communists he was shot; the bullet entered behind his left ear and lodged behind the left eye. U Nyi Maung was taken to the hospital in Yamethin, where he died 2 days later. I believe the paralysis of Maung Maung's third cranial nerve corresponded in some way to the wound from which U Nyi Maung died. Yet, as in the case of Ma Hmwe Lone, I am unable to explain why Maung Maung did not have more extensive birth defects, but showed only, so far as I could tell, defects restricted to one cranial nerve.

Ma Hmwe Lone's case is one of several cases in this work (or published elsewhere) in which a subject's conception has occurred soon after his or her mother (or sometimes the father) approached closely the body of the person whose life the subject later claimed to remember. The implication of this proximity is that the discarnate personality remains near its just vacated physical body and becomes attached to a woman approaching the body. The woman then becomes the mother for the personality's next incarnation.[33]

THE CASE OF SYLVIA HIRST EWING

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Sylvia Hirst Ewing was born in Wrangell, Alaska, on January 16, 1949. Her parents were Frank Hirst and his second wife, Barbara. They were Tlingits. Sylvia was the fourth of their six children. Frank Hirst, who was born in 1902, had also had six children by his first wife. I did not learn his occupation.

Sylvia's mother told me that either her mother or her grandmother had a dream that connected Sylvia with a deceased relative by marriage, Julia Ford, who had died some years earlier. A further link between Julia Ford and Sylvia was observed in a congenital sinus that Sylvia had at the inner aspect of her right eye, near the root of her nose (Figures 18-32 and 18-33). This corresponded to a recurrent stye that Julia Ford had had at the same site. Sylvia's son Calvin was born with a sinus at the same site as Sylvia's, and I described his case in the section on maternal impressions in Chapter 3.

Sylvia made some statements about the previous life, but her mother later remembered little about them. Sylvia did, however, show unusual behavior apparently related to the previous life in the strong attachment she had for Julia's daughter, Sarah.

Beginning when she was 4, Sylvia spent 2 years in Hoonah, where she lived with her maternal grandparents, the Rev. William Sanger and his wife, Mary. When she was 6, she went to Petersburg, where her parents were living. (I think this was to permit better schooling, because she began school in Petersburg.) She was living in Petersburg when I first met her in 1965.

[33]In notes for the reports of the cases of Maung Aye Kyaw and Maung Aye I have given the names of some other subjects of cases having this feature.

I learned of this case in 1965 when I was in Petersburg and met Sylvia's mother, Barbara Hirst, who was living there at the time. (Barbara Hirst's father, the Rev. William Sanger, had directed me to her.) I had gone to see her about other cases in the family, and she mentioned Sylvia's case somewhat casually. I recorded some information about it at that time. I also met Sylvia, who was then 16 years old, and I examined her eyes and made a sketch of the location of the small sinus near her right eye.

After this initial investigation of the case, I neglected it until 1972, when I took it up again. I then had another interview with Sylvia's mother, Barbara, and I also met Julia Ford's husband, Peter Ford. In the following year (1973) I met Julia's daughter, Sarah. In the meantime Sylvia had married (becoming thereby Mrs. John Ewing) and moved to California; but I was able to arrange for her eye to be photographed. Then I met her again, together with her two children, also in 1973.

Persons Interviewed during the Investigation

In Petersburg, Alaska, I interviewed:
Barbara Hirst, Sylvia's mother
Frank Hirst, Sylvia's father

In Juneau, Alaska, I interviewed:
Sarah Ford Collier, Julia Ford's daughter

In Angoon, Alaska, I interviewed:
Peter Ford, Julia Ford's husband

In Whittier, California, I interviewed:
Sylvia Hirst Ewing

As I mentioned, I had met Sylvia earlier in Petersburg, but talked little with her then.

Sylvia's father, Frank Hirst, could contribute nothing to the case. In 1965 he did not even know about the sinus near Sylvia's eye, let alone other details of the case. He amiably explained, half-apologetically, that he did not pay much attention to "things that happened in his wife's family." My later meeting with Barbara Hirst took place in Juneau.

Julia Ford's son, Peter Ford, Jr., declined to talk with me about the case, alleging that he was busy. His attitude leads me to make some general remarks about some of the informants for this case. Barbara Hirst's father, the Rev. William Sanger, was a full-blooded Tlingit who had become an ordained Presbyterian minister. Although he was the subject of a case himself (and showed me a remarkable birthmark pertinent to his case), he had decided that the Christian teaching of a single terrestrial life followed by eternal postmortem existence in Heaven or Hell was a truth incompatible with the traditional Tlingit belief in reincarnation. He was not

unfriendly to me and indulged my thirst for information by telling me about his own case. However, his skeptical attitude had more or less infected all the other members of the large family of which he was the respected patriarch. During the course of investigating Tlingit cases, I met numerous members of the family, some of whom were informants for other cases. The Rev. William Sanger's ideas did not fully dominate their approach to the evidence of cases coming to their attention; but I noticed that they sometimes introduced statements about evidence with prefaces of skepticism and disavowal of responsibility. A common opening phrase was: "I don't believe in this myself, but...." Such ambivalent attitudes were by no means confined to the informants for this case; informants for other cases among the Tlingit, and indeed in many other parts of the world, showed them also. Moreover, not all informants for the present case showed the attitude to which I am drawing attention. Julia Ford's husband, Peter, did not; and neither did Sylvia, the subject of the case.

The Life and Death of Julia Ford

I have been unable to obtain a copy of the death certificate of Julia Ford, probably because I had insufficient information about her parents.

Barbara Hirst said that she died in 1942. Her daughter, Sarah, also thought that she had died in 1942, but she was not certain about this. At the time of her death Julia had a son and a (younger) daughter (Sarah), who was then only about 3 years old. From these facts I conclude that Julia Ford was still a young woman when she died, and probably around 30 years old. If this is correct, she would have been born between 1910 and 1915.

Julia suffered from repeated styes in her right eye. Barbara Hirst remembered these well and said that Julia "was always having styes in her eye." She also remembered that the repeated styes in Julia's eye had left "a hole in her eye." (By this I think she meant a sinus persisting after the stye had drained and when the area was not inflamed.)

I asked Peter Ford whether Julia had had "anything the matter with her eyes." His reply, from my notes, was:

> She had a swelling on the inside of the eye. Blood came out. It would swell up—near the nose. [Shows me the tip of his little finger to indicate the size of the swelling.] Blood came out. This was not healed when she died.

In response to a further question from me, Peter Ford said that he did not remember which of his wife's eyes had been the one affected.

Peter Ford said that Julia had died of "heart trouble." Her daughter, Sarah (who was too young to be a firsthand informant for this), said she understood that her mother had died of alcoholism. Julia Ford died in a hospital in Juneau.

Julia did not die suddenly. Aware that she was dying, she became concerned about who would look after her young daughter, Sarah. She sent for her sister-in-law (and close friend), Mary Ford Sanger, and asked her to take Sarah

and raise her. After Julia's death, Mary Sanger and her husband, the Rev. William Sanger, adopted Sarah and brought her up.

An Announcing Dream

Barbara Hirst recalled that after Julia Ford's death either her mother (Mary Ford Sanger) or her grandmother—she did not remember which—had a dream in which Julia Ford told the dreamer that she was coming back to the Sangers because her daughter, Sarah, was there.

I did not obtain a firsthand account of this dream. Mary Ford Sanger died in about 1975, and I think her mother must have died some years before that.

Comment. In reporting this dream to me, Barbara Hirst pointed out that "it is not supposed to be that way, because she [Julia Ford] is on the other side." This remark referred to the principal moieties of the Tlingit people: Raven and Eagle. The Tlingit traditionally practice moiety exogamy, and a person belongs to his (or her) mother's moiety. The cases of the reincarnation type among the Tlingit accord closely with the derivation of clan membership from the mother. As I mentioned earlier, among 43 Tlingit cases I found that in 30 (70%) the subject and previous personality were related on the mother's side of the family (Stevenson, 1966). This conformity of the cases to the Tlingit matrilineal culture is not evidence of paranormal processes, because it could result from social pressures on living persons that might shape the development of the cases. However, it is also compatible with a view of reincarnation in which antemortem beliefs exert an influence on postmortem processes. Thus a discarnate Tlingit who wished to resume terrestrial life as a member of the clan to which he (or she) had belonged in his previous life—and nearly all Tlingits would wish this—would aim at reincarnating as the child of a sister of the previous personality, or perhaps of a sister's daughter.

In the present case Julia Ford belonged to the Eagle moiety, whereas Mary Ford Sanger, her daughter (Barbara Hirst),[34] and her daughter's daughter, Sylvia Hirst, were all Ravens.

Statements Made by Sylvia

In 1972 Barbara Hirst said that "from the moment Sylvia started to talk she called Sarah 'daughter.'"

I learned of no other statements Sylvia had made about the previous life. In 1965, during my first interview with Barbara Hirst, she gave me the impression that Sylvia had made other statements, which she (Barbara) had ignored. She dismissed them as part of Tlingit "superstition," here showing the influence of her Christian and skeptical father, the Rev. William Sanger.

[34]Barbara Hirst was in fact an adoptive daughter of the Rev. William Sanger and his wife, Mary Ford Sanger. However, she was related to them in a way that I did not learn and was herself a Raven. So the fact of her adoption does not alter the point under discussion here.

In 1973, during our last interview, Barbara Hirst said that Sylvia had made no statements about the previous life. Sylvia herself, however, said to me (also in 1973): "My mother says I used to talk a lot about it [the previous life] when I was young."

Sylvia's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

Sylvia showed only one unusual behavior that could have derived from Julia Ford's life, but she showed it strongly. She was, and remained for years, strongly attached to Julia's daughter, Sarah. When she was still a baby, she would say of Sarah: "That's my Dolly," and she would follow Sarah around. (Sarah was about 10 years older than Sylvia.) Sylvia must have shown this behavior at an extremely young age, because Barbara said that she was "crawling behind" Sarah while calling her "my Dolly." "Dolly" had been Julia Ford's pet name for Sarah. Sylvia preferred Sarah to her own older sister, Susan.

Sylvia's strong attachment to Sarah remained at least into her middle 20s. In 1965 Barbara Hirst told me that Sylvia, who was then 16, would take every opportunity available to go to Angoon, where Sarah was then living. In 1972, when Sylvia was 23, she returned to Alaska (from California) for a visit to her family. At that time she inquired about Sarah in a way that indicated continued attachment to her.

In 1973 Sylvia told me that she was still fond of Sarah and still regarded her as "my Dolly." She recalled that when she was 6 and was sent to Petersburg to live with her parents, she did not want to go, because this would have meant separating from Sarah. She said: "They had to force me to go."

Sarah herself (when I interviewed her in 1973) remembered Sylvia's calling her "my Dolly" when she was young; however, she discounted the significance of this and suggested that someone might have suggested to Sylvia that she do this.

In contrast to her attachment to Sarah, Sylvia was indifferent toward Julia's husband, Peter, and their son, Peter, Jr. She made so little impression on Peter Ford that, when I met him in 1972, he did not remember that he had ever met Sylvia, although he had.

Comment. Sarah's comment seemed to be another expression of her uncle's skepticism. Some of the older female members of the family, notably Barbara Hirst and probably her mother and her grandmother, certainly believed that Sylvia was Julia reborn. However, if anyone had suggested to Sylvia that she call Sarah "my Dolly," this would have been Barbara Hirst herself; or she would probably have heard anyone else making such a suggestion. And Barbara Hirst gave me the impression that Sylvia expressed her strong attachment to Sarah spontaneously. Sylvia's failure to show any particular interest in Julia's husband and son strengthens my opinion on this matter; enthusiasts in the family could as easily have tried to instigate affectionate behavior toward them as toward Sarah.

Sylvia told me, in 1973, that she had a repugnance for alcohol. This may have relevance if Sarah was correct in saying that her mother had died of alcoholism.[35]

Sylvia's Recurrent Dreams in Adulthood

In 1973 Sylvia told me that she had had the same dream three times during the preceding year. The dreams seemed "real," not like her usual dreams. Her account of this recurrent dream was:

> I was watching people cutting up fish and skinning a bear. (I did not see myself.) The people seemed like old Indian people, [such] as in Hoonah or Angoon.
>
> I see a great bear lying on the beach by a smokehouse. Then I see these old Indian ladies slicing up fish. They are sitting on the stoops or boxes. I could even smell the fish. An old man was skinning a bear. I kept trying to make the man skinning the bear be my grandfather, but it did not come out that way. It was some other man.
>
> Q: How were the old Tlingit women dressed?
>
> A: They wore long skirts going halfway down the calf to the ankle, and a bandana over the head under the chin.
>
> They had butcher knives and were stooping over [while they were] cutting up the fish.
>
> I keep trying to think where I have seen something like that, but I cannot remember any such scene. These dreams seemed lifelike. It seemed that they [the events of the dream] happened, and I was there, but I know I never saw anyone in this life kill a bear.

Comment. Some subjects of these cases remember the previous life both in a waking state and when dreaming. (A note in the report of the case of Semih Tutuşmuş lists other cases of this group.) However, in the cases of this type known to me the dreams (or nightmares) began in childhood, even though they might continue into adulthood. Dreams occurring for the first time in adulthood may readily derive from normally acquired information. Although Sylvia had never seen a bear killed and skinned, she might have heard about such an event and even seen paintings or photographs depicting it.

On the other hand, the quality of "reality" and the recurrence of the same dream tell slightly in favor of a paranormal origin, which means, in this case, that

[35]Not all subjects who remember the previous lives of persons who drank alcohol excessively show a craving for it. Mahes de Silva remembered the life of a man who died of alcoholism, and he showed no desire for alcohol when young. Maung Thein, who remembered the life of a man, U Po Chit, who got into trouble and was eventually killed because of alcoholism, totally abstained from alcohol. I give a detailed report of his case in Chapter 19.

Figure 18-32 Right eye and nose root of Sylvia Hirst Ewing as they appeared in 1972, when she was 23 years old. The opening of the small sinus can be seen just medial and slightly inferior to the medial canthus of the eye. The opening was then approximately 1-2 millimeters in diameter.

Figure 18-33 Sinus of Sylvia Hirst Ewing as it appeared in May 1973, when she was 24 years old.

the dreams may have derived from a scene actually witnessed by Julia Ford. Sylvia had a vague memory of having spoken when a child about bringing a bear home (in the previous life).

Sylvia's Birth Defect

Figure 18-32 shows the sinus near the inner canthus of Sylvia's right eye as it appeared in 1972, when she was 23 years old. The opening of the sinus was then approximately 1-2 millimeters in diameter. Figure 18-33 gives another view of the sinus as it appeared in May 1973, when Sylvia was 24 years old.

My notes of 1965 state that the opening of the sinus was then about 3 millimeters long. Barbara Hirst said that her mother noticed the sinus immediately after Sylvia's birth and drew Barbara's attention to it. At that time it was relatively larger, and it diminished in size as Sylvia grew. A doctor who examined Sylvia said that the sinus was an aberrant tear duct.

Throughout Sylvia's childhood the sinus would discharge mucus or pus whenever she had a cold. Schoolmates teased her about the sinus and said she was a "freak." It apparently gave her considerable embarrassment. Unlike Julia, however, Sylvia had never had styes.

During Sylvia's teens, the sinus continued to trouble her from time to time, and a doctor who was consulted said he would do something about it; but nothing was done.

In 1973 Sylvia said that the sinus at times still drained a tearlike liquid (but no pus). She added that "every once in a while" she would find, when she woke up in the morning, a dry white crust at the site of the sinus, and she would peel this off. The area never became painful or inflamed, but it did sometimes itch. If she cried, liquid would come from the sinus. (This symptom suggests a connection between the sinus and the lacrimal excretory system.)

Other Relevant Medical Information. My notes have no record of my having asked the informants specifically whether any other member of the family had a sinus like Sylvia's. The question is a particularly important one because Sylvia's son, Calvin, was born with a sinus similar to hers and in the same place. My most important reason for believing that no one else had a sinus like Sylvia's (and Calvin's) is that I am sure that—in view of the unusual nature of her birth defect—the informants would have told me if there had been a similar case in the family. To this I can add that I met Sylvia's father once and her mother several times. I also saw at least two of her siblings. None of them had a sinus like Sylvia's.

Comment

In an earlier section of this report I said that the accordance of the Tlingit cases with their matrilineal culture would fit both an interpretation of their cases as the expression of social forces and their interpretation as instances of reincarnation.

Leaving aside the important feature of Sylvia's birth defect, an explanation of the present case as resulting only from social forces among living people does not satisfactorily agree with Tlingit ideas on the importance of clan membership in conferring the most important aspect of identity. It seems to me unlikely that a family whose mother was a Raven would impose on a child the previous personality of an Eagle. Better, they might have thought, not to be a Tlingit at all than to violate the principle of matrilinearity. In saying this I am aware that during the years when I investigated cases in Alaska strict exogamy was beginning to break down among some younger people, and I found other cases in which the subject and previous personality were not related on the side of the subject's mother.

Sylvia's Later Development

The most important feature of Sylvia's later development —at least of anything related to these cases—is her strong fear that her first baby would have a birth defect like her own, namely a sinus near the inside corner of her right eye; and this did happen. Readers with renewed interest in Calvin's case should return to my report of it in Chapter 3.

THE CASE OF U TINT AUNG

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

U Tint Aung was born in Pyawbwe, Upper Burma, on August 2, 1930. His parents were U Thu Daw and his wife, Daw Hla Po. He was the first of their 13 children. U Thu Daw was employed as a foreman in a leather manufacturing company.

Before U Tint Aung's birth, one of his aunts dreamed about the rebirth in the family of U Thu Daw's younger brother, Bo San Pe. He had been a notorious dacoit of Upper Burma who had had an astonishingly successful career for about 2 years before being captured by the police and executed (by hanging) on April 11, 1929.

When U Tint Aung was born, he was found to have a smaller than normal mandible that could not open fully (micrognathia) (Figures 18-34 and 18-35). The orifice of his mouth was correspondingly small (microstomia). When members of his family observed this birth defect, they became convinced that U Tint Aung was the reincarnation of Bo San Pe. It had been said that the hangman had bungled the execution of Bo San Pe, so that it had been necessary to hang him twice. U Tint Aung's family believed that the malformation of U Tint Aung's jaw and also what appeared to be a birthmark corresponding to the hangman's rope on the right side of his neck derived from the faulty hanging of Bo San Pe.

U Tint Aung's young mother had a large family of babies coming about as often as babies can. Accordingly, her sister-in-law, Daw Thin, raised U Tint Aung. He began speaking coherently when he was about 3 years old, and at about the same time he started to talk about the life of Bo San Pe.

U Tint Aung was educated in a monastery school and qualified to become a teacher. He married and had a family.

He was a junior assistant teacher at a school in Pyawbwe when we learned of this case. Daw Hnin Aye first mentioned it to U Win Maung and me in 1980. She had four interviews with U Tint Aung in December 1980 and January 1981. In March 1984 U Win Maung and I (with Daw Hnin Aye) met U Tint Aung in Pyawbwe. Subsequently, in June 1984, Daw Hnin Aye interviewed U Tint Aung's mother, Daw Hla Po. In addition, she obtained some background information about Bo San Pe from elderly informants who remembered his career and had learned something about his execution.

In February 1986, I met U Tint Aung again (as before, accompanied by U Win Maung and Daw Hnin Aye), and he obligingly answered some further questions about details of his case.

Bo San Pe figured in the writings of two members of the British community in Burma, and I have drawn on these for information about him.

Persons Interviewed during the Investigation

In Pyawbwe we interviewed:

U Tint Aung
Daw Hla Po, U Tint Aung's mother
U Ba Sein, retired schoolteacher
U Aung Thein, retired State Education Officer
U Than Nyunt, teacher and friend of U Tint Aung

Daw Hnin Aye interviewed all the foregoing persons. U Win Maung and I interviewed only U Tint Aung, and Daw Hnin Aye accompanied us during our interviews with him.

U Tint Aung's aunt, Daw Thin, who raised him, had died by the time we investigated the case. So had U Tint Aung's father, U Thu Daw, who died in 1955.

The Life, Death, and Character of Bo[36] San Pe

The principal sources of my information for the life of Bo San Pe are a chapter on him in a book by Tripp (1944), an article by Theophilus (1938), and two articles by Ein-me Daung-pya (1984). Tripp seems never to have known Bo San Pe personally, and he appears to have obtained most of his information from Philip Carlisle, who had been manager in Upper Burma for the London and Eastern Trading Company and who had also employed San Pe as a house servant. Theophilus's account shows signs of journalistic license. He was living in Pakokku at the time of Bo San Pe's exploits, which took place in the area between Thazi and the Shan States, 100 miles from Pakokku. He claimed that San Pe had

[36]The word *Bo* (sometimes spelled *Boh*) is an honorific meaning a senior person or leader.

been his house-boy, but this seems unlikely. The most reliable of the three accounts is perhaps the most recent, that of Ein-me Daung-pya. He was able to consult a Burmese magazine, the *Bandoola Journal*, which published accounts of Bo San Pe that were more or less contemporaneous with his career as a dacoit.

All the foregoing sources should be treated with reserve. I advise readers to regard some of what they narrate, which I reproduce here, not as accurate accounts of events, but as representative of what was told and believed about Bo San Pe in his time and afterward.

Maung Maung, alias San Pe, was born in March or April 1906 at Bwegya, a village near the Ywapale station on the mainline railway between Rangoon and Mandalay, about 120 kilometers south of Mandalay. His parents were U Po Thein and his wife, Daw San Mai. San Pe was the youngest of their six children. Daw Thin, who raised U Tint Aung, was the oldest child, and U Thu Daw, who became U Tint Aung's father, was the third child and the only other son in the family.

Although San Pe was born in Bwegya, he grew up in another village, Maidaw, which is about 1.5 kilometers from Bwegya. U Po Thein was employed as a laborer in the same leather company where his son, U Thu Daw, later worked.

Nothing in San Pe's early life permitted anyone to predict the extraordinary career that he would later have. Although Tripp said that Maung Maung's "appearance was arresting," he had never met him, and Theophilus, who said that he had, described him as "small, rather mean, and unusually dark for a Burman."

San Pe became employed as an errand boy and then as a house servant by Philip Carlisle, whom I have already mentioned as (probably) the principal source of Tripp's information about him. Carlisle recognized San Pe's superior intelligence and promised him a position as a clerk if he would learn English and "otherwise fit himself for that post." San Pe promised that he would do this. However, Carlisle then went back to England on leave, and when he returned to Burma, he lived in Rangoon for a time and lost touch with his former servant in Upper Burma. When Carlisle returned to Upper Burma, he lived in Thazi. By this time San Pe had begun his career of crime.

In the meantime, San Pe had married a girl called Ma Mi. She attracted the attention of another man, Maung Shwe Khin, who was handsome, prosperous, and superior in status and education to San Pe, who was only a servant. It appears that Maung Shwe Khin may have dazzled Ma Mi, and she may have encouraged his advances, although this is not definite. San Pe became jealous, and angry scenes occurred. At this time, someone's revolver disappeared and was then found in San Pe's greatcoat. San Pe's protestations of innocence were discounted, and he was sent to jail. Some believed that the revolver had been planted in San Pe's coat, and suspicions along this line became stronger when, after a time, Ma Mi went to live with Maung Shwe Khin.

After serving his sentence, San Pe was released, but was then arrested again on a false charge of murder. Maung Shwe Khin may have organized this charge out of fear that San Pe would revenge himself for the seduction of his wife and for being framed in the matter of the theft of the revolver. San Pe was convicted and

again sentenced to prison. While policemen were taking him to prison, his escort wanted some refreshment, and the party entered a teashop. Inside the teashop one of the policemen insulted San Pe. Although handcuffed, he was able to seize a nearby sword, carelessly left available, with which he despatched the two policemen guarding him and the owner of the teashop. He then disengaged himself from the handcuffs and escaped.[37]

Two days later Maung Shwe Khin was stabbed to death in his home, and a piece of paper was found pinned to his breast bearing the name "San Pe."

These events occurred in 1927, and for the next 2 years San Pe terrorized a large area of Upper Burma. He gathered around himself a band of dacoits, who plundered the rich and helped the poor. He was no longer Maung San Pe, but Bo San Pe. Although the police hunted him, he was extraordinarily cunning in evading them. He would appear somewhere, do what he wished, and vanish. Probably his comings and goings were concealed by villagers, partly out of fear of him and partly out of gratitude, because he was righting some of their wrongs.

For example, a notoriously bloodsucking moneylender named U Than Dine had flourished and become rich in the town of Wundwin. (Wundwin figures in the cases of U Tinn Sein and Maung Myo Min Thein.) Bo San Pe suddenly appeared in Wundwin, entered a teashop, and sat down. There he calmed the other customers and assured them he intended no harm to them. He then sent a message to U Than Dine asking him to come to the teashop and to bring with him his box of demand notes and mortgages. For some reason U Than Dine went to the teashop. Tripp, who recounted this incident, conjectured that U Than Dine might have been afraid to refuse or might have hoped that Bo San Pe would take him into alliance as a fence. At any rate, when U Than Dine came to the teashop, Bo San Pe ordered all customers to stay just where they were for about 5 minutes, ordered U Than Dine to follow him, and left the shop. U Than Dine meekly followed Bo San Pe out of the teashop (carrying his box of documents) and was never seen alive again. Some weeks later the naked body of a man was found at the bottom of a stream; it was decomposed and partly eaten, probably by jackals, so that it could not be satisfactorily identified; although this body was generally believed to be that of U Than Dine, nobody—not even U Than Dine's relatives—would identify it, probably out of fear of Bo San Pe. Many residents of Wundwin were relieved to see the end of U Than Dine and the loss of the documents with which he could have ruined them.

Theophilus wrote that he had himself witnessed an episode that ranks in humor and boldness with some of the escapades attributed to Robin Hood. (I think this one must have happened in Pyawbwe, but Theophilus did not identify the place.) One day he was at the local Finance Office and met the Sub-Divisional Officer, a pudgy man called U Ba Pu, who was standing on the veranda by the public notice board. Theophilus asked U Ba Pu how things were going, and U Ba

[37]I have studied three versions of this same episode, one by Tripp, one by Theophilus, and one by U Tint Aung, who described to Daw Hnin Aye an incident closely resembling the ones described by Tripp and Theophilus. All three versions differ in details, but are recognizably descriptions of the same event.

Pu said that San Pe had been "at his tricks" again, but they (meaning the police) had tracked him down, and this—here he pointed to a notice he had just pinned on the public bulletin board—would settle him. A small crowd had already gathered around the board and were studying the notice, which read:

FOR SAN PE
The Dacoit
A Reward is offered, dead or alive, Rs. 1,000

Theophilus made way for a miserable little man wearing pale blue spectacles who worked his way up to the board. He later realized that this must have been Bo San Pe himself, but Bo San Pe's disguise deceived him at the time. Theophilus finished his business inside the office and then heard a "tremendous outcry" on the veranda. Going outside to the veranda, he found U Ba Pu, his mouth hanging open, surrounded by a crowd and staring at the notice board. Beside his own notice was another. It was written on the back of a one thousand rupee note and read:

FOR BA PU
Sub-Divisional Officer
A Reward is offered, dead or alive, this Rs. 1,000 note

The note was signed "Bo Pe," and the ink was still wet.

It appears that Bo San Pe was originally only interested in revenging himself against the people who had first entangled him unjustly with the police and judiciary. However, after he had gathered a gang of dacoits around him, he had to keep them satisfied with loot and with allowing them to settle any personal quarrels they may have had.

Nevertheless, he seems to have wanted to give up dacoity. On one occasion he turned up in Thazi at the home of the head clerk in Carlisle's office. (By this time Carlisle himself had returned to Upper Burma.) He sent a message to Carlisle that asked for mercy without being a clearcut offer to surrender. Carlisle tried to send a message back to him by letting it be widely known that he advised Bo San Pe to surrender himself, after which his former friends would try to obtain clemency for him. Bo San Pe did not accept this suggestion and continued his depredations.

More and more police—eventually a full battalion of military police—were mobilized to hunt Bo San Pe. The police, however, handled their informers crudely. They often subjected them to long hours of interrogation and suspected them of having been associated with Bo San Pe. For potential informers this stupidity added a fear of the police to the fear they already had of Bo San Pe.

Finally, Bo San Pe became seriously ill and his movements much restricted. He was reported to be hiding in a jungle near the Shan hills east of Pyawbwe and Thazi. The jungle was combed from end to end, and he was captured. No one expected any other outcome of his trial than his conviction for murder. U Aung

Thein, who as a youth had seen Bo San Pe "with his own eyes," said that he was charged with 18 murders. Bo San Pe was hanged at the jail in Myingyan on April 11, 1929.[38] I have not learned his age at death, but Tripp described him as a "young man," and I suppose that he was perhaps around 30 years old.

Independent Evidence That Bo San Pe was Hanged Twice. I have already mentioned that U Tint Aung's family (which was also Bo San Pe's) attributed the birth defect of his lower jaw to a bungled hanging of Bo San Pe. The hanging itself was probably witnessed by the jail's warden, the hangman, and one or two other persons. In the 1980s they would have been difficult to trace, even if they had been living, and we did not try to do so. Nor did we expect that faults in the hanging would be entered into any official document. After all, the sentence would have been that Bo San Pe was to be hanged until he was dead, and whether this was done well or badly did not need to be part of the record; if the hanging had been mishandled, some persons would not wish this noted. Accordingly, we were reduced to learning what we could from persons around Pyawbwe who would not have been witnesses of the hanging themselves, but who would have heard about it from those who were. U Win Maung and I talked with one such person and Daw Hnin Aye with two others.

The first informant for this detail was U Nu, whose assistance with many other cases I have acknowledged, but can never adequately repay. U Nu was born in 1922 in Pyawbwe, and so he would have been a boy of about 7 years when Bo San Pe was hanged. He told us that he had heard as a boy that when Bo San Pe was being hanged, the rope had slipped and he had been hanged twice.

A second informant, U Ba Sein, was born in about 1906 and so was about 23 years old when Bo San Pe was hanged. He, too, had heard that Bo San Pe had to be hanged twice. So had a third informant, U Aung Thein, who was born in about 1915 and was a youth of about 14 when Bo San Pe was hanged.

The Celebrity of Bo San Pe and Its Bearing on the Case. Bo San Pe was for 2 years the premier dacoit of Burma. His exploits were famous in his own lifetime and later. According to one myth, he was invulnerable to swords and bullets. A theatrical play depicted his life, and in recent years some of its scenes have been recorded on tape. Because his victims were mostly corrupt petty officials or wealthy exploiters of the poor, like U Than Dine, and because he often made the police look foolish, the villagers of Upper Burma admired as well as feared him. He became a folk hero who was far from forgotten in Upper Burma during the 1980s.

Cases of children claiming to have been famous persons in a previous life occur with great rarity in Burma. Whenever we heard about such a case, U Win Maung always treated it with great reserve, and I do not think he would have objected to my saying that I took up the investigation of the present case some-

[38]Daw Hnin Aye verified this date in *Burma Gazeteer 1929* where, under a caption "Important Events in 1929," there was an entry: "San Hpay. 11-4-1929. The notorious dacoit (San Hpay) executed in the Myingyan Central Jail."

I am inclined to accept this date as correct, but Ein-me Daung-pya (1984) gave a much earlier date for Bo San Pe's execution: November 21, 1927.

what against his advice. His objections were based on two reasons. First, there may be a motive for deception in assuming the role of a famous—even if notorious—person. And second, so much would be generally known about such a person that it would be difficult, perhaps impossible, ever to say that the subject could not have normally acquired all the information he stated about the previous life. In the present case this difficulty is even greater, because U Tint Aung was born into the family of Bo San Pe's brother.

For the first of these important objections we have some countering evidence, and I shall discuss them both further at the end of the case report.

An Announcing Dream

Daw Hla Po (U Tint Aung's mother) was a secondhand informant to Daw Hnin Aye concerning an announcing dream. The dreamer, Daw Thin (deceased by 1984), was the oldest sister of Bo San Pe and also of U Thu Daw, U Tint Aung's father. She dreamed that Bo San Pe said he would return to live with U Thu Daw. This dream occurred after Bo San Pe's death and before U Tint Aung's birth, but we did not learn exactly when.

Statements Made by U Tint Aung

U Tint Aung's Statements as a Young Child. I mentioned earlier that Daw Hla Po gave U Tint Aung to Daw Thin to raise. For this reason and perhaps also because she was 70 in 1984, she had no memories of what U Tint Aung had said about the previous life when he was a young child. She knew that he had talked about the life of Bo San Pe from about the age of 3, but she did not state any details of what he had said.

As I mentioned, Daw Thin had died by 1984, and we have not yet interviewed any informant who remembered what U Tint Aung said about the previous life as a young child. This remains a defect in the investigation of the case that we may yet remedy.

U Tint Aung's Statements in 1980-84. Daw Hnin Aye had four interviews with U Tint Aung in 1980-81, and U Win Maung and I talked with him in 1984 and 1986.

Some of U Tint Aung's memories appeared to be still fresh and detailed while others, as he himself acknowledged, had become faint. Long before we talked with him he had almost certainly learned much about Bo San Pe from his own family, if not from other persons in Pyawbwe among whom Bo San Pe remained a vividly memorable person.

Nevertheless, I think it helpful to describe some of what U Tint Aung said he remembered in the 1980s. These memories, whatever their source, will show the features of Bo San Pe's life that seemed important enough for U Tint Aung to remember; and they also show that U Tint Aung could narrate details that did not always show Bo San Pe in a favorable light.

Illustrating this last point, one of his memories went back to San Pe's youth before he became a dacoit and a Bo. Theophilus wrote as if Bo San Pe had never received attention from the police before Ma Mi's flirtation with Maung Shwe Khin. U Tint Aung, however, recalled an occasion when a foodseller came to the house of his (San Pe's) family and asked to be paid some money due to her. The family were eating a meal, and the seller was asked to wait until they had finished. At this she grumbled out loud, whereupon San Pe jumped up and slapped her face. He was convicted for this offense and ordered to pay a fine. He did not have the money and so served a jail sentence.

U Tint Aung said he remembered some details of San Pe's relationship with his wife. (He did not give her name, Ma Mi, but for convenience I will use it here.) Ma Mi (before her marriage) had two suitors, San Pe and a rival (also unnamed by U Tint Aung). San Pe managed to elope with Ma Mi, and they had two children. However, the rival (identified by Theophilus as Maung Shwe Khin) arranged to trap San Pe, and he was arrested. U Tint Aung did not refer to the disappearance of a revolver in his statements to Daw Hnin Aye. He did, however, mention that San Pe's mother-in-law encouraged her daughter's flirtations with other men, which accords with Theophilus's conjecture that Ma Mi may have been a party to Maung Shwe Khin's entrapment of San Pe in the matter of the stolen revolver.

U Tint Aung recalled what appears to me to be a third variant of the episode narrated by Tripp and Theophilus when San Pe, handcuffed, seized a sword and killed his guards before escaping. U Tint Aung further remembered that San Pe fled from this scene into the jungle near or in the Shan States. There he was resting one day in the fork of a tree, when a Shan couple came along in a bullock-cart. They stopped and began eating a meal directly under San Pe. He was extremely hungry, and the sight of their food made him salivate. His saliva dropped on the Shan couple who, startled, looked up and saw him. They beckoned to him to come down, listened to his story, and befriended him. He stayed with them in the Shan States for a time. While there he equipped himself with some protective talismans. (U Tint Aung mentioned these when Daw Hnin Aye asked him about the myth describing Bo San Pe as invulnerable to swords and bullets.) He then returned to Thazi and began his career as a dacoit.

U Tint Aung remembered that Bo San Pe's general style of killing was to slash the throat of his enemy and then write his name on some nearby object in the victim's blood. In 1984 he told us that he could not remember other details of killing people. When I asked him whether Bo San Pe had chopped off the fingers of his victims, he said that he, as Bo San Pe, had not done this but that some of his subordinates had done it in his name, in order to increase the level of terror in the community.[39]

[39]I discussed this Burmese "style of torture" in the report of Daw Oo's case. Several further examples of it have occurred in other cases of this work.

U Tint Aung told Daw Hnin Aye that he regarded Bo San Pe not as a dacoit, but as a rebel against the British. He said that as Bo San Pe he had never robbed for his own gain. However, the British government in Burma did not wish to acknowledge any rebellion, and so they declared Bo San Pe a dacoit.

Comment. A rumor, unverified and perhaps totally false, said that Bo San Pe's family had prospered from the loot that his dacoity brought them. Robbers of Bo San Pe's type can easily present themselves as protectors of the poor against rich and corrupt oppressors. The probably legendary Robin Hood illustrates this role, and so does Cemil Hayik (the previous personality in the case of Cemil Fahrici). Because human beings seem to act just as often—if not more often—from mixed motives as from single ones, the claim may have some truth.

U Tint Aung's Memories of Bo San Pe's Execution. U Tint Aung recalled the illness that led to Bo San Pe's capture. He said that Bo San Pe had malaria and might have recovered, but one of his band administered an extremely powerful laxative, "Kanakho," to him, so that he had frequent diarrhea and became still weaker and effectively immobile. U Tint Aung recalled that when the police came to Bo San Pe to capture him, he waved to them to come on. However, they had been so afraid of him that at first they did not dare to approach him. They only came closer when they finally realized that he was too weak to run away and was really giving himself up.

U Tint Aung recalled being hanged twice. In 1984 I reasoned backward from the malformation of U Tint Aung's chin and asked him whether he remembered that Bo San Pe's chin had been damaged during the first hanging; I thought the rope might have slipped at the chin instead of from its fixation on the gallows beam. U Tint Aung said he remembered that Bo San Pe was supposed to drop down when a trap door was opened so that his neck would break. He thought the rope must have slipped. (The slippage probably occurred not at the prisoner's neck, but at the beam where the rope was tied, so that Bo San Pe's body, instead of being stopped with a neck-breaking jerk, would have fallen farther and landed on the ground or floor some feet below the trap door.)

Thus, according to U Tint Aung's account, Bo San Pe's chin was not damaged in the sense of his having a fractured jaw. However, U Tint Aung had earlier told Daw Hnin Aye, in one of her interviews with him, that when he was being hanged the first time, "he was having a tight sensation at the jaw." I believe that Bo San Pe may have been still experiencing this "tight sensation at the jaw" when he was hanged again, the second time dying instantly. If so, the sensation would have been among Bo San Pe's last thoughts before dying.

U Tint Aung's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

Circumstances and Manner of U Tint Aung's Speaking about the Previous Life. Although Daw Hla Po did not remember any details of what U Tint Aung said about the previous life as a child, she did recall that he talked about the previous life when looking at a cemetery that was visible from the fami-

ly's house before some new buildings were erected. (I did not learn the significance of this observation, but U Tint Aung himself remembered that as a young child, he talked about the previous life when facing the cemetery near his family's house.) Bo San Pe was buried not in this cemetery but in the compound of the Myingyan Jail. U Tint Aung said that the cemetery reminded him of death, and the thought of death reminded him of the previous life.

U Tint Aung's Familiarity with His Mother. Daw Hla Po remembered that U Tint Aung did not address her with a Burmese word for mother, but instead called her Daw Hla Po, as Bo San Pe (her brother-in-law) would have done.

U Tint Aung's Vengefulness toward the British. Daw Hla Po did not mention that U Tint Aung ever showed an attitude of vengefulness toward the British when he was young, and perhaps he did not. He himself told us, however, that he had had vengeful thoughts about the British earlier in his life. By 1984 he no longer had this animosity.

U Tint Aung's Dacoity Habits as a Child. U Tint Aung remembered (in 1984) that as a schoolboy he had carried a dagger and also razor blades. When schoolmates teased him about his unusual appearance, he cut them with razor blades. U Than Nyunt, who had been a classmate of U Tint Aung's, remembered that U Tint Aung had slashed his hands with a razor blade when he had been teasing him about his claim to have been Bo San Pe.

U Tint Aung's Depressive Episodes. U Tint Aung told Daw Hnin Aye that he sometimes became depressed to the point of having crying spells. He attributed these partly to the frustration he felt over the appearance of his face and his inability to open his jaws properly. U Tint Aung's early life with his aunt, Daw Thin, seems to have been unhappy, and memories of this period of his life appear to have contributed to his depressive episodes.

Other Relevant Behavior of U Tint Aung

Daw Hla Po said that as a young child U Tint Aung was generally quiet. However, he was quickly angered and, once aroused, became enraged.

The Attitude of U Tint Aung and His Family toward the Investigation of the Case

Daw Hnin Aye had to deploy much tact in order to persuade U Tint Aung to talk, first with her and later with U Win Maung and me. Two of U Tint Aung's colleagues at the school where he was teaching helped her influence him to cooperate.

At least two reasons contributed to his reluctance to have his case given any attention, let alone publicity. First, he continued to be sensitive about his unusual appearance and the difficulty he had in eating. Second, members of his family were anxious about the gossip that attributed their prosperity to the loot stolen by Bo San Pe. Some of them appear to have been afraid that attention given to U Tint Aung's case might lead to a legal inquiry based on these rumors if they were spread further.

Figure 18-34 Profile of U Tint Aung's face as it appeared in March 1984, when he was 53½ years old. The mandible was markedly undeveloped in its anterior parts giving an extreme degree of receding chin (micrognathia).

U Tint Aung's Birth Defect and Birthmark

U Aung Thein remembered U Tint Aung as his pupil in school, and he said that at that time U Tint Aung had a definite mark on the right side of his neck that suggested the impression that a rope might leave when pressed against skin. However, this mark disappeared, and I saw nothing unusual on U Tint Aung's neck in 1986.

U Tint Aung's mandible was unusually small (micrognathia) and receding; and he was incapable of opening it adequately. His mouth was somewhat small, but he did not have a severe degree of microstomia, such as sometimes occurs with micrognathia. Figures 18-34 and 18-35 show different views of his jaw and the farthest extent that he could open his mouth. He could not open it more than about 5 millimeters. He had to eat semiliquid food, and he tried to avoid eating in public or before strangers. His speech, however, seemed little impaired.

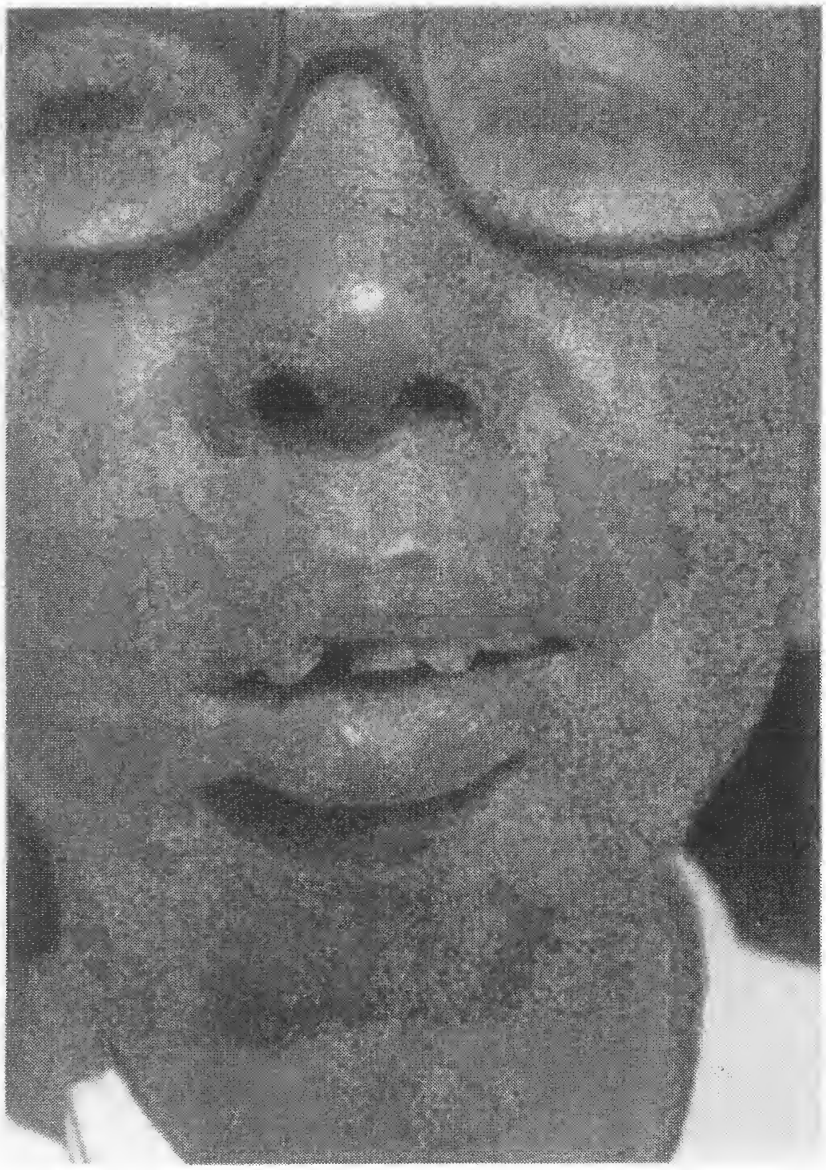

Figure 18-35 Photograph of U Tint Aung, also taken in March 1984, showing the limited extent of oral opening. When the photograph was taken, he was trying to open his mouth as widely as he could.

Doctors had three times tried to enable U Tint Aung to open his jaws more widely. First, a Burmese doctor tried to help him when he was still an infant. Then, when he was a youth of 16, an American doctor, working at a hospital in Meiktila, had operated on U Tint Aung twice, both times unsuccessfully.

Other Relevant Medical Information. Daw Hla Po had a normal pregnancy and delivery with U Tint Aung.

U Tint Aung said that his parents were not related.

No other member of the family had a birth defect like his. A relative of his, Ma Nyein, who lived in a village near Thazi, had a birth defect of a leg (that apparently corresponded to a wound in a previous life).

Comment. I have not been able to learn a figure for the incidence of micrognathia unaccompanied by other defects. Micrognathia is a feature of a large number of malformation syndromes (D. W. Smith, 1982, p. 625), but these are rare, some extremely so, and micrognathia does not always occur in them. Micrognathia is a feature of the Pierre Robin syndrome or Robin sequence (Cohen, 1973, pp. 266-267; 1982, pp. 59-61; D. W. Smith, 1982, pp. 172-173). In this disorder the failure of mandibular development crowds the tongue in the pharyngeal cavity with impairment of the airway. If aeration can be maintained, however, the growth of the mandible will continue and "catch up," so that the micrognathia may be fully corrected. Cohen (1973) gave the incidence of Pierre Robin syndrome as about 1 in 30,000 live births; A. C. Stevenson and Collaborators (1966) found its incidence about 1 in 22,000 in their survey of 421,781 pregnancies carried to delivery. I am not suggesting that U Tint Aung had Pierre Robin syndrome and only mention it in order to say that the incidence of micrognathia must be somewhat lower in adults than it is in infants, whatever that may be.

Comment about the Relevance of the Previous Personality's Celebrity

To return to U Win Maung's objections to this case (or any case involving a famous person), I think U Tint Aung's reluctance to have the case investigated weighs against U Win Maung's concern that Bo San Pe's celebrity would encourage someone to present himself as the Bo's reincarnation. U Tint Aung, far from having exploited a connection with Bo San Pe, seemed anxious to remain in the obscurity of the life of a provincial schoolteacher. He particularly did not want other people to notice and comment on his appearance; and he did not want them gossiping maliciously about his family's prosperity.

I cannot so easily meet U Win Maung's second objection: that information about Bo San Pe would be widely diffused in the community and easily acquired normally. And for much, if not all, of this information, U Tint Aung would not have needed to go outside his own family, which was also Bo San Pe's. The strength of the case with regard to evidence of paranormal processes therefore lies not in U Tint Aung's statements (of which we have no detailed information anyway concerning what he said as a child) but in his birth defect and, to a lesser extent, in the unusual behavior that he showed as a child.

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19

Birth Defects Involving Two or More Regions of the Body

INTRODUCTION

In the cases of this chapter the subjects all had birth defects and birthmarks involving two and sometimes three or four different regions of the body. The diversity of regions affected does not make the syndromes I describe unusual, because more than one region is affected in nearly all the "recognizable patterns of human malformation," to use the title of D. W. Smith's (1982) compendium of syndromes of birth defects. Instead, the syndromes here reported are distinctive in the morphological features of the individual birth defects and their combination with other defects and birthmarks. A few of the defects show similarities to recognized syndromes. This is certainly true of the constriction rings on the extremities of Ma Htwe Win and Maung Than Htun Win; and the birth defect of Sukh Lal Sharma's hand closely resembled the congenital anomaly of cleft hand (Flatt, 1977). Yet in the subjects with these features there also occurred other birthmarks and birth defects not ordinarily found with the one that has prototypes described and illustrated in monographs of birth defects. I am confident that no such monograph has published examples parallel to the cases of this chapter.

The chapter includes 10 case reports. In presenting them I have reverted to the order I adopted for the cases of Chapter 17, that of grouping the cases by the country in which they occurred. Among the 10 cases, there are five from Burma, two from Thailand, one from Turkey, and two from India.

CASE REPORTS

THE CASE OF MAUNG AUNG THAN

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Maung Aung Than was born on November 29, 1957, in Dayai village, on the island of Balugyun, near Moulmein, Burma. His parents were U Hmwe and Daw Hnin Ohn. They were Mons, an important minority group of Burma. They had had four daughters before Maung Aung Than was born, and he was their last child. U Hmwe worked as a cultivator in Balugyun until about 1962, when he moved to Rangoon, where he became employed as a stevedore at the docks.

Maung Aung Than had severe birth defects of both hands (Figures 19-1 and 19-2) and his left foot (Figure 19-3). In addition, he had birth defects of the tongue (Figure 19-4) and lower lip (Figure 19-5); and he was also born without a foreskin (Figure 19-6).

Before Maung Aung Than's birth, both his parents had had dreams (which I shall describe later) in which a deceased friend of their village, U Ba Kyar, had expressed a wish to be reborn as their son. Nevertheless, when Maung Aung Than was born, his parents appear not to have connected him at first with U Ba Kyar. They may have begun to do this when Maung Aung Than, at the age of about 18 months, began pointing to U Ba Kyar's house when he and his mother passed it. When he was taken inside the house, he crawled around happily and tried to open a box that had belonged to U Ba Kyar.

When he was barely 2 years old, Maung Aung Than began to say that he was U Ba Kyar. At this time and later he gave a circumstantial account of how U Ba Kyar had been captured by insurgents (along with some other residents of Dayai) and killed. Maung Aung Than explained each of his birth defects in relation to wounds that he said U Ba Kyar had received as he was being killed. During the period of his talking about the previous life, which lasted until he was about 7 years old, Maung Aung Than showed some unusual behavior that was consonant with his statements about the life of U Ba Kyar. In particular, he nourished a keen sense of grievance toward the man that he believed had murdered U Ba Kyar, and he expressed a wish to take revenge against him.

U Win Maung learned of this case early in 1972 from one of his numerous informants for cases in Burma. On March 11, 1972, U Win Maung had a lengthy interview with U Hmwe, and he also met Maung Aung Than and photographed his birth defects. Later in the same year (on November 16, 1972), U Win Maung and I together had further interviews with Maung Aung Than and his father. We also talked with his mother, Daw Hnin Ohn, and one of his older sisters. The latter, Ma Nyunt Shwe, was a helpful additional firsthand witness for Maung Aung Than's early statements about the previous life.

In February 1977, U Win Maung and I met Maung Aung Than and his family again, and I was able to ask them some questions I had previously omitted.

Even so, I left out some other questions, and U Win Maung met Maung Aung Than's family once again in May 1977 in order to obtain answers to these. During these various meetings, Maung Aung Than became attached to U Win Maung, and he sought U Win Maung's aid in obtaining a job. His all too visible birth defects had handicapped him in securing employment. (They superficially resembled those sometimes seen in advanced cases of Hansen's disease [leprosy], which Burmese people—and not Burmese alone—find repugnant; accordingly, employers had been reluctant to hire Maung Aung Than for any position where he would meet the public.) After various difficulties, U Win Maung was able, early in 1979, to find an employer who gave Maung Aung Than a job as a night-watchman.

I mentioned earlier that U Hmwe and his family came from Balugyun, where they had been friends of U Ba Kyar. Maung Aung Than's parents already knew everything, or nearly everything, that Maung Aung Than stated about the previous life (except the details of how U Ba Kyar had been killed). U Win Maung and I were eager to add to our information about the case whatever we could learn from other persons still living on Balugyun who would remember U Ba Kyar and perhaps know more than U Hmwe did about just how U Ba Kyar had been killed. For this purpose, in October 1980, U Win Maung undertook the somewhat arduous journey from Rangoon to the island of Balugyun. U Hmwe accompanied him and was helpful in explaining the purpose of U Win Maung's inquiries to the informants of Balugyun and in the nearby city of Moulmein. These were all Mons, and it required some effort to assure them that U Win Maung's inquiries were in the interest of science and not part of a judicial or other governmental investigation.[1] Once the informants accepted this truth, most of them were helpful; only a few were not. Several of them had themselves been among the prisoners taken by the insurgents when U Ba Kyar had been captured and later killed.

In April 1985 U Win Maung visited Maung Aung Than's family for a follow-up interview. He did not meet Maung Aung Than, who was at work; but his parents gave news of his life since we had last seen him in 1977.

[1]For many centuries (the 6th to the 16th, CE) the Mons had independent and powerful kingdoms in what is now southern Burma and the adjoining parts of Thailand (Htin Aung, 1967; Ling, 1979). In modern times some Mons (like the Karens) have aspired to an independent state. The Mons of Balugyun were inclined to be suspicious of Burmese people, especially strangers coming to Balugyun from Rangoon, as U Win Maung did. However, our informants had other reasons for withholding information. Some of the insurgents involved in the kidnapping at Dayai had taken advantage of an amnesty and resumed normal life in the area. One man who had been a negotiator between the kidnappers and the families of the prisoners had taken some of the ransom money for himself. He was afterward prosecuted for this and sentenced to a term in prison. Later, he was released, returned to Dayai, and eventually became its headman. It would have been unwise and might even have been dangerous for the villagers of Dayai to speak frankly about all details of the kidnapping and death of U Ba Kyar. It is perhaps surprising that U Win Maung obtained as much information as he did. He told me that his decision to take U Hmwe to Balugyun with him was wise, because U Hmwe—speaking the Mon language—was able to persuade the informants that our inquiry would not be harmful to them in any way.

Persons Interviewed during the Investigation

In Rangoon we interviewed:
Maung Aung Than
U Hmwe, Maung Aung Than's father
Daw Hnin Ohn, Maung Aung Than's mother
Ma Nyunt Shwe, Maung Aung Than's older sister (by 15 years)

In Dayai village, Balugyun, U Win Maung interviewed:
Daw Paw, U Ba Kyar's widow
Ma Than Si, U Ba Kyar's daughter
Ma Kyin Aung, U Hmwe's niece, villager of Dayai
U Hla Maung, former headman of Dayai
Ven. U Thumana, abbot of Shwekyin Kyaungdaik (monastery) of Dayai
U San Shwe, elder villager of Dayai
U Paw La, villager of Dayai
Daw Hnin Kyi, U Paw La's wife

In Moulmein, U Win Maung interviewed:
Daw Kun Pi, former villager of Dayai
Daw Hnin Si, former villager of Dayai
U Shwe Myo, landowner and merchant, formerly of Dayai
Ma Hla Kyi, U Shwe Myo's youngest daughter
Daw Ngwe Kyi, former villager of Dayai

Five of U Win Maung's informants in Dayai and Moulmein had been among the 30 or so persons made prisoner by the insurgents at the time U Ba Kyar was captured. Of this group the most important informant was U Shwe Myo.

Daw Paw and her (and U Ba Kyar's) daughter Ma Than Si were among the less helpful informants to U Win Maung. They exhibited a definite reticence in answering some of U Win Maung's questions. Their attitude bordered on evasiveness. U Win Maung conjectured that they might (quite unreasonably) have suspected U Hmwe and Maung Aung Than of trying to make some claim on U Ba Kyar's property.[2] At any rate, they seemed reluctant to appear to endorse the case by confirming its evidence from their information. For example, Ma Than Si denied that she and her mother had ever even met Maung Aung Than, which was contrary to U Hmwe's and Daw Hnin Ohn's statements about his having visited (when he was a young child) U Ba Kyar's house and taken an interest both in his clothes and his daughters. It is unlikely that Ma Than Si had forgotten all this.

[2]Other families of wealthy previous personalities who suspected the families of subjects (themselves poor) of making some claim on their money figured in the cases of Sunil Dutt Saxena, Erkan Kılıç, Dolon Champa Mitra, and (in this work) Tali Sowaid.

Also, as I shall note later, Daw Paw denied that her husband had been particularly interested in music, although U Hmwe remembered that he had been.

Relevant Facts of Geography

Balugyun is an island of southeastern Burma. It is close to the coast and near the large city of Moulmein. Dayai is a village near the northern end of Balugyun; it is about 20 kilometers from Moulmein. The railway terminal for the line from Rangoon to Moulmein is at Martaban, which is separated from Moulmein by the Salween River. The inhabitants of Balugyun are almost all Mons.

On the mainland and to the north of Moulmein there are mountains: the Zingyaik Range. At the time of U Ba Kyar's capture and murder, this area was relatively inaccessible and afforded a suitable refuge for insurgents.

The Life, Death, and Character of U Ba Kyar

U Ba Kyar was born in about 1916. (I estimated the date of his birth by subtracting from the known year of his death, which is 1956, the best estimate of his age at death, which is [about] 40 years.) I do not know his birthplace, but he grew up and lived all his life at Dayai village on Balugyun Island. His parents, U Po Kyai and Daw Ma Gyi, were Mons. U Ba Kyar became a prosperous landowner, and he was eventually appointed headman of his village. In this capacity he proved himself industrious and honest, and he was much respected. He was also notably pious and contributed to the support of the local monastery and to the building of pagodas. Three informants in Balugyun mentioned that U Ba Kyar was inclined to be abrupt in his manner.

As headman of Dayai, U Ba Kyar was responsible for the enforcement of the laws, and in this connection he several times privately warned one of the villagers, U Po Thi, that his conduct was unacceptable. It appears that U Po Thi had been engaging in some kind of illegal activity, but we did not learn what this was. Whatever its nature, he ignored U Ba Kyar's warnings and continued in his bad ways. Finally, U Ba Kyar declared publicly that he would take drastic action against U Po Thi if he did not reform. This was the wrong move to make (unless it had been followed immediately by police or legal action against U Po Thi), because U Po Thi slipped away from Dayai and joined a band of Mon and Karen insurgents.

In Appendix B I summarized the serious insurgencies that disrupted Burma for a decade after the defeat of the Japanese in World War II and the granting of independence from Great Britain. Islands of rebellion persisted well into the 1950s, and insurgents still controlled some areas of Burma much later. I explained that while some of the insurgents were Communists, others were politically active members of minorities such as Karens and Mons, who were demanding autonomy or even aspiring to complete independence. Political, ethnic, and regional loyalties became mixed with more personal motives in the minds of some insurgents. Some

persons inclined to unlawfulness or having personal quarrels to settle would join insurgent groups for a short time or longer as suited their whims and needs. U Po Thi was a person of this type.

Not long after U Po Thi's departure from the village, a group of Mon and Karen insurgents came to Dayai village during the night. They quietly and efficiently looted the village and took captive between 20 and 30 (or possibly more) persons—estimates of the number of persons made prisoner varied—and embarked them on a boat for the mainland. The raid had been well planned and obviously with inside information about the appropriate persons to capture. They came early in the morning when everyone was asleep. They took away only prosperous persons whose families could afford to ransom them. The other villagers only knew about the raid when they awoke and found some of their friends gone.

After landing on the mainland, the prisoners were forced to march all night until they reached the mountains north of Moulmein. There they were held in a camp under fairly loose conditions. The rebels then sent back representatives from the hostages to obtain ransoms that would buy the release of the remaining prisoners. Nearly all the prisoners were released after their ransoms were paid. All who were released appear to have been set free within 2 weeks of their capture.

Three prisoners, however, were executed. Ostensibly the rebels killed these three men because they were, like U Ba Kyar, government officials, or suspected of being government spies. The personal animosity of U Po Thi for U Ba Kyar (who had publicly threatened him) provided an additional motive for his murder.

U Shwe Myo recalled seeing U Ba Kyar and the two other men being led away from the main camp, where the insurgents were still detaining some prisoners.

None of the several villagers of Dayai who had been among the prisoners captured by the insurgents witnessed the killing of U Ba Kyar. None of them even identified U Po Thi as the murderer of U Ba Kyar, although U Shwe Myo hinted at this when he pointed out that U Po Thi had a personal animosity against U Ba Kyar. The villagers' failure to identify U Po Thi as U Ba Kyar's murderer, if he was, showed more than tact; it was prudent, because U Po Thi had long since returned to Dayai, where he was living peacefully. Moreover, in the intervening years the government had declared more than one amnesty for insurgents who were no longer in arms, and it had become impossible to proceed legally against any of them. U Win Maung was advised not to try to meet U Po Thi, and he did not do so. There is thus only circumstantial evidence that U Po Thi was the member of the insurgent group who actually killed U Ba Kyar. (As we shall see, Maung Aung Than was perfectly clear in *his* mind that U Po Thi had killed U Ba Kyar.)

Although we know positively that the insurgents who raided Dayai and made about 30 villagers prisoner also killed U Ba Kyar, and although it is also likely that it was U Po Thi who killed U Ba Kyar, we lack firsthand information about how U Ba Kyar was killed. However, I think we can exclude shooting, because the prisoners who were later released would have heard a shot, remembered it afterward, and mentioned it to U Win Maung. It is therefore almost cer-

tain that U Ba Kyar was killed with a sword, perhaps one similar to that of Figure 17-8 (in the report of Ma Myint Thein's case). We also lack firsthand information about whether the murderer mutilated U Ba Kyar in the manner Maung Aung Than described. Some secondhand (or possibly more remote) information about this reached U Paw La and Daw Hnin Kyi. They told U Win Maung that they had learned—either from an inadvertent witness of the murder or from someone who had spoken to such a witness—that the murderer had struck U Ba Kyar with a sword as he had his hands up in a gesture begging for his life. However, as we did not learn who these persons were, the report has only the status of a rumor, and we have not verified the details of Maung Aung Than's statements about how U Ba Kyar was killed.

U Win Maung found it possible to fix the date of U Ba Kyar's death within a few days. Three of the captured persons whom he interviewed, two of them independently of the third, said that the insurgents raided the village and captured them on February 14, 1956. It was an event the date of which a person involved was likely to fix accurately in the memory. However, one of them supported her memory with the horoscope she had of a nephew, who, she recalled, had been born just 4 months before the raid on the village. U Ba Kyar's murder occurred while some of the prisoners were still being held for payment of their ransoms. One informant said that U Ba Kyar was led off to execution on the 7th day after their capture, but another said he was still alive when she herself was released 9 days after their capture. U Win Maung was inclined to accept her memory as the more accurate of these two and thought that we would be close to the correct date of U Ba Kyar's death in choosing February 25, 1956. He was about 40 years old when he died.

To conclude this section I shall mention the friendship between U Ba Kyar and U Hmwe. (U Hmwe was about 10 years younger than U Ba Kyar.) Both U Hmwe and Daw Hnin Ohn said that they had been friendly with U Ba Kyar, and U Win Maung's informants in Dayai village confirmed this. For example, U San Shwe told U Win Maung that "U Ba Kyar was most friendly with U Hmwe and used to spend most of his time at the latter's place." Daw Kun Pi said that they "were very thick friends and...spent most of their time together—like 'man and wife.'"

Daw Hnin Ohn said that U Ba Kyar, a year or two before his death (at a time when he did not seem in any danger), had expressed a wish to be reborn in their family if he should die.

Two Announcing Dreams

Some time after the death of U Ba Kyar and before Daw Hnin Ohn became pregnant with Maung Aung Than, she dreamed of U Ba Kyar. She said (in 1972) that she did not ordinarily remember dreams, but this one had stayed in her memory.

In the dream (which she had while sleeping in Dayai village, Balugyun) she was at the dock in Moulmein, and U Ba Kyar was standing there. He was well

dressed in ordinary Burmese clothes and had a tobacco pipe in one hand and a pouch of tobacco in the other. He said that he was coming to stay with them. At this she said: "We are too poor for you; please do not come with us." In the dream, however, he followed her into Moulmein, where she was going for shopping.

On the night when Daw Hnin Ohn dreamed of U Ba Kyar, U Hmwe was himself actually in Moulmein, where he spent the night. He also dreamed of U Ba Kyar, and when he and his wife later told each other about their dreams, they found that the dreams had occurred on the same night.

U Hmwe dreamed that U Ba Kyar asked him if he could come to stay with them and complained that Daw Hnin Ohn had told him he could not come. U Hmwe, however, consented, and in his dream he told U Ba Kyar that he *could* come and stay with them, if he wished to do so.

Daw Hnin Ohn said that she conceived Maung Aung Than soon after she had dreamed of U Ba Kyar. She thought that Maung Aung Than was born within a year of U Ba Kyar's death, but we have seen that the interval was from late February 1956, to November 1957: about 21 months. Ma Nyunt Shwe said her mother had had her dream "a few months after U Ba Kyar's death." We probably cannot place it more accurately than the middle or later part of 1956; and it might even have occurred early in 1957.

Statements and a Recognition Made by Maung Aung Than

In Table 19-1 I have listed the principal statements about the previous life that Maung Aung Than made between the ages of 2 and 5.

As there were no eyewitnesses of U Ba Kyar's killing among U Win Maung's informants, Maung Aung Than's description of the wounds successively given to U Ba Kyar remains unverified.

I have not listed Maung Aung Than's recognition of U Ba Kyar's house when he was an infant, because the house was close to his house; however, there is no doubt that he showed an unusual interest in this house. Maung Aung Than was also credited with showing where the village welfare funds had been buried (Table 19-1, item 9), but I did not learn any details of how he had recognized the place where the money had been buried. The only recognition I have listed, therefore, is the one Maung Aung Than made, late in his childhood, of U Po Thi, whom he identified as U Ba Kyar's murderer (item 25). This incident occurred at the railway station of Martaban. Maung Aung Than did not recognize U Po Thi by name, because his mother, with whom he then was, had greeted and chatted with U Po Thi. Because the episode illustrates the strong resentment Maung Aung Than then felt about the murder of U Ba Kyar and the birth defects, which in his view resulted from that murder, I shall reserve a full description of this incident for the later section in which I describe Maung Aung Than's behavior related to the previous life.

In Table 19-1 I have listed items 23 and 24 in the order in which U Hmwe described them to U Win Maung and me at the time of our meeting with him on

Table 19-1 **Summary of Statements and a Recognition Made by Maung Aung Than**

Item	*Informants*	*Verification*	*Comments*
1. His name was Ba Kyar.	U Hmwe, Maung Aung Than's father Daw Hnin Ohn, Maung Aung Than's mother Ma Nyunt Shwe, Maung Aung Than's oldest sister Ven. U Thumana, abbot of Shwekyin Kyaungdaik (monastery) of Dayai Daw Kun Pi, former resident of Dayai U San Shwe, elder villager of Dayai	Daw Paw, U Ba Kyar's wife	Maung Aung Than and his family moved to Rangoon when he was about 4 or 5 years old. Before that time he had told numerous people in Dayai that he was U Ba Kyar.
2. He was headman of the village.	Daw Hnin Ohn	U Hmwe U Hla Maung, former headman of Dayai	U Hla Maung said that he had succeeded U Ba Kyar as village headman in 1952, but his memory of the year was wrong, according to other testimony.
3. His wife was Daw Paw.	Daw Hnin Ohn	Daw Paw	
4. He had two daughters.	U Hmwe	Daw Paw	
5. One of his daughters was called Ma Yee.	Daw Hnin Ohn	Daw Paw	

Table 19-1 *(continued)*

Item	*Informants*	*Verification*	*Comments*
6. The other daughter was called Ma Than Si.	Daw Hnin Ohn	Ma Than Si, younger daughter of U Ba Kyar and Daw Paw	
7. He had five oxen.	U Hmwe	Unverified	It is probably correct that U Ba Kyar had had some oxen, because he had been a prosperous cultivator.
8. He had built a pagoda.	U Hmwe	U Hla Maung U Shwe Myo, landowner and merchant of Dayai U Hmwe	U Hmwe said that Maung Aung Than had specified correctly that U Ba Kyar had built the middle of three pagodas at Dayai village that were in a row; however, U Hla Maung said that the pagoda built by U Ba Kyar was at one end of the row, not in the middle. U Shwe Myo did not specify where U Ba Kyar's pagoda had been.
9. With U Ohn Maung and "Ja-bu" he had put the village welfare funds of 20,000 kyats in a box and buried it in woods near the three pagodas.	U Hmwe	Not independently verified	U Hmwe said that Maung Aung Than showed the spot where he said this money had been buried. There was no money there; if there had been, it had perhaps been stolen by someone who had learned of its existence. For this item we obtained only U Hmwe's (secondhand) verification. U Win Maung was not able to interview U Ohn Maung when he went to Balugyun. "Ja-bu" is a nickname, meaning a short person. The man having this nickname had died by the time of the case's investigation.

10. He was captured by Mon and Karen insurgents.	U Hmwe	U Hmwe	In this raid on Dayai village, Mons were preying on their own people; but they might justify this as fundraising for their own cause.
11. He and 32 other people were taken as hostages to the mountains.	U Hmwe	Exact figure probably wrong	U Win Maung received several estimates of the total number of prisoners captured by the insurgents when they raided Dayai. One informant said "20 or more," another said "only about 20," and a third said "25 to 30."
12. Some women were among the prisoners.	U Hmwe	Ma Hla Kyi, former villager of Dayai Daw Hnin Kyi, villager of Dayai	Ma Hla Kyi and Daw Hnin Kyi were two of the several women taken prisoner by the insurgents.
13. Thirty of the prisoners were released.	U Hmwe	U Shwe Myo	U Ba Kyar could not have known the actual number of prisoners released, because some of them were released only after he was led off to be killed, along with two other men. U Shwe Myo saw him being led away. U Ba Kyar could have known, therefore, that some of the prisoners had been released, but not that 30 were eventually released. Possibly U Hmwe added the figure "30" from his normal knowledge that all except three prisoners were released.
14. He and two other prisoners were held together.	Ma Nyunt Shwe	U Shwe Myo	U Shwe Myo said that before he was released by the insurgents, he saw U Ba Kyar, Ah Phein, and Ah Shan being "taken away to be executed."

Table 19-1 *(continued)*

Item	*Informants*	*Verification*	*Comments*
			Ma Nyunt Shwe said that when Maung Aung Than first spoke about the previous life, he had stated the names of the other prisoners in this group of three; but she did not mention the names to U Win Maung and me.
15. His hands and feet were bound.	U Hmwe	Unverified	Earlier U Ba Kyar and the other prisoners had not been bound, but had been free to move around the compound of the insurgents' camp. If he was bound, this may have been an indication of the insurgents' intention to kill him in that they were taking special precautions to prevent him from escaping.
16. A man came to feed him.	Daw Hnin Ohn	Unverified	Maung Aung Than repeated this item to us in 1972, when he said it was among the last events of the previous life that he remembered.
17. He was killed by U Po Thi.	U Hmwe Daw Hnin Ohn	Unverified, but probably correct	See text for full discussion. There was no witness available to us who could say who had killed U Ba Kyar. Suspicion would have fallen on U Po Thi, because he was a member of the group of insurgents and had a personal animosity toward U Ba Kyar.

18. The murderer told him that he could worship before he was killed.	Ma Nyunt Shwe	Unverified	
19. While he was worshipping, the murderer became impatient about the length of time he was taking and chopped off his fingers.	Ma Nyunt Shwe Daw Hnin Ohn	Unverified	The prisoner's hands would (almost certainly) have been bound at the wrist, but this would allow him to extend his fingers, palms together, in the usual gesture of Buddhist worship. U Hmwe said that Maung Aung Than told him that U Po Thi chopped his fingers off as he held his hands up and pleaded for his life. This is not incompatible with Ma Nyunt Shwe's and Daw Hnin Ohn's account. As U Ba Kyar saw U Po Thi raise his sword to strike, he may well have raised his hands and pleaded for his life. U Paw La and Daw Hnin Kyi later learned from other persons, who had perhaps been inadvertent witnesses of the killing of U Ba Kyar, that he had raised his hands, palms together, to supplicate for his life just before he was killed. However, this can only be credited as rumor. In a note in the report of Ma Win Tar's case, I listed other subjects who said they remembered raising their hands in a gesture of supplication just before being killed.

Table 19-1 *(continued)*

Item	*Informants*	*Verification*	*Comments*
20. The murderer cut off part of his tongue, saying he "talked too much."	U Hmwe	Unverified	U Hmwe took this remark of the murderer to refer to U Ba Kyar's having publicly threatened to take some kind of legal action against U Po Thi.
21. Then the murderer knocked out his gold teeth with the handle of his dagger.	U Hmwe	Unverified	U Ba Kyar had at least one gold tooth, an upper incisor. His wife, Daw Paw, and two other informants in Dayai verified this to U Win Maung. Maung Aung Than talked as if U Ba Kyar had had at least two gold, or gold-capped, teeth, and on one occasion he referred to four such teeth. U Win Maung's informants mentioned only one gold tooth, but he did not ask them how many such teeth U Ba Kyar had.
22. The murderer also cut off the end of his penis.	Ma Nyunt Shwe	Unverified	Maung Aung Than was initially too shy to mention this item to us, and his father had also not mentioned it in 1972. However, Ma Nyunt Shwe told us about it in 1972. Later, Maung Aung Than himself spoke to us about it in 1977.
23. He was pushed over a high bank into a river.	U Hmwe	Unverified	U Paw La and U Shwe Myo (both of whom had been among the prisoners captured) said that the insurgents' camp was near a deep stream, and U Shwe Myo saw U Ba Kyar and the two other prisoners who were to be killed being led away from the camp in the direction of this stream.

24. His foot became caught, and his toes were then chopped off.	U Hmwe Ven. U Thumana	Although Maung Aung Than did not say so explicitly, he conveyed the impression that when U Ba Kyar was pushed off the bank into the stream one of his feet became entangled in a root or bush. U Hmwe did not say that Maung Aung Than had mentioned with what weapon U Ba Kyar's toes were chopped off. However, the Ven. U Thumana said that Maung Aung Than told him his toes were cut off with a spade.
25. Recognition of U Po Thi as the murderer of U Ba Kyar	Daw Hnin Ohn	Maung Aung Than was approximately 12 years old when, at the railway station of Martaban, he accused U Po Thi of mutilating his hands. There was no other available witness of this recognition. See text for an account of what Maung Aung Than said to U Po Thi at this meeting.

November 16, 1972. In his earlier meeting with U Win Maung, on March 11, 1972, he had said that Maung Aung Than had told him the murderer chopped off the toes of his (U Ba Kyar's) foot *before* he pushed him into the river, not after.

Maung Aung Than's Memories in 1972 and 1977. In November 1972 Maung Aung Than was just 15 years old. Some of his memories of the previous life seemed still vivid, and he talked about them freely. He added some details not included in his parents' and sister's statements about the last events in the life of U Ba Kyar, and I shall mention these here.

I asked Maung Aung Than what he remembered of the last moments of U Ba Kyar's life. He began by referring to an old Karen man who gave some food to U Ba Kyar (see item 16 of Table 19-1). At this time he—I shall use a pronoun for convenience in referring to what Maung Aung Than said about his memories of U Ba Kyar—was kept with two other prisoners and bound hand and foot (items 14 and 15 of Table 19-1). The insurgents had gone away to raid other villages and had apparently left their tied-up prisoners without food. The old Karen man slipped into the place where they were and gave them some rice and fried crab.

The day before they were killed the three prisoners were separated, and U Ba Kyar was put on a small hillock. He saw one of the other two prisoners led away and shot.[3] Then he and his remaining companion were taken to the bank of the river (still bound hand and foot) and placed side by side. Out of the corner of his eye he could see the other man being beaten up with a stick. Then they started on him. He was standing at the top of the steep bank of the river—it was almost a cliff.

The murderer first chopped off his fingers, then cut off the end of his tongue, and then knocked out some of his front teeth. He was then pushed into the river, still bound. His last memory of the previous life (in 1972) was of being pushed into the river. (His next available memory was one of being scratched and frightened by a cat when he, as Maung Aung Than, was 18 months old; he remembered nothing of the period between U Ba Kyar's death and his birth.)

In 1972 Maung Aung Than conjectured that the murderer had cut his (U Ba Kyar's) foot before he was pushed into the river, but he said that he had no imaged memory of this wound. He just remembered being in great pain as he was pushed off. Earlier, however, he had told his father, U Hmwe, that as he was pushed over the cliff one foot became entangled somehow on the bank (perhaps in a root), and the murderer then chopped off his toes (so that the rest of the body became loosened and could fall into the river).

Maung Aung Than did, however, still remember some other details about what the murderer said to U Ba Kyar as he was mutilating him. He remembered that when the murderer cut off his tongue, he said that he (U Ba Kyar) "talked too much" (item 20, Table 19-1). (As I mentioned, U Hmwe interpreted this remark to

[3]Maung Aung Than's reference to shooting is inconsistent with my conjecture, mentioned above, that if U Ba Kyar (and presumably any other prisoner) had been shot, the sound of firing would have been noticed by the other prisoners and later mentioned by the survivors to U Win Maung in 1980.

refer to the way in which U Ba Kyar had publicly warned U Po Thi that he would take legal action against him if he did not reform.)

Maung Aung Than said that as the murderer was cutting off his tongue, he also cut his lower lip.

In 1977 Maung Aung Than changed his statement about how the lip was cut and said that it was cut as the murderer knocked out U Ba Kyar's gold-capped teeth. He also added (in 1977) a memory he had of the murderer's saying, as he knocked these teeth out: "You won't be needing these any more." In 1972 Maung Aung Than had referred to *four* teeth being knocked out; in 1977 he referred to only *two* such teeth. (The gold in them would have been of value to the insurgents.)

Maung Aung Than spoke with U Win Maung and me (in 1977) about the mutilation by the murderer of U Ba Kyar's penis, which was cut off at about one third of its length from the tip; his testicles were not cut off. He did not mention (if he remembered) at what moment in the sequence of mutilations U Ba Kyar's penis had been cut.

In 1972 I asked Maung Aung Than whether as U Ba Kyar he had struggled in any way as he was being mutilated and ultimately killed. He said that he could not resist, being weak from hunger and loss of blood. (This last would have occurred copiously after the fingers had been chopped off.)

Maung Aung Than's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

Circumstances and Manner of Maung Aung Than's Speaking about the Previous Life. Ma Nyunt Shwe thought that she was the first person to hear Maung Aung Than speak about the previous life. She said that he could barely walk at the time. He had accompanied her to the shop of a local grocer. The owner had heard of Daw Hnin Ohn's dream about U Ba Kyar and thought that Maung Aung Than might be able to remember a previous life; so she offered him some food if he would say who he had been before. Maung Aung Than then told the grocer that he was U Ba Kyar and mentioned details of how he had been killed along with two other persons. He stated the names of the two persons killed at the same time as U Ba Kyar. (I have not included the names of these persons among the statements listed in Table 19-1, because Ma Nyunt Shwe did not state their names and neither did either of Maung Aung Than's parents. Daw Hnin Ohn said that he had mentioned, when young, other names of persons that she could no longer remember.)

Daw Hnin Ohn said that she herself questioned Maung Aung Than about the previous life when he was about 3 years old. At that time she asked him whether he could explain his birth defects, and he then told her what he had earlier said in Ma Nyunt Shwe's presence. In fact, she was going over old ground, because Ma Nyunt Shwe said that she had reported to her parents what Maung Aung Than had told the grocer in the village.

By the time Maung Aung Than was 3 or 4, everyone in Dayai must have known about his claim to be U Ba Kyar reborn; and when U Win Maung went to

Dayai many years later, several of his informants remembered having heard Maung Aung Than (as a young child) say that he was U Ba Kyar. People of the village would question him about his memories, and he spoke freely when asked, but said little spontaneously. When the family moved to Rangoon (Maung Aung Than being then about 5 years old), they were among strangers who had no knowledge of Balugyun Island and probably little interest in histories of insurgency there. So, as there was no one to question Maung Aung Than, he no longer talked about the previous life. His father mentioned the age of 7 as approximately the period when Maung Aung Than stopped speaking about it. As we have seen, however, his memories persisted after this time.

Maung Aung Than's Vengefulness. Maung Aung Than accompanied his account of U Ba Kyar's murder with threats of revenge against his murderer. He once told U Hmwe that he would never forgive the murderer "until the end of the world." When he began to play in an organized way, he asked for toy guns; and when he was about 5 or 6 years old, he said that he wanted to become a soldier so that he could take revenge against his enemies. He fashioned a dagger for himself and kept this under his bed. In explanation of this behavior he said that he had enemies. His father took this weapon from him and threw it away, but Maung Aung Than obtained somewhere a small knife that he kept handy. He continued talking of revenge throughout his childhood. In 1972 U Hmwe thought that Maung Aung Than had finally outgrown such thoughts, but this was wrong, because he still expressed them to U Win Maung and me in that year. He told us that he would like to chop off U Po Thi's head.

In about 1969 an opportunity arose for Maung Aung Than to tell U Po Thi directly what he thought about him. Maung Aung Than was about 12 at the time. I should mention first that after U Ba Kyar's death U Po Thi had understandably not returned to Dayai village immediately, and he did not do so until after U Hmwe and his family had moved from there to Rangoon in about 1962.[4] After Maung Aung Than's family moved to Rangoon, they seldom returned to Balugyun, and Maung Aung Than had had no occasion to meet U Po Thi until the incident I shall now describe.

At the time in question Daw Hnin Ohn had taken Maung Aung Than with her when she went to a pagoda festival in Balugyun. They were at the railway station in Martaban when they happened to meet U Po Thi. Daw Hnin Ohn and U Po Thi exchanged civil greetings and news. U Po Thi asked whose child she was with, and Daw Hnin Ohn said that Maung Aung Than was her son. She asked U Po Thi what he was doing those days, and he said he was practicing indigenous Burmese medicine. He then moved away, and as he did so, Maung Aung Than rebuked his mother for speaking to U Po Thi. She, without further thought, replied: "What does that have to do with you? There is nothing wrong in talking

[4]It probably only became safe for U Po Thi to return to Balugyun after the government had declared an amnesty for insurgents. Private murderers who could claim to have been insurgents naturally sheltered themselves under the amnesties. There was an amnesty in 1958 and another in 1964.

with him." Maung Aung Than then said: "What do you know? He is a very bad man." Then holding up his hands, he said: "He cut off these fingers." U Po Thi overheard this exchange, turned around, and came back to Daw Hnin Ohn and Maung Aung Than. He offered Maung Aung Than some money, but the boy scornfully refused and said: "You could fix some sort of value on money, but my hands are invaluable—too precious to be valued with money." U Po Thi was taken aback by this remark and said: "I don't know you. What have I done to you?" Maung Aung Than replied: "You are a bad man. You cut off my fingers." U Po Thi walked away without saying anything further. Daw Hnin Ohn conjectured that U Po Thi was beginning to suspect that Maung Aung Than was the reincarnation of someone he had killed. Maung Aung Than, however, had not finished with U Po Thi. There happened to be a policeman walking up and down the station platform, and Maung Aung Than urged his mother to tell the policeman to arrest U Po Thi. She refused to do this and tried to get him to calm down. Instead, Maung Aung Than began to pick up some rocks that were on or near the platform, and he was getting ready to throw these at U Po Thi when his mother restrained him. Fortunately, at this point the train arrived, and Daw Hnin Ohn and Maung Aung Than got into one compartment while U Po Thi entered another.

Maung Aung Than's Attachment to U Ba Kyar's Family and Possessions. I mentioned earlier that Maung Aung Than showed when still a toddler a keen interest in U Ba Kyar's house. Concerning Maung Aung Than's attitude when inside the house, U Hmwe made different statements. In March 1972 he said that Maung Aung Than was delighted to be in U Ba Kyar's house. In November of the same year, however, he told us that Maung Aung Than used to cry when he was in the house. The discrepancy may have arisen from a slip in my note-taking; but it is also possible that Maung Aung Than showed varying emotions in U Ba Kyar's house depending upon the stimuli of his different memories.

When Maung Aung Than was about 5, he asked about a favorite longyi that had belonged to U Ba Kyar. (I did not learn in what way it was particular, but Maung Aung Than was able to describe it.) He was told that it had been donated to the local monastery. (This was a customary disposition of a deceased person's clothes in that region.) Daw Hnin Ohn said that U Ba Kyar's widow, Daw Paw, told Maung Aung Than that she would keep some of U Ba Kyar's clothes for him to have when he grew up.

Maung Aung Than showed a strong interest in U Ba Kyar's two daughters, and U Hmwe said that Maung Aung Than tried to take care of them as a grown-up person would. Daw Paw said that Ma Than Si was about 4 years old when her father was murdered. Therefore, at the time Maung Aung Than showed his parental behavior toward her, he would have been under 5 years old (because he moved to Rangoon at about that age) and she would have been between 10 and 11.

Maung Aung Than's Phobia of Water. I was somewhat surprised when, at our meeting in March 1977, Maung Aung Than said that he had a severe phobia of being in or on water. It had persisted to the time of this meeting, when he was 19 years old. He related it to U Ba Kyar's mode of death; although U Ba Kyar was

badly mutilated by his murderer, he was still living when pushed into the river beneath the cliff on which he had been tortured. He was also still bound, and he must have drowned rapidly. As an example of his dislike even to be on water, Maung Aung Than mentioned the (apparently rare) occasions when he would cross between the mainland and Balugyun, which his family from time to time still visited. He said these crossings made him "nervous." However, such a crossing might also have activated unpleasant memories of the time when U Ba Kyar and other prisoners of Dayai village had been captured and taken across the straits from Balugyun to the mainland, where they were led to the insurgents' camp and where U Ba Kyar was killed.

In our early interviews with Maung Aung Than's parents, neither had mentioned that he had any fear of water. We had not asked specifically about such a phobia. This was probably because I assumed that U Ba Kyar, if he had been mutilated as Maung Aung Than described, would have died of shock and hemorrhage rather than from drowning. At the time of U Win Maung's follow-up interview in 1985, he asked U Hmwe and Daw Hnin Ohn whether Maung Aung Than had shown any fear of water. They both said that he had been nervous when crossing a body of water, but he had never refused to cross a river in a boat. In sum, Maung Aung Than appears to have had some fear of being on water, but it was less than that of some other subjects who remembered previous lives that ended in drowning. (I listed seven other subjects of this group in a note in the report of Ruvan Ranatunga's case in Chapter 18.)

Absence of a Fear of Knives on the Part of Maung Aung Than. Maung Aung Than had no phobia of knives, swords, and daggers. I have already mentioned that as a child he armed himself with a small knife.

Maung Aung Than's Attitude of Authority. Daw Hnin Ohn said that Maung Aung Than wanted to be a leader and was rather abrupt in his manner. She found him "inclined to be somewhat presumptuous." She added: "He may say: 'I am just as good as you are.'" She saw similarities between these qualities and the tendency to abruptness remarked in U Ba Kyar by persons who knew him, including herself.

An authoritative attitude is rather expected of a village headman and might even be considered a requirement of the position. It only seems unusual when a young child manifests it.[5]

The Attitudes of the Adults Concerned toward the Case

U Hmwe and Daw Hnin Ohn seem at first not to have given the case much attention as it developed from stage to stage. As I have said, they did not immediately put together their dreams before Maung Aung Than's conception and their

[5]Suleyman Andary is another subject of a case who showed an authoritative attitude and who remembered the previous life of a village headman, in his case one in Lebanon. Other examples of "headman attitudes" occurred in the cases of Daw Tin Hla and U Aung Gyi.

observation of his birth defects to draw the conclusion that he was U Ba Kyar reborn. (Probably they would have done so earlier, if they had known the details of the wounds U Ba Kyar had received; but they knew only that he had been killed, not how.) They identified him with U Ba Kyar only after he began to show an unusual interest in U Ba Kyar's house and then, a little later, said that he was U Ba Kyar and described how U Ba Kyar had died.

In reply to a specific question that I put in 1972, U Hmwe said that they had not attempted to suppress Maung Aung Than's references to a previous life. Instead, he had stopped talking spontaneously and mainly, U Hmwe thought, because after the family moved to Rangoon there was no one there with a special interest in asking Maung Aung Than about the origin of his birth defects. With no one to listen to him, he had no incentive to continue talking about the previous life.

As for the informants at Dayai village and Moulmein, I have already mentioned that they at first showed considerable reserve in talking with U Win Maung; but with U Hmwe's help he won most of them over to an acceptance of his neutral stance as regards the quarrels between the villagers and the insurgents who had looted and captured some of them. I have already suggested that Daw Paw and her daughter Ma Than Si remained somewhat evasive because they feared some sort of claim that U Hmwe and Maung Aung Than might make on U Ba Kyar's property. Also, U Po Thi had returned to the community, and he was to be reckoned with. Although an amnesty had canceled his crimes (as to terrestrial punishments), we cannot imagine that he would have wished them to be reviewed in detail by the villagers of Dayai, among whom he had tried to take his place again.

Maung Aung Than's Birth Defects

Figures 19-1 and 19-2 show the birth defects of Maung Aung Than's hands. They are the most severe defects of any involving the fingers—now a considerable number—that I have ever observed in studying these cases. (I refer in this remark to subjects who have been born with *some* portion of the hand developed; those born without any hand at all obviously suffer from more severe defects of the limb than Maung Aung Than's.)

Maung Aung Than's hands, at the site where the fingers should have been in a normal baby, were bleeding slightly when he was born. A folk remedy (earth from a graveyard) was applied to the bleeding areas.[6]

Despite the extent of the defects of his hands, Maung Aung Than had surprisingly little disability in using them. For example, he could write passably well and without difficulty wrote his name for us. He seriously considered, and not unreasonably, undertaking a course of training to become qualified to repair radios. I was

[6]We learned this from Maung Aung Than himself in 1972. He was obviously a secondhand informant for this and was telling us what he had learned from his parents. However, U Hmwe and Daw Hnin Ohn were present during our interview with Maung Aung Than, and they did not contradict him.

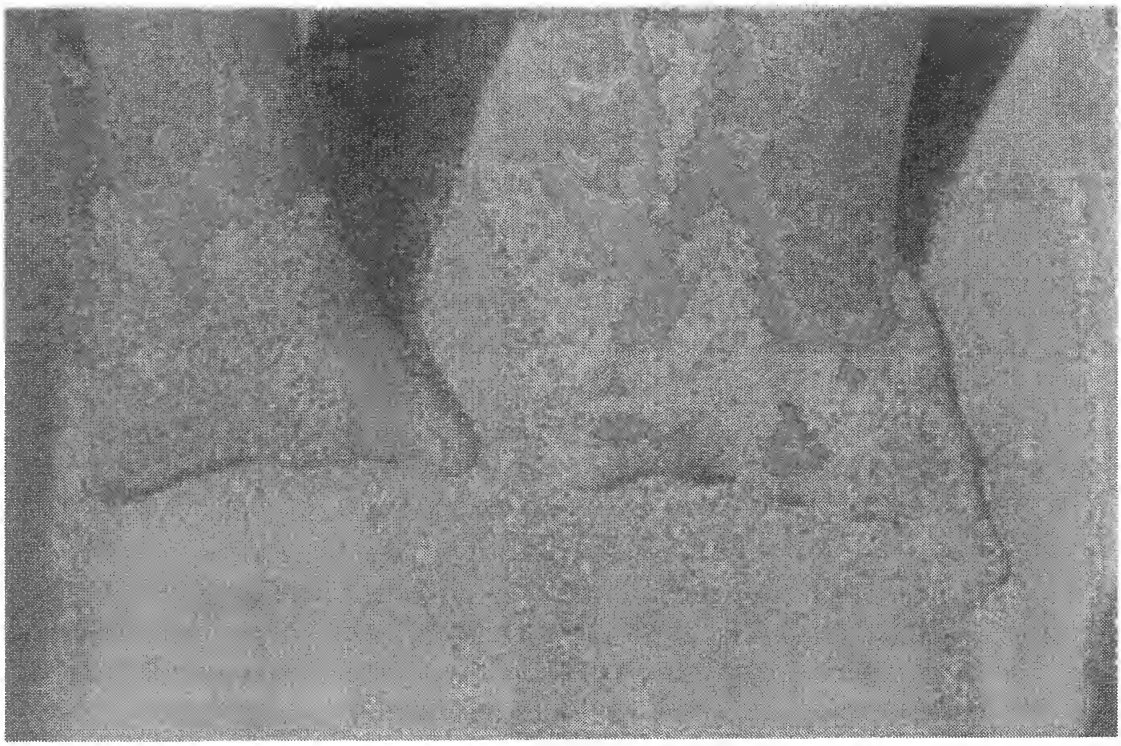

Figure 19-1 Dorsal surface of Maung Aung Than's hands as they appeared in March 1972, when he was 14½ years old.

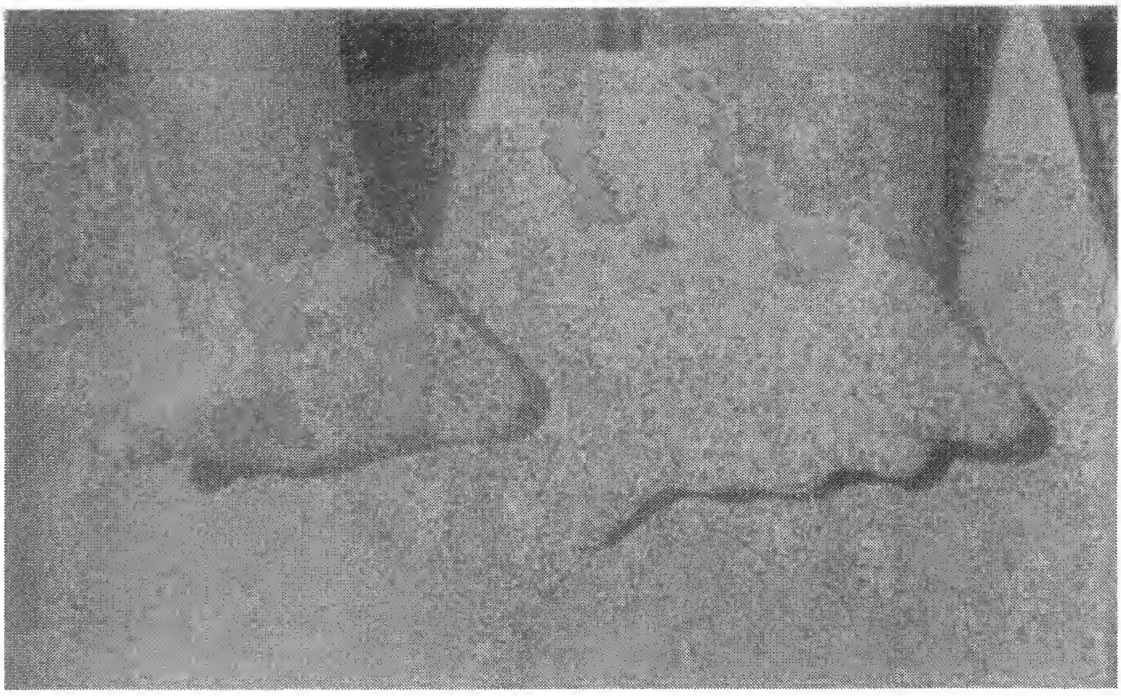

Figure 19-2 Palmar surface of Maung Aung Than's hands as they appeared in March 1972. The fifth finger of the left hand had a nail, but it appeared to be rotated from the usual position.

Figure 19-3 Maung Aung Than's feet as they appeared in March 1972. The right foot was normal; the left foot had no toes except the fifth.

much moved when (as we walked back along a lane from his house to the road) he insisted on carrying for me a large bag in which I kept my notebook, camera, and other oddments that I used during field trips. Despite this relatively good adaptation to severe defects, Maung Aung Than did at times complain about his defects and the handicap they were to him; we have seen also that they figured prominently in his angry accusations to U Po Thi at the railway station of Martaban.

Maung Aung Than was left-handed, because he had more finger movements and a better grip in his left hand than in his right one. U Ba Kyar's wife said that he had been right-handed.

Figure 19-3 shows the birth defect of Maung Aung Than's left foot, and I need say little about it. If we accept Maung Aung Than's account of how U Ba Kyar was successively mutilated in different organs, his foot was the last part of him to be wounded.

Figure 19-4 shows the malformation of Maung Aung Than's tongue, which is clearly abnormal in shape.

Figure 19-5 shows an abnormality of his lower lip. There was a definite cleft, and the skin of the lip appeared to be unusually red. Indeed, for some time I thought that it was bleeding. This, however, proved incorrect. The thinness of the skin of the lip at the midline made this area appear unusually red, but it had not bled since Maung Aung Than's infancy. U Win Maung inquired specifically about this during his interview on May 15, 1977. He then learned from U Hmwe that the lip did bleed

Figure 19-4 The birth defect of Maung Aung Than's tongue. This photograph was also taken in March 1972.

Figure 19-5 Another view of Maung Aung Than's malformed tongue. This photograph (taken in March 1977) also shows a cleft in the lower lip at the midline, where the skin was unusually red and appeared thin; this area bled easily when Maung Aung Than was an infant, but not later.

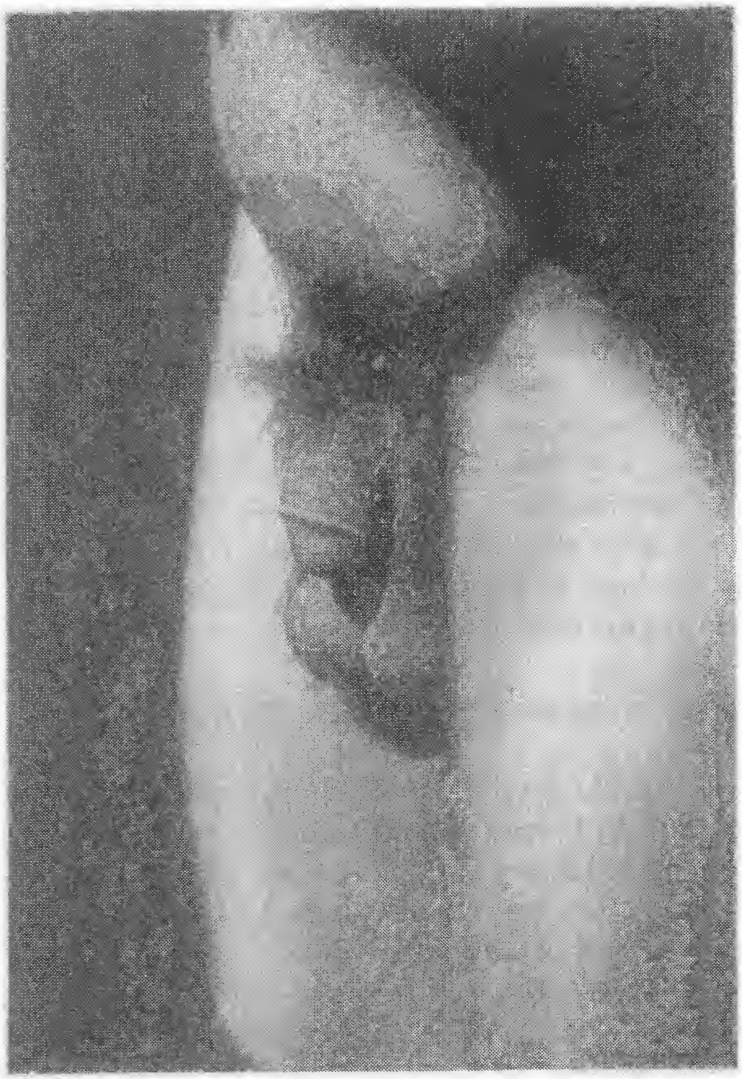

Figure 19-6 Photograph taken in March 1977 showing congenital absence of the foreskin in Maung Aung Than.

continuously until Maung Aung Than was about 3 months old. After that it bled intermittently until he was about 1 year old; since then it had not bled at all.

Maung Aung Than was born without a foreskin (Figure 19-6). U Win Maung made this a topic of special inquiry during his interview on May 15, 1977. Both U Hmwe and Daw Hnin Ohn said that at Maung Aung Than's birth the glans of his penis had been covered by a sheath of extremely thin tissue. It must have been a mere film and was removed by just rubbing it off. There was nothing corresponding to the usual foreskin with which males are born.[7] Otherwise, Maung Aung Than's sexual organs were normal.

I particularly examined Maung Aung Than's upper incisor teeth corresponding to the teeth that Maung Aung Than said U Po Thi had knocked out of U Ba Kyar before he killed him. So far as I could tell, Maung Aung Than's upper incisor teeth were entirely normal.

[7]Maung Aung Than is not unique in having this birth defect. Later in this chapter I shall mention other examples and give brief reports of two.

Maung Aung Than had no birthmarks or birth defects corresponding to marks that ropes binding U Ba Kyar might have made on his skin.

Maung Aung Than had one defect that no one could relate to U Ba Kyar. I refer to a strabismus of the left eye, which tended to drift medially when he was not focusing his gaze on an object. Daw Hnin Ohn could not remember any corresponding strabismus that U Ba Kyar had had.

Other Relevant Medical Information. There were no other persons with birth defects in the family. Daw Hnin Ohn and U Hmwe assured us that they could speak to that point from knowledge of the members of their families as far back as their great-grandparents. Their paternal grandfathers were in fact brothers, so that U Hmwe and Daw Hnin Ohn were second cousins.

Daw Hnin Ohn's pregnancy with Maung Aung Than was entirely normal. She had no illness and took no drugs during it. She said that she "had some difficulty with the delivery," but her labor was not unusually long. It started at 8:00 a.m., and Maung Aung Than was born at about 1:00 p.m. of the same day. (As I mentioned, Maung Aung Than was her fifth child.)

Comments on the Evidence of Paranormal Processes in the Case

I have already mentioned that all the verifiable information stated by Maung Aung Than about the life and death of U Ba Kyar was known to his parents, who had been unusually friendly with him. It is possible that the detail about the location of the insurgents' camp near a stream was unknown to Maung Aung Than's family; but they might have learned this from one or another of the released prisoners.

This case illustrates as well as any I know a point that U Win Maung often made in conversations with me: Burmese parents are, in general, little interested in identifying a child as the reincarnation of a particular person. In the present case, Maung Aung Than's parents only slowly and almost casually identified him as U Ba Kyar reborn. (The village grocer had more curiosity about this than they had.) No doubt they would have identified Maung Aung Than with U Ba Kyar at his birth if they had known details of how U Ba Kyar had been killed and thought that Maung Aung Than's birth defects corresponded to U Ba Kyar's wounds. As it was, the birth defects of Maung Aung Than's extremities, tongue, lower lip, and penis seemed to them an odd assortment of birth defects of which they could, at his birth, make no sense.[8]

[8]The parents of a child with a birth defect or birth defects identify the previous personality more quickly when the defect or defects correspond to *known* wounds on a particular deceased person. For example, Semih Tutuşmuş's parents, when they saw his malformed right ear, did not hesitate to identify him with Selim Fesli, whom they knew to have been fatally wounded when shot at point-blank range on the right side of the head. Similarly, the parents of Hanumant Saxena quickly identified him after his birth with Maha Ram Singh on the basis of an announcing dream Hanumant's mother had had and the close correspondence in location between Hanumant's unusual birthmark and the known fatal shotgun wound of Maha Ram Singh.

Maung Aung Than's Later Development

Maung Aung Than was already 15 years old when I first met him in 1972. He said that his memories of the previous life had faded little and that he still recalled most of the details that he had previously remembered. He certainly gave us a detailed account of U Ba Kyar's death. However, Maung Aung Than said that he only occasionally thought about the previous life spontaneously. This might happen at times when he was alone. He never dreamed about the previous life. He still had strong feelings of wanting to take revenge against U Po Thi, whose head he would have liked to lop off.

At our meeting in February 1977 Maung Aung Than was 19 years old. He then said that his memories of the previous life were definitely fading. Yet even at this time he spoke about some particular events of U Ba Kyar's murder as if he retained clear images of them. He said he sometimes spontaneously remembered the previous life on cloudy days. He needed to make an effort to remember details.

By this time Maung Aung Than had lost his vengefulness toward U Po Thi. He said that he could now separate out the two lives and feel that the life of U Ba Kyar belonged to the past. When we asked him what had helped him to achieve this change of attitude, he ascribed it simply to his having "become mature." (This reminded me of the definition of maturity as "the ability to suffer without wishing to inflict suffering on another person.")

Maung Aung Than's general health was good. His main difficulty at this time was unemployment. As I mentioned earlier, U Win Maung kept in touch with him until 1979 and was able to find a job for him that year.

At the time of U Win Maung's follow-up interviews in 1985, Maung Aung Than was still employed as he had been. His parents said that he no longer spoke about the previous life, and they thought that his memories of it were fading. These memories had persisted in Maung Aung Than later than they do in most subjects.

THE CASE OF MAUNG THAN HTAY

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Maung Than Htay was born on October 26, 1957, in the village of Zipani in the Monywa District of Upper Burma. His parents were U Bo and Daw Poke Kyee. Maung Than Htay was the oldest of their five children. U Bo was a rickshaw driver. Daw Poke Kyee worked as a trader. They moved to Mandalay when Maung Than Htay was a year old, and U Bo died there in 1973.

Before Daw Poke Kyee became pregnant with Maung Than Htay, U Bo had a dream in which his brother-in-law, U Ba Hsinn, appeared and asked permission to be reborn as his child. U Ba Hsinn was a well-known dacoit of the

area who had been caught and executed. U Bo had not been on good terms with U Ba Hsinn, and he declined (in the dream) to have U Ba Hsinn reborn in his family.[9]

During Daw Poke Kyee's pregnancy with Maung Than Htay, she had an unusual psychological (or perhaps psychical) experience, and she was also physically ill. I shall defer describing what she told me about these conditions to a later section of this report.

When Maung Than Htay was born, his mother noted that his left hand and his left foot were markedly misshapen. She also observed birthmarks on his head, left arm, and chest.

Maung Than Htay began to speak coherently when he was a little more than a year old, and he began to speak about the previous life, claiming that he was U Ba Hsinn, when he was about 2½.

His general health was frail when he was a young child, but he afterward became healthy and strong. When he was 4 years old, a surgeon in Mandalay corrected with almost complete success the malformation (or perhaps deformity) of his left foot.

When Maung Than Htay reached school age, his parents sent him back to Zipani, where he attended a monastery school. While there he continued speaking about the previous life, and his mother said that he confided its details mainly to playmates at the school. When Maung Than Htay was about 9, he returned from Zipani to Mandalay and continued his schooling there. He was 18 years old and studying in the seventh grade when U Win Maung and I first met him in November 1975. We learned about his case from an informant, Daw San Kyi, whom we had met in connection with another case. Maung Than Htay lived near her, and she introduced us to him.

In 1975 we had a long interview with Maung Than Htay, and we examined and photographed his birth defects and birthmarks. His mother was not available at that time, but we succeeded in meeting her when we were again in Mandalay in March 1977. We also talked again with Maung Than Htay that year. We met him twice again, in February and December 1980.

Zipani is in an exceedingly remote region of Upper Burma, and I have not gone there. The sole informants for the case whom we could interview were therefore Maung Than Htay and his mother, Daw Poke Kyee. Fortunately, we were able to obtain some useful information by correspondence. U Aung Gyi, chairman of the village council of Ywa Htin (a village close to Zipani), replied in detail to inquiries U Win Maung made in 1982. He also furnished the address of Maung Japan, one of U Ba Hsinn's sons. In 1986 Maung Japan replied in a letter to questions U Win Maung wrote to him.

[9]The hospitable Burmans rarely refuse the dream petitions for rebirth in a particular family. I can think of only two other examples among more than 400 cases in Burma, in almost half of which announcing dreams figured (Stevenson, 1983). Other instances occurred in the cases of Maung Aung Than and Daw Khin.

The Life, Death, and Character of U Ba Hsinn

Our information about U Ba Hsinn derives from our long interview with Daw Poke Kyee in 1977 and from the letters written to U Win Maung by U Aung Gyi and Maung Japan.

U Ba Hsinn was born in the village of Ywa Htin in about 1915. (Ywa Htin is 3 kilometers from Zipani; they were each medium-sized villages of between 1,500 and 2,000 inhabitants.) His parents were U Htun Win and Daw Mone Pin. U Ba Hsinn was a cultivator, a competent one, and, in early life, an honest man. He first married a girl called Ma Pwa Myint, and with her he had a son whom they called Maung Japan. (They gave their son this name because he was born during the Japanese occupation of Burma [1942-45] and not because he was identified as having been a Japanese person in a previous life. In the report of the case of Maung Win Aung and also in Chapter 24 I refer to another Maung Japan, who *did* make such a claim.)

Ma Pwa Myint died, and U Ba Hsinn then married again, this time taking simultaneously the two sisters of U Bo.[10] They were called Ma Khin Than and Ma Tin San. Daw Poke Kyee said that U Ba Hsinn married both the sisters "due to circumstances beyond his control." I did not learn to what this phrase alluded, but whatever it was, U Bo did not think that it justified U Ba Hsinn in marrying both of his sisters at the same time. He strongly objected to these marriages, and in the later years of U Ba Hsinn's life, U Bo and U Ba Hsinn were not on speaking terms. A residue of this ill-feeling led to U Bo's later rejecting the proposal he received when U Ba Hsinn seemed to appear in a dream and ask to be reborn as the child of U Bo and Daw Poke Kyee.

Daw Poke Kyee said that during the Japanese occupation of Burma, U Ba Hsinn had continued to work as a cultivator at Zipani. He had not engaged in fighting the Japanese. The Japanese had passed through Zipani, but had not stayed there.

After the Japanese defeat in Burma and Burma's subsequent independence from Great Britain, Burma entered the prolonged period of insurgency to which I have often referred in connection with Burmese cases. (See Appendix B.) At this time U Ba Hsinn was given the leadership of the local Defense Forces fighting the insurgents. The organization of such forces obliged the government to arm many civilians who had not previously had firearms, and some of them used the arms for purposes other than peace-keeping. U Ba Hsinn succumbed to the temptations that weapons offered him. He became a dacoit and managed to avoid being caught

[10]Polygamy is not forbidden in Buddhism, but is rare in modern Burma. The kings of Burma had many wives; King Mindon (the second last king) had 53 recognized wives as well as numerous concubines (J. G. Scott, 1910).

In the case of Ma Myint Thein, an intention by U Sein Maung (whose life Ma Myint Thein remembered) to take a second wife had precipitated a domestic crisis that ended in the first wife's suicide and U Sein Maung's murder.

for 2 or 3 years. He robbed, but did not kill anyone. He generously divided his loot.[11] But his misdeeds further envenomed his quarrel with U Bo.

U Aung Gyi wrote that the Burmese Army summoned U Ba Hsinn to answer charges (presumably of dacoity) against him. He was court-martialed, sentenced to death, and executed. According to him, U Ba Hsinn was executed at dawn on February 3, 1954. The execution took place near a disused well in the village of Kya-htet, which is about 3 kilometers from Zipani, but in the direction nearly opposite to that of Ywa Htin. U Aung Gyi had no information as to whether U Ba Hsinn had been tortured before being executed.

Daw Poke Kyee, who was in Zipani at the time U Ba Hsinn was executed, gave a somewhat fuller and also different version of the event. According to her, the authorities wished to increase the deterrent effect of U Ba Hsinn's execution for dacoity, and so they asked each household in Zipani to send a representative to witness it.

However, Daw Poke Kyee was too afraid to watch the scene and only heard reports of it later. According to her secondhand information, U Ba Hsinn had had his hands tied at his back; he was then "chopped" with a dah and his body pushed into a well. As we shall see, this version accords only loosely with Maung Than Htay's own account of how U Ba Hsinn was killed.

Daw Poke Kyee thought that U Ba Hsinn's execution was probably illegal, by which she meant that the local authorities who captured him decided to dispatch him summarily without a formal trial for which, perhaps, they lacked the necessary evidence to yield a conviction.

Maung Japan, in his letter to U Win Maung, gave a third account of U Ba Hsinn's death. He said that his father's activities as a member of the local Defense Forces and a scout for the Burmese Army had offended some people of the community who began to hate him. So they decided to inform falsely against him and accused him of being a spy for the insurgents. He was not tried legally or openly accused, but simply executed on what Maung Japan called "malicious misinformation." Maung Japan had no information about whether his father had been tortured before he was killed. He wrote that his grandparents said U Ba Hsinn had been killed in November 1953.

Daw Poke Kyee thought that U Ba Hsinn was about 40 years old when he was killed.

Daw Poke Kyee had had some acquaintance with U Ba Hsinn. Her father had come from Ywa Htin, and although she married U Bo of Zipani and lived in Zipani after her marriage, she used to return to Ywa Htin to sell vegetables. She evidently

[11]Divided it, that is, with other villagers. What we may call the Robin Hood style of dacoity was fairly widespread in India and Burma at one time. By sharing the proceeds of their robberies with other villagers, the dacoits to some extent bought their own security from being informed upon; and some of them even saw themselves as correcting social evils, such as maldistribution of wealth. In the report of the case of U Tint Aung, I summarized the extraordinary career of Bo San Pe, who was the most notorious and most successful practitioner of this type of corrective dacoity.

cherished friendly feelings toward U Ba Hsinn, whom she described as "a good person." She defended his marrying her husband's two sisters at the same time.

Comment. Daw Poke Kyee and Maung Japan described the execution of U Ba Hsinn as peremptory and quasi-legal or even illegal. U Aung Gyi represented it as having been done in an official, orderly manner. His account is not necessarily the correct one, and he may even have been covering up for persons still living who had something to do with U Ba Hsinn's death.

Statements Made by Maung Than Htay

I shall first record what Daw Poke Kyee said Maung Than Htay had said about the previous life when he was a young child and then report what he told U Win Maung and me during our study of the case in the years 1975-80.

Maung Than Htay's Statements When a Young Child. According to Daw Poke Kyee, Maung Than Htay had said that he was Ba Hsinn. (He had not used the honorific *U.*) He remembered having had a wife who had had a son and then had died. After that he had married two sisters whose names he had given: Ma Khin Than and Ma Tin San.

Daw Poke Kyee did not seem to remember much detail of what Maung Than Htay had said about how U Ba Hsinn had died. (She explained this by saying that he spoke to his playmates at school and would not speak, at least freely, about the previous life to his parents.) She recalled his saying that he had been struck on his head by stones thrown at him, and his explanation for the birthmark on his head to her was that it derived from a wound by one of the stones. He remembered, she said, that his hands had been tied behind his back and that he had been shot in the chest.

Maung Than Htay's Statements in the 1970s. Compared with most subjects of these cases by the time they are 18 years old, Maung Than Htay appeared to have preserved a substantial number of memories of the previous life. He certainly claimed still to remember many more details about the previous life than his mother could recall he had stated as a young child. (We should not conclude that he said much more to her that she later forgot; as I mentioned, she herself said that he had not talked much to her about the previous life.) Nevertheless, in 1975 Maung Than Htay said that his memories had faded to some extent.

Maung Than Htay began his account to us by saying that in his previous life he had been U Ba Hsinn of Zipani village of Monywa. He said that he had been a "born dacoit." This English phrase was U Win Maung's translation to me, but Maung Than Htay meant to convey that his talents for brigandage were far above average. He recalled (nostalgically, it seemed to me) the good times he had had as a dacoit. He had been the leader of his band of dacoits.

Maung Than Htay recalled the two wives of U Ba Hsinn who had been the sisters of his (Maung Than Htay's) father, U Bo. He remembered the names of these wives as Ma Khin San and Ma Tin San, but when (in 1977) his mother corrected the name of the first to Ma Khin Than, Maung Than Htay accepted this adjustment. He remembered that he had kept these two wives in separate villages. (Maung Than

Figure 19-7 Birthmark on the head of Maung Than Htay as it appeared in March 1977, when he was 19 years old. The birthmark was a round hairless area about 2 centimeters in diameter. Its surface was somewhat puckered.

Htay did not mention to U Win Maung and me the first wife of U Ba Hsinn, who had been the mother of Maung Japan; and when we asked him, in 1977, whether he remembered Maung Japan, he said that he did so only vaguely.) Maung Than Htay seems also to have misremembered the name of U Ba Hsinn's father. He said U Ba Hsinn's father was U Ba Zone, but Daw Poke Kyee had never heard of such a person and said that U Ba Hsinn's father was called U Tun Tin.[12] (I attach little importance to Maung Than Htay's knowledge of the names of family members that he stated, because he was, after all, describing his own father's family.)

Maung Than Htay gave a rather detailed account of the last day in the life of U Ba Hsinn. A small unit of Japanese soldiers was in the area, and they all went out on a patrol. U Ba Hsinn and his gang were trying to break into their camp, when the Japanese suddenly returned. The dacoits tried to flee, and all got away except U Ba Hsinn. He was clubbed on the head with the butt of a rifle and subdued. (At this point and throughout his description, Maung Than Htay pointed successively to his birthmarks and birth defects. He said that the blow on the head from a rifle butt accounted for the birthmark shown in Figure 19-7; I shall indicate the corresponding photograph for the further details of his statements as he continued.) He was then tortured by having two fingernails (of his left hand) pulled out (Figures 19-8 and 19-9). Boiling water

[12]This name is close to U Htun Win, the name U Aung Gyi of Ywa Htin village gave for U Ba Hsinn's father.

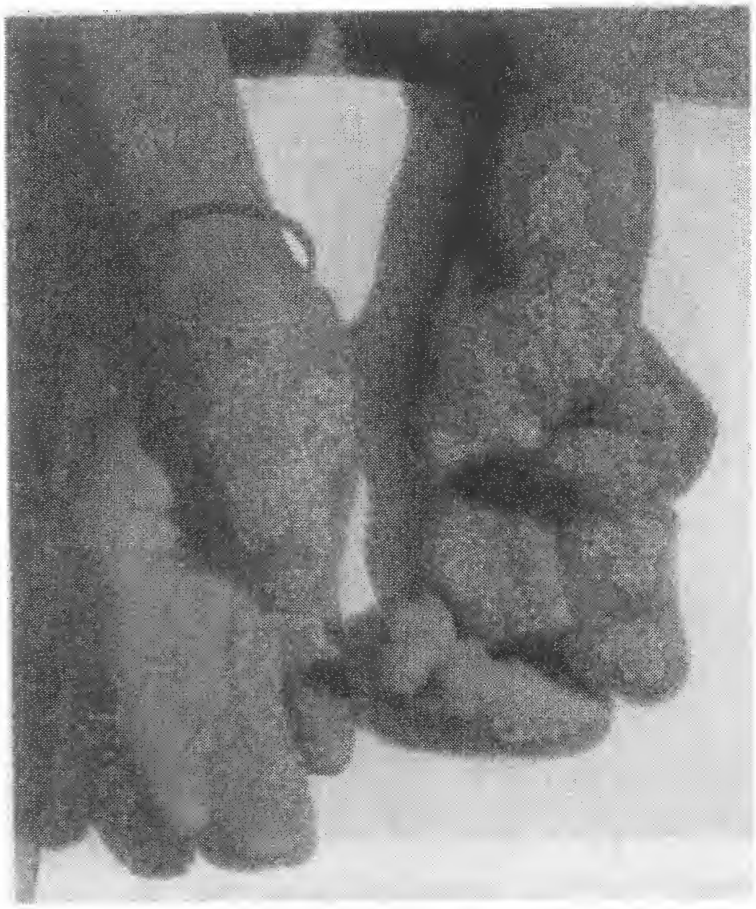

Figure 19-8 Hands of Maung Than Htay as they appeared in 1977 when he was 19 years old. The right hand was normal, but the fingers of the left hand were permanently flexed. The fifth finger of the left hand seemed shorter than the right fifth finger. The left thumb had only one phalanx and no nail. The left index finger had only two phalanges and a tiny, rudimentary nail.

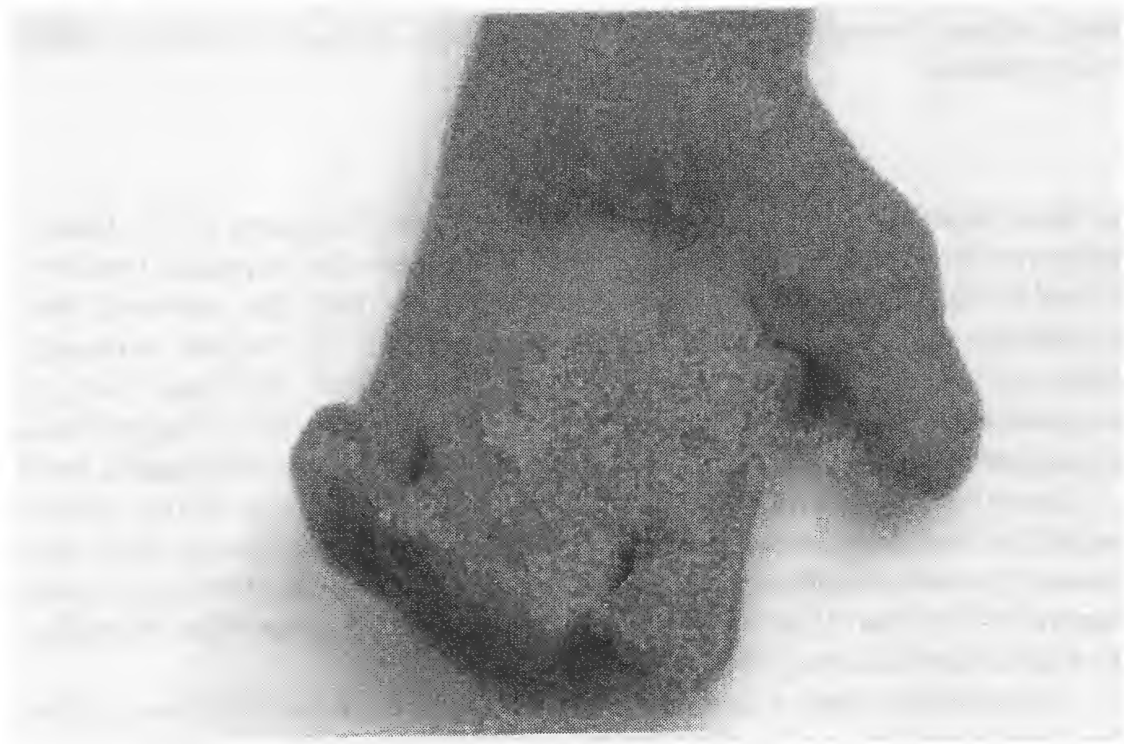

Figure 19-9 Palmar aspect of Maung Than Htay's left hand to show the shortened thumb and index finger, which had no nails. This photograph was taken in 1980.

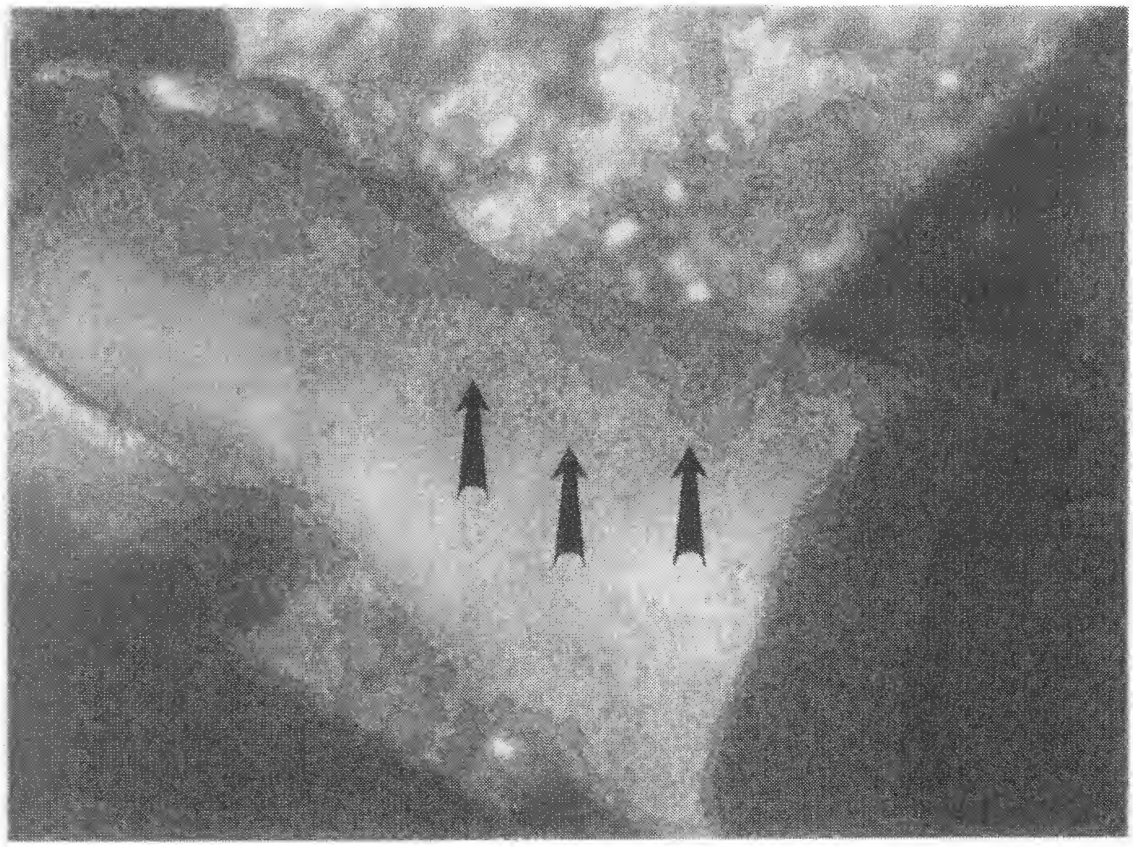

Figure 19-10 Left forearm of Maung Than Htay. According to Maung Than Htay, irregular areas of hyperpigmentation corresponded to burns from boiling water poured on U Ba Hsinn's left arm. The photograph, taken in 1977, also shows the area of constriction around the lower forearm.

was then poured on his arm (Figure 19-10). After these tortures, U Ba Hsinn's captors put the rope of a well bucket around his forearm and suspended him over the well in the manner shown in Figure 19-11. Maung Than Htay attributed both the constriction of his left forearm (shown in Figure 19-12) and the permanent flexion of the fingers of the left hand (seen in Figures 19-8, 19-9, and 19-12) to the position they assumed and the strain they bore as U Ba Hsinn dangled from the rope above the well with his fingers around the rope. He was left hanging for 2 or 3 hours in this position. While he was thus suspended, one of his captors slashed his foot with a sword or bayonet, and this accounted, Maung Than Htay believed, for both a clubfoot with which he was born and another birthmark on the instep of his left foot (Figure 19-13). Finally, one of his captors ended his suffering with a shot in his chest (Figure 19-14).

To assist the reader I have given above a composite of what Maung Than Htay said about the origin of his birthmarks and birth defects in 1975 and in 1977, when we asked him to go over his account again. I will now mention some minor variations in his two otherwise consistent accounts. In 1975 he

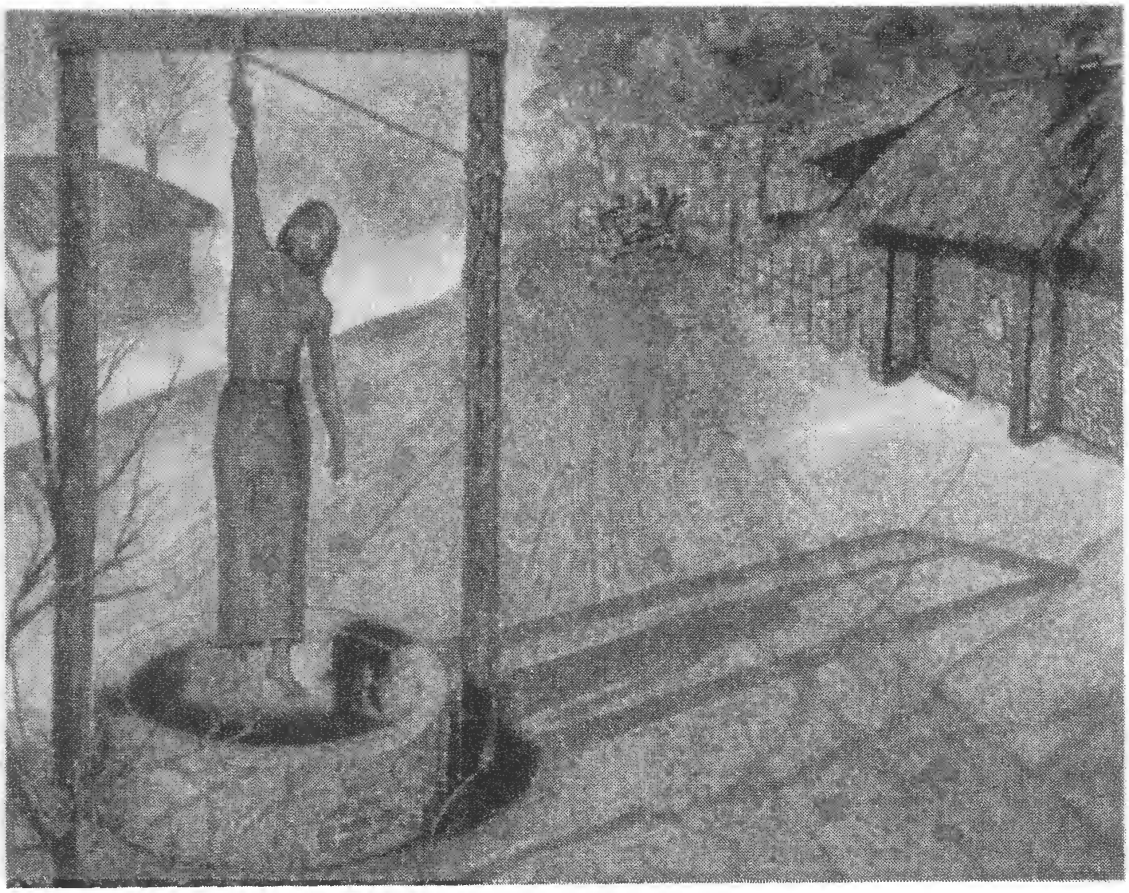

Figure 19-11 Artist's reconstruction from Maung Than Htay's description of how U Ba Hsinn was suspended over a well with a rope wound around his left forearm.

said that U Ba Hsinn's captors had pulled out *three* fingernails of the left hand: those of the thumb, index finger, and fifth finger. However, in 1977 he modified this to say that they had only pulled out the nails of the thumb and index finger. Since U Win Maung and I were on both occasions examining Maung Than Htay minutely, and since he had no defect on the nail of his left fifth finger, but had only rudimentary nails on the thumb and index finger of that hand, he may have adapted his account to match the defects that we were studying. It is also possible that the discussion and our examination helped to concentrate and perhaps to improve his memories; and I think this review may account for his having mentioned in 1977 the torture with boiling water (and the birthmarks he attributed to it) which he had not mentioned in 1975. I had not earlier noticed the related birthmarks (Figure 19-10) to which he drew our attention in 1977.

In his statements of the 1970s, Maung Than Htay recalled a crowd of persons surrounding U Ba Hsinn as he dangled above the well. Some of them threw stones at him, but these hit him on the trunk, not on the head, and he did not attribute any birthmark to a wound from such stones.

Figure 19-12 Forearms of Maung Than Htay to show the groove and distal constriction of the left forearm. This photograph was taken in 1977. Maung Than Htay said the groove corresponded to the mark made by the rope by which U Ba Hsinn was suspended over a well.

Maung Than Htay recalled that U Ba Hsinn's captors, after shooting him, cut the rope from which he had been dangling and allowed his body to drop into the well. Unlike many Burmese subjects, he did not claim to remember anything of events between the death of U Ba Hsinn and his own birth.

Comment. Even before U Win Maung had corresponded with U Aung Gyi and Maung Japan, we had reservations about Maung Than Htay's statement that he had been captured and tortured by *Japanese*. Daw Poke Kyee said that she had been born in 1936 and that she had been about 20 when U Ba Hsinn was killed. She remembered becoming pregnant with Maung Than Htay (her first child) 4 or 5 months after U Ba Hsinn's execution. She also recalled, in passable harmony with her other dates, that U Ba Hsinn's son, Maung Japan, had been a boy of between 10 and 13 years when his father was killed. (This agrees closely enough with Maung Japan's later statement that he had been born in September 1941; he might not have been named until the following year, after the Japanese had occupied Burma.) Daw Poke Kyee's chronology placed the death of U Ba

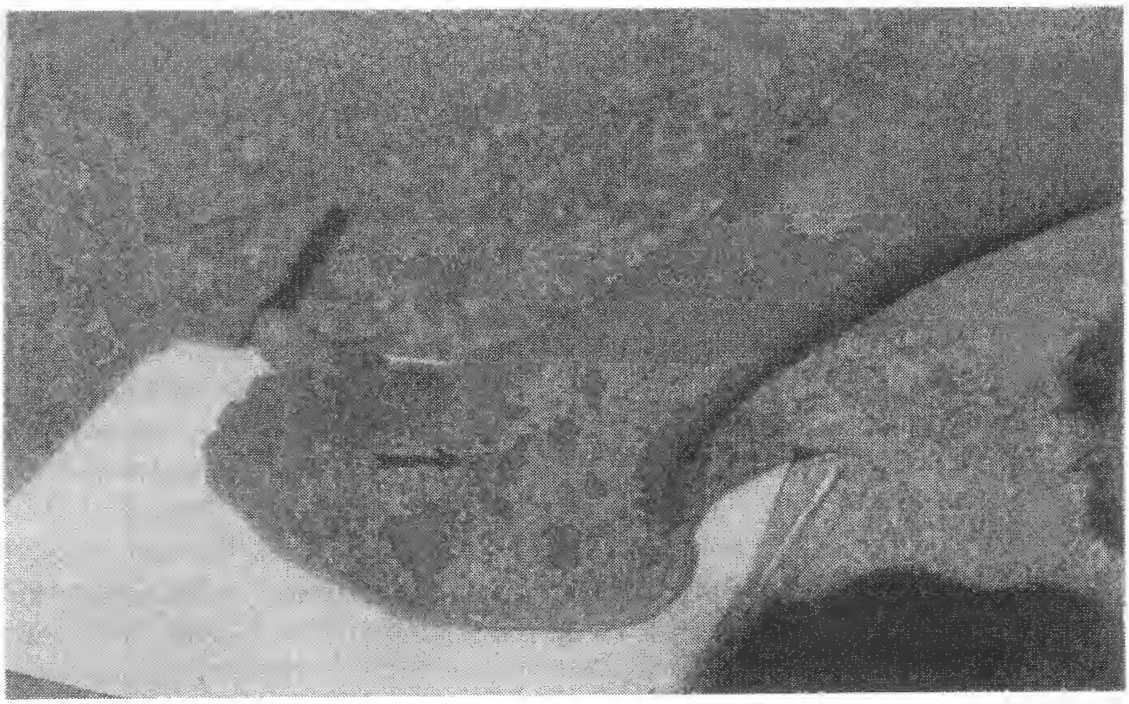

Figure 19-13 Birthmark on Maung Than Htay's left foot. It was a linear area of scarring on the superior and lateral surface of the instep, near the ankle. The area was about 4-5 centimeters long and 1-2 millimeters wide. This photograph was taken in 1977.

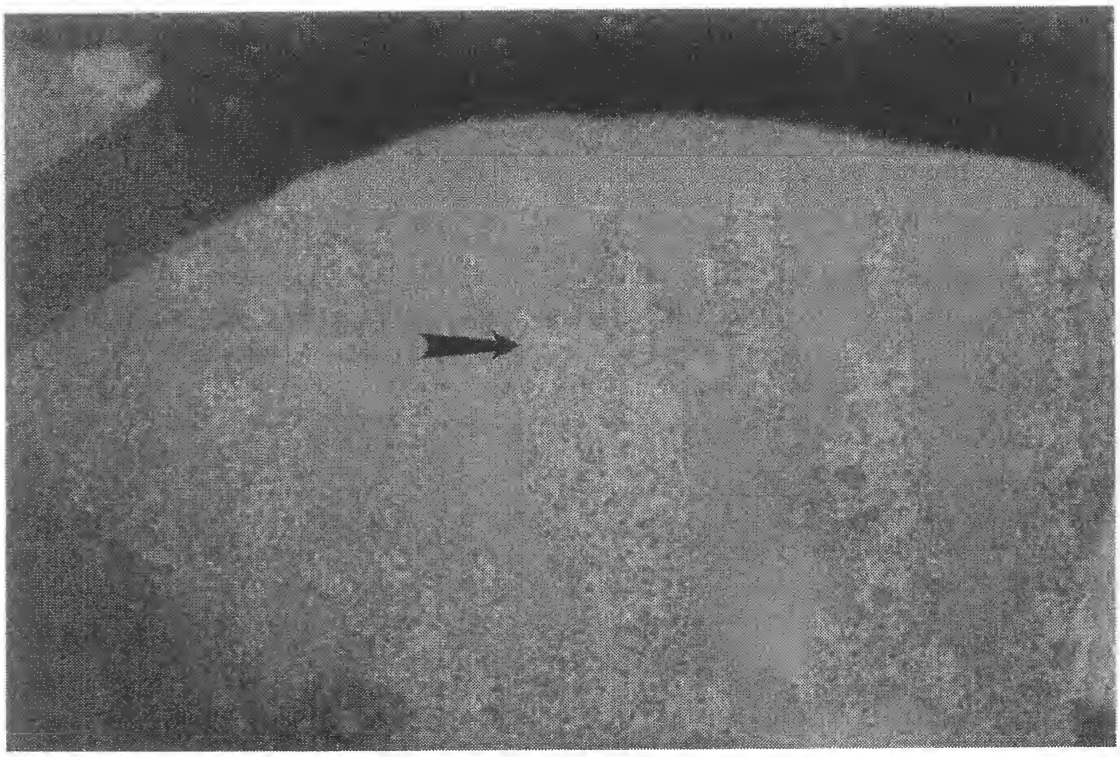

Figure 19-14 Birthmark on Maung Than Htay's chest. It was a round area of puckered scarlike skin about 5 centimeters in diameter. This photograph was taken in 1977.

Hsinn in about 1955, or 1956, more than 10 years after the Japanese Army had been defeated in Burma. This date is a year or two later than the ones given by U Aung Gyi and Maung Japan for the death of U Ba Hsinn, but close enough by the standards for remembering ages and dates of Burmese villagers.

This means that Maung Than Htay was mistaken in thinking that U Ba Hsinn had been tortured and killed by the Japanese. How are we to account for this mistake? Two possible explanations occur to me.

First, although I disapprove, in general, of reasoning backwards from a subject's birth defects and birthmarks to the wounds to which they may correspond, I will permit myself to do so in the present case. We then note that the torture applied to U Ba Hsinn (according to Maung Than Htay) was much more in the style of Japanese torturers than that of Burmese ones. The Japanese torturers were notorious for pulling out fingernails with pliers (Rodriguez, 1983; E.F.L. Russell, 1958), whereas, as we have seen in other Burmese cases of this work, the Burmese tortured their prisoners by chopping off fingers and toes with a sword.[13] In discussing the case of Maung Hla Hsaung, U Win Maung said that some of the Burmese may have taken some lessons from the Japanese in torture methods.[14] One may easily imagine, therefore, one of U Ba Hsinn's torturers even telling him boastfully that he was going to use Japanese methods on him. The method of torture—whether the torturer made such a remark or not—might have left in U Ba Hsinn's mind the idea—to be transmitted, according to the hypothesis of reincarnation, into the mind of Maung Than Htay—that he had been tortured and killed by Japanese.

A more normal and simpler explanation of Maung Than Htay's mistake is that he upgraded the previous life, which he seems otherwise to have remembered with some accuracy, by adding the romantic embellishment that U Ba Hsinn had been captured and killed not by mere Burmese, but by the redoubtable Japanese Army. That U Ba Hsinn named his own son Maung Japan testifies to the awe with

[13]In the report of Daw Oo's case, I referred to the chopping of fingers and toes with a sword or knife as the Burmese "style of torture." I stated there that for the cases in which a subject had claimed that this had happened to him or her in a previous life, I had not verified that it had happened in a single case. Nevertheless, the informants for the cases and my own Burmese associates in the investigation of these cases uniformly accepted that some Burmese practice this form of torture. This detail among claimed memories of Burmese subjects thus seems to me entirely plausible.

[14]Maung Hla Hsaung said that his birth defects resulted from torture of the Japanese soldier whose life he remembered by *British* soldiers. In discussing this, I argued, with U Win Maung's approval, that it was unlikely that British soldiers would chop off fingers and toes with a sword. The best explanation for Maung Hla Hsaung's birth defects (assuming reincarnation to be a plausible interpretation of his case, although none of his statements were verified) is that the Japanese soldier whose life he seemed to remember had been tortured by *Burmese* soldiers (or Burmese villagers), perhaps within the command of British officers.

Maung Aung Htoo was another subject who may have been mistaken about the persons who wounded the Japanese soldier he said he remembered having been. He said that in the previous life the Japanese soldiers he was commanding had mutinied, tortured, and killed him. The birth defects of his hands and feet, however, suggested the Burmese "style of torture" by chopping off fingers and toes with a sword. Angry Burmese villagers who caught a straggler of the retreating Japanese Army could have inflicted wounds on him corresponding to Maung Aung Htoo's birth defects.

which some Burmese regarded the Japanese, and Maung Than Htay may have picked up some of the respect that many Burmese felt toward the Japanese. Two further details give some support to this explanation. First, Daw Poke Kyee did not say that Maung Than Htay had said anything about the Japanese when he was a young child and talking about the previous life; this suggests that the idea of the Japanese may have been a later accretion to Maung Than Htay's memories. Second, when U Win Maung and I (in 1977, after listening to his mother's testimony, including her chronology of the pertinent events) pressed Maung Than Htay with regard to his statement that the Japanese had killed U Ba Hsinn, he waivered. He was no longer as sure of this detail as he had been. He thought that the local government forces might have executed U Ba Hsinn. Even so, in 1980, when we talked with him again, he said that Burmese villagers might have caught U Ba Hsinn and turned him over to the Japanese authorities. (Maung Than Htay was certainly not under our influence in the matter of this detail.)

Maung Than Htay's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

Circumstances and Manner of Maung Than Htay's Speaking about the Previous Life. Daw Poke Kyee said that Maung Than Htay, when he was young, "was always talking about the previous life." As I mentioned earlier, however, she also said that he talked about it much more with his playmates than with his parents. Daw Poke Kyee recalled that Maung Than Htay would talk about the previous life for a burst, then stop, then talk about some other matter, and then walk off. (Other parents of subjects have described similar jerkiness in the expressions of memories by their children.) Daw Poke Kyee thought that Maung Than Htay was angry when he recalled the previous life, but she did not think that he was "angry at anyone in particular." This perhaps shows how little he confided in her (which she had herself acknowledged), because Maung Than Htay was most definitely angry at the Japanese, in particular; at least this was so when he talked with U Win Maung and me.

Daw Poke Kyee said that Maung Than Htay was still talking volubly about the previous life when he returned, at the age of about 9, from Zipani to Mandalay. She said that he continued talking about it until he was about 10.

Maung Than Htay said that he had never remembered the previous life during dreams. He said (in 1975) that recalling the previous life made him "sad." This feeling came partly because discussing the previous life reminded him of his birth defects.

Maung Than Htay's Tendency to Steal. Maung Than Htay said that when he had been young he used to steal from other people, but he later stopped this when he realized it was wrong. Daw Poke Kyee had never noticed whatever thefts he committed as a child.

Maung Than Htay's Attitude toward the Japanese. Maung Than Htay, believing (mistakenly) that the Japanese had tortured and killed U Ba Hsinn, wished to avenge himself on them. He had two grievances against them: They had

interrupted a successful career as a dacoit; and they had tortured him to the extent of producing the defects with which he had been born.

Maung Than Htay's Attitude toward U Ba Hsinn's Family. Daw Poke Kyee said that Maung Than Htay and his father, U Bo, had never been on good terms. She mentioned this disharmony in the context of U Bo's objections to U Ba Hsinn's marriage (simultaneously) with his (U Bo's) two sisters. Maung Than Htay's attitude toward his father seemed to Daw Poke Kyee a natural continuation of the ill-feeling that had troubled U Bo's relations with his brother-in-law.

When Maung Japan corresponded with U Win Maung in 1986, he wrote that he had never before so much as heard of Maung Than Htay, let alone met him. He found this puzzling and hinted that it was a point of suspicion, because, as he said, one of his brothers and sisters were living in Ywa Htin, which is only 3 kilometers from Zipani. He thought Maung Than Htay should have called on them. (We have seen, however, that Maung Than Htay attended a monastery school in Zipani, and he was probably not free to move around to other villages; later he returned to Mandalay and lived there.)

We received different reports from Daw Poke Kyee and Maung Than Htay concerning his attitude toward U Ba Hsinn's last two wives. Maung Than Htay said that these women had journeyed from Yesagyo to Zipani several times to meet him. (The distance is 48 kilometers, and anyone familiar with the limited facilities for travel in Upper Burma knows that this is the equivalent in inconvenience of a much longer journey in the West; it shows an eagerness on the part of the women concerned to meet Maung Than Htay.) Maung Than Htay said that they were glad to see him and wept when they did so. He himself felt sad at meeting them. Daw Poke Kyee said that Maung Than Htay refused even to speak with U Ba Hsinn's wives and would not go to them when they called him. She said that they had remarried and had spent all of U Ba Hsinn's savings (presumably the proceeds of his dacoity).

Absence of Phobias on the Part of Maung Than Htay. Apart from features I have already mentioned, Daw Poke Kyee noted no unusual behavior on the part of Maung Than Htay. He himself said that he had no phobias and was completely without fears of any kind. Daw Poke Kyee said that she had never noticed any unusual fears in Maung Than Htay; but she mentioned that he had never seen a rifle and so had had no occasion to show a phobia of firearms.

Maung Than Htay's Birthmarks and Birth Defects

In the course of the preceding sections of this report, I have already mentioned all of Maung Than Htay's birthmarks and referred readers to photographs of them. I shall here, however, offer some further comments about particular details.

Daw Poke Kyee said that she had noted all the birth defects and birthmarks so far mentioned (with one exception) at the time of Maung Than Htay's birth. She even included in this remark the birthmarks on Maung Than Htay's forearm where, according to his memories, his torturers had scalded him with boiling

water. She said that the birthmark on Maung Than Htay's head (Figure 19-7) was suppurating at his birth. When he was born, it was "rather small," but it had become larger. (I did not learn for how long it continued to suppurate.) The birthmark on the front of Maung Than Htay's chest (where he said that U Ba Hsinn had been shot) was reddish when he was born, and so were the birthmarks that he related to the scalding water poured on U Ba Hsinn's forearm.

Figure 19-12 shows a groove on the forearm of Maung Than Htay, approximately two-thirds of the distance between the elbow and wrist. This photograph was taken in 1977. Daw Poke Kyee said that at Maung Than Htay's birth the groove had a pattern that resembled rope marks. The part of the forearm distal to the groove was markedly narrowed (compared with the right forearm); but it was not swollen or enlarged as parts distal to a constriction ring often are.

Maung Than Htay's left hand was in a permanent state of flexion, which he could do little to modify by voluntary effort. As Figures 19-8, 19-9, and 19-12 show, he could not fully extend the fingers of this hand. The middle, fourth and fifth fingers had three phalanges (although the fifth finger seemed comparatively short), and they all had normal nails. The index finger of this hand had only two phalanges and a tiny, rudimentary nail. The thumb was also severely stunted. It had only one phalanx; it had what appeared to be a nail bed, but no nail.

Daw Poke Kyee said that Maung Than Htay seemed bow-legged when he was born. One foot was not straight, and he walked on its lateral edge. From the description Maung Than Htay and his mother gave of the deformity of his left foot, he appears to have had a talipes varus, which made him unable to place that foot flat on the ground. This must have contributed to the appearance his mother described as that of being "bow-legged." A surgeon in Mandalay operated on Maung Than Htay's left foot when he was about 4 years old and greatly improved its functioning. He could thereafter put its sole fully on the ground, but he was left with a slight residual limp that was still noticeable when we met him.

The birthmark Daw Poke Kyee had not noticed at Maung Than Htay's birth was that on the outer aspect of this (left) foot, which, according to Maung Than Htay, derived from a sword slash made at U Ba Hsinn as he dangled over the well (Figure 19-11). Figure 19-13 shows the birthmark on the superior and lateral surface of the instep of this foot.

Maung Than Htay stated that U Ba Hsinn had been shot in the chest. This was, so to speak, the *coup de grace* of U Ba Hsinn's captors. He indicated the prominent birthmark shown in Figure 19-14 as the consequence of this terminal wound. It was round, puckered, and about 5 centimeters in diameter.

In 1975 Maung Than Htay told us that he had had no pain in the areas of his birthmarks. (We may not have asked our questions carefully enough.) In 1977 he said that he did sometimes feel a slight dull pain in the fingers of his left hand and in the toes of his left foot. He had no comparable discomfort in his right hand and right foot, which were normal. In 1980 Maung Than Htay said that he sometimes had pain in his chest in the general area of the birthmark on

the front of his chest. He noticed this especially in wet weather. He had no cough, which might have been a sign of a disease of the lungs.

Other Relevant Medical Information. In this case I think we can exclude all but one of the commonly recognized causes of birth defects. There was no other case of a birth defect in the family so far as both Maung Than Htay and his mother knew. Maung Than Htay's parents were not related in any way. Daw Poke Kyee took no drugs during her pregnancy with Maung Than Htay. She was, however, ill, especially during the 1st trimester, as I explain in the next section.

Daw Poke Kyee said that Maung Than Htay was born prematurely after only 7 months of pregnancy. Since this duration is on the edge of viability for a delivered fetus, there is room for doubting that Maung Than Htay was as prematurely born as his mother later thought. She might have been mistaken about the date of the beginning of her pregnancy. Maung Than Htay was delivered abnormally with his feet presenting first.

Daw Poke Kyee's Experience of Darkness and Subsequent Illness

Daw Poke Kyee gave the following account of this illness. She was 20 years old and married. One day she was walking with her younger sister from Zipani to Ywa Htin, where they were going to sell vegetables. It was about 5 o'clock in the morning, but already light. Suddenly both the sisters felt themselves "enveloped by darkness....They could not see each other in this darkness." There were no natural phenomena, such as a sudden storm, that could explain this experience of darkness. When the darkness cleared, they saw a cobra in front of them, became frightened, and ran back to Zipani. They told their story in the village, and the villagers tried to reassure them that there was nothing to worry about. Daw Poke Kyee was pregnant with Maung Than Htay at the time, but did not yet know this, so the episode must have occurred early in her pregnancy. She continued in a state of fright and became physically ill. She thought that her physical illness had resulted from her fright. She lost her appetite, felt tired, and had a slight fever. She had no skin rash. The illness was not measles, she said. This condition lasted 2 months. She then more or less recovered, but remained tired and listless. During her pregnancy, she had no unusual cravings and no aversions.

Comment. Daw Poke Kyee told us about her experience of being overcome with darkness, frightened, and subsequently ill in response to a question from me. I had asked her why she thought U Ba Hsinn might have wished to be reborn as her child rather than in some other family. Daw Poke Kyee's response did not seem to be an answer to my question. I never learned exactly how she connected her illness with U Ba Hsinn, but we can suppose from the context of her remarks and from our knowledge of other cases that Daw Poke Kyee may have regarded her experience of darkness as the moment when the presumably reincarnating U Ba Hsinn associated himself with the embryo in her uterus.

Maung Than Htay's Later Development

When U Win Maung and I first met Maung Than Htay in 1975, he was still attending school in the seventh grade. Subsequently, he left school and worked as an unskilled laborer in a furniture factory. Still later, he tried to make a living as a rickshaw driver in Mandalay, but found this difficult because he did not own his own rickshaw. Then he won money in a lottery, and this enabled him to buy his own rickshaw. This happy development had occurred not long before U Win Maung and I met him in February 1980. The operation on his foot had almost cured the birth defect of that limb, and the permanent flexion of the fingers of his left hand did not prevent him from properly gripping the handlebars of the rickshaw; he operated one most effectively.

In February 1980 Maung Than Htay said that he still sometimes recalled the previous life spontaneously. Asked what he thought about at such times, he said that he remembered firing his pistol at Japanese soldiers. At this time he said that he had been fighting the Japanese. (Earlier, in 1977, Maung Than Htay had said that U Ba Hsinn had not been in the army and had not taken part in the resistance against the Japanese; but this would not be incompatible with a villager taking a shot at a Japanese soldier, if he felt he had a good chance of killing one.)

It will be recalled that Maung Than Htay, at our meeting with him in December 1980, said that he thought the villagers had captured him. He believed, mistakenly, that the villagers had handed him over to the Japanese for execution. He had no rancor against the villagers, but he still hated the Japanese, and his birth defects continued to remind him of them.

Comment. Maung Than Htay's persisting anger at the Japanese derived from his *belief* that the Japanese had tortured and killed him in the previous life. At the time of our last meeting with him in 1980, U Win Maung and I were doubtful about his claim to remember being tortured by Japanese soldiers, but we did not obtain definite evidence confirming our doubts until 1982 and 1986; and since then I have not had an opportunity to tell Maung Than Htay about the results of our later inquiries.

THE CASE OF MA HTWE WIN

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Ma Htwe Win was born in the village of Kyar-Kan in Meiktila Township, Upper Burma, in May 1973. Her parents were U Shein and his wife, Ma Ohn Tin. Ma Htwe Win was their sixth and youngest child. U Shein was a cultivator.

Ma Htwe Win was born with the fifth finger of her left hand absent. She had groovelike depressions on her left thigh and above her right ankle. She had some smaller groovelike depressions at the base of the fingers of her left hand, a birthmark on her left chest, and another on her head.

Ma Ohn Tin had a dream when she was pregnant with Ma Htwe Win, but this does not appear to have led to any immediate identification of her with a deceased person. A feature of the dream, combined with Ma Htwe Win's later statements, made some sense in relation to some of her birth defects, but this was not clear until she began to speak about a previous life.

Ma Ohn Tin said that Ma Htwe Win was about 1 when she first spoke coherently, and about 2 years old when she began to refer to a previous life. She said that she was called U Nga Than, and she described how she had been murdered and her body tied up in a gunny sack. Her description of the murder fitted certain facts known about the murder of a man called U Nga Than, which had taken place at (or near) a village called Pyintha, which is about 2.5 kilometers from Kyar-Kan. U Nga Than had been murdered toward the end of 1971, about 19 months before Ma Htwe Win's birth.[15]

I first learned of this case in 1984 from the Ven. U Dhammadara (formerly U Tin Tut), who had been my first informant for many cases in Burma. When he told U Win Maung and me about this case, our schedule for a visit I was then making to Burma was already overcrowded. However, we managed to begin its investigation at Kyar-Kan on February 28, 1984. Daw Hnin Aye accompanied us to the monastery of the village, where we met Ma Htwe Win and her father. (Her mother was out of the village that day.) Our other principal informant was a monk of the monastery, the Ven. U Thagara.

Later, in June 1984, Daw Hnin Aye returned to the area and had lengthy interviews with Ma Htwe Win's mother, Ma Ohn Tin, and with U Nga Than's widow, Daw Hla Ohn. That U Nga Than had been murdered and his body quietly disposed of without fuss was generally known in the community before Ma Htwe Win was born, as I shall describe below. Thus U Shein and Ma Ohn Tin were informants for some of what we learned about U Nga Than. Nevertheless, our interviews with the Ven. U Thagara and Daw Hla Ohn gave us some testimony from outside Ma Htwe Win's family.

Persons Interviewed during the Investigation

In Kyar-Kan village we interviewed:

Ma Htwe Win
U Shein, Ma Htwe Win's father
Ma Ohn Tin, Ma Htwe Win's mother
Ven. U Thagara, monk at the monastery in Kyar-Kan

In Pyintha village Daw Hnin Aye interviewed:

Daw Hla Ohn, U Nga Than's widow

[15]Some discrepancies occurred between the statements informants made concerning such details as the date of U Nga Than's death, the age of his youngest son when he died, the date when his body was exhumed, and the dates of Ma Htwe Win's conception and birth. Accordingly, I have once again made the best estimates I could from the information available.

U Tha Hlaing, Ma Ohn Tin's father, had heard Ma Htwe Win's first statements about the previous life, and he might have been a valuable potential witness. Unfortunately, he had died by 1984.

Relevant Facts of Geography and Possibilities for Normal Means of Communication between the Two Families

Both the villages concerned in this case are in Upper Burma in the region of Meiktila. Pyintha is on the main road and also the railway line that join Meiktila and Thazi. It was less a settled village of the usual type in Burma than a series of houses and shops strung out along the highway. Kyar-Kan is in the interior south of the road and railway line and about 2.5 kilometers from Pyintha. It can only be reached on foot or with a bullock-cart. We had to ford a small river to reach it. I mention these details partly to support my belief that villagers of Kyar-Kan would not often go into Pyintha and would probably do so for the most part when they were going to and from larger centers, such as Meiktila.

Nevertheless, we can safely assume that residents of two villages as close to each other as are Kyar-Kan and Pyintha would have a nodding acquaintance with each other. U Shein may have been better acquainted with U Nga Than's family than most of the villagers of Kyar-Kan, because he, at least later, was accustomed to stopping for tea and a snack at the wayside food shop that was run by Daw Hla Ohn. I did not learn for how long he had been going to this teashop. He and his wife could not have known U Nga Than's circle well, because they did not recognize one of U Nga Than's murderers when Ma Htwe Win did, as I shall describe later. It seems clear also that if the villagers of Pyintha did not know that U Nga Than had been murdered until his body was exhumed a year after his death, the villagers of Kyar-Kan would not have known this either. After this exhumation and the trial of the men accused of murdering U Nga Than (and before Ma Htwe Win spoke about the previous life), the entire community would have known about U Nga Than's murder and the attempt to dispose of his body covertly. Still remaining unknown, however, would be the details of the fight that ended in U Nga Than's death; Ma Htwe Win seemed to have a clear memory of these, but they remain unverified.

The Life, Death, and Character of U Nga Than

Daw Hla Ohn seems to have given Daw Hnin Aye a straightforward account of what she knew of U Nga Than's life up to the time of his murder. However, she did not provide much information about ages and dates, and so I have conjectured some of these from the information she did give.

Daw Hla Ohn was about 40 when Daw Hnin Aye interviewed her in June 1984. She said that her youngest son, Maung Lin Htein, was more than 11 years old at that time and that he had been 6 months old at the time of U Nga Than's murder. (The family also had an older son, Maung Than Htay Aung.) Daw Hla

Ohn would have been in her late 20s when her husband was murdered in late 1971, and I suppose that U Nga Than was of about the same age or a little older. They had been married 5 or 6 years when he died.

In his early adult life U Nga Than had been a soldier in the Burmese Army, but he was discharged under a charge of improper conduct. He and his wife then opened a small wayside restaurant at Pyintha, where villagers and travelers could eat simple foods, such as fried vegetables and noodles.

From the perspective of ordinary villagers, U Nga Than simply disappeared from Pyintha sometime in late 1971. Daw Hla Ohn told Daw Hnin Aye that U Nga Than had wanted the family to leave Pyintha and move to a place called Le-gyar (near Pyinmana, far to the south), where he had relatives and where he had been stationed during his service in the Burmese Army. Daw Hla Ohn said that she had refused to move to Le-gyar, and she and U Nga Than had quarreled. Ordinarily a kind husband, U Nga Than had the habit, when drunk, of beating up Daw Hla Ohn. So she took refuge with her two children in a neighbor's house. When, later, Daw Hla Ohn found that he had disappeared, she assumed that he had gone back to his relatives in Le-gyar, as he had said he intended to do. What Daw Hla Ohn told Daw Hnin Aye in 1984 she presumably had earlier told the villagers when U Nga Than had disappeared from Pyintha in about 1971.

Daw Hnin Aye observed that Daw Hla Ohn seemed "very evasive" when she asked her about events on the day of U Nga Than's "disappearance." Daw Hla Ohn's account omitted details that the police reconstructed when they first exhumed U Nga Than's body and then obtained other information from villagers. However, for this I must now draw on the necessarily secondhand information provided by U Shein and the Ven. U Thagara.

After the disappearance of U Nga Than from Pyintha, Daw Hla Ohn lived with a man called U Than Doke. About a year later some neighbors heard them quarreling and, during the squabble, referring to the murder of U Nga Than. The neighbors notified the police, who came and, after the usual interrogation, were directed to the place where the murderers had left the body of U Nga Than.

On the day of the exhumation of U Nga Than's body, Ma Ohn Tin happened to be returning (in the evening) to Kyar-Kan from Meiktila. Noticing a small crowd in Pyintha, she went over to the site and arrived just as the police were opening up a gunny sack with a body in it. The remains of a dead person—doubled up—and some ropes were taken out of the sack. People in the crowd were talking about the corpse and saying it was a case of murder. This was also the view of the police, and in due course three men were arrested, but only two of them were convicted. In 1984 U Nga Maung and U Chan Paw were still serving their sentences. The third suspect, U Than Doke, was not convicted. Ma Ohn Tin learned later that Daw Hla Ohn had assisted U Than Doke in being exculpated, perhaps by providing him with an alibi. They lived together as man and wife. U Than Doke, however, would sometimes beat up Daw Hla Ohn as U Nga Than had done, and eventually she could tolerate this no longer, and they separated.

According to our best information and reckoning, Ma Htwe Win was born about 19 months after U Nga Than's murder. His body was exhumed about a year after the murder. At that time Ma Ohn Tin was about 2½ months pregnant with Ma Htwe Win.

An Announcing Dream

On the night after seeing U Nga Than's body taken out of the gunny sack, Ma Ohn Tin dreamed that a man, described by her as "with stumps," followed her right into her house. She ran out of the house telling him that she was frightened and he should not follow her. She awakened, frightened, and then went back to sleep again. She had the same dream of the man "with stumps" running after her right into the house; and she again woke up. In the morning she related the dream to her mother and aunt and told them how much it had frightened her.

Statements and Recognitions Made by Ma Htwe Win

Ma Ohn Tin worked in the fields with her husband, and she left Ma Htwe Win in the care of her father, U Tha Hlaing. U Tha Hlaing heard Ma Htwe Win make her first references to the previous life when she was about 2 years old. (He had died by 1984, so what follows is secondhand information from Ma Ohn Tin.)

One day, when it was raining,[16] Ma Htwe Win, who was sitting next to her grandfather, straightened out her legs (to show their defects) and said: "Grandpa. Look at what they did to me. How cruel they were." U Tha Hlaing asked her what had happened. Ma Htwe Win replied that she was called Nga Than and had been killed by Than Doke, Nga Maung, and Chan Paw. When Ma Htwe Win's parents returned from the fields, U Tha Hlaing told them what she had said about a previous life. Thereafter, Ma Htwe Win continued to talk about the previous life whenever the weather was cloudy or sometimes at night. She especially talked about the day of U Nga Than's murder.

We did not learn what further details of the murder Ma Htwe Win gave when she first started talking about the previous life. As I explained earlier, by 1984, if not before, she might have learned much about U Nga Than and his affairs by normal means. However, I believe what she told us in 1984 had not varied substantially from what she would have said earlier whenever she talked about the previous life. Ma Htwe Win told Daw Hnin Aye that she remembered everything clearly up to the time of meeting us; she was then about 11 years old. I shall therefore give next an English translation of notes that Daw Hnin Aye made from what Ma Htwe Win said on February 28, 1984.

[16]This is one more example, of which readers have already encountered numerous similar instances, of a Burmese subject speaking first or most about the previous life on a rainy (or cloudy) day.

Ma Htwe Win's Statements of 1984. Her name in the previous life was Nga Than. She could not remember her parents, but remembered that she had an older sister. She remembered that Nga Than had a wife called Ma—she did not call her Daw—Hla Ohn and one son[17] whose name Ma Htwe Win did not remember. He had a shop for selling foodstuffs. He had three associates or friends called Chan Paw, Nga Maung, and Than Doke.

Together with his three friends Nga Than had stolen two green idols of the Buddha, and they had hidden these in a pit under a Bo tree. Ma Hla Ohn was having an affair with Than Doke, and they quarreled over this. Ma Hla Ohn had run away from their house into the village.

On the day of his (U Nga Than's) death, she said, the three other men attacked him with weapons. He tried to defend himself, but his sword got stuck in a wall (presumably after he had lunged at one of the assailants with it and missed.) They stabbed him in the left breast, cut off his hands[18] with a sword, and then struck him on the head with an axe.

U Nga Than's three assailants doubled up his legs and tied them with rope so that the body could be put into a gunny sack. When they had done this, they tied up the sack and dropped it into a dried-up well near the house.

Ma Htwe Win said that U Nga Than did not die at once. She remembered hearing—from the gunny sack in the well—the voices of the three murderers as they drank and talked near the house. My notes include a further detail: Ma Htwe Win said that the murder took place near the big bamboo tree at Kyaik-Pa-Lei, a village near Pyintha on the Thazi-Meiktila highway.

Comment. We have not verified this last item. It does not seem to accord with the detail of a sword getting stuck in a wall, which suggests that the fight leading to U Nga Than's death occurred inside a house. Possibly, the body was put into a well near the bamboo tree within the area of the house.

I also did not learn exactly where Kyaik-Pa-Lei is located. Ma Htwe Win told us that it was a village near Pyintha on the Thazi-Meiktila highway, and as no adult present contradicted her, I take her placement to be correct. As I mentioned, Pyintha itself seemed to me more a line of houses and boutiques along the highway than a compact village.

[17]Ma Htwe Win seemed to be a person who likes precision, and after we had left Kyar-Kan on February 28, 1984, she told her mother that the crowd at the monastery (where we were interviewing) had bothered her so much that she had incorrectly told us U Nga Than had one son when she knew that he had two. Ma Ohn Tin told this correction to Daw Hnin Aye when they met again in June 1984.

[18]Before or after Daw Hnin Aye recorded Ma Htwe Win's statement, someone else, probably U Win Maung, translated for me Ma Htwe Win's account of the wounds, and I recorded in my notes that she said she "was stabbed in the heart, cut on the fingers, and hit on the head." I mention this because "cut on the fingers" accords more with Ma Htwe Win's birth defects than "cut off his hands."

The order of statements in Ma Htwe Win's account of the murder may not correspond to the order of events. It is possible, for example, that U Nga Than's fingers were cut when he tried to grasp the blade of a knife or sword used to stab him. If so, the cutting of the fingers would have preceded the stabbing in the heart.

Ma Htwe Win's Statement about Events after U Nga Than's Death and before Her Birth. Ma Htwe Win told Daw Hnin Aye that she remembered the crowd around the body of U Nga Than as it was taken out of the gunny sack. From the women present she selected Ma Ohn Tin (as a suitable future mother) and followed her home.

Ma Htwe Win's Recognition of One of U Nga Than's Murderers and One of His Sons. As I mentioned earlier, U Shein had a habit of taking tea and a snack at the wayside shop maintained by U Nga Than's widow, Daw Hla Ohn. One day he went into the shop with Ma Ohn Tin and Ma Htwe Win. They sat down on benches. Already seated at the same table was a man with a baby on his knees. Ma Htwe Win began stealing glances at this man; he also looked furtively at her, but neither said anything. Their glances at each other aroused U Shein's attention, but he too said nothing. Then Daw Hla Ohn's (and U Nga Than's) older son, Maung Than Htay Aung, came into the shop and asked his mother for some pocket money. Hearing this, Ma Htwe Win asked her mother for some money, and when Ma Ohn Tin gave her a 10-pya coin, Ma Htwe Win went to Maung Than Htay Aung and placed the coin in the boy's hand. Then both the children held hands for some time with tears running down their cheeks.

After this, Ma Htwe Win began urging her parents to leave the little teashop, saying: "Doke is here. Doke is here. Let's go back." They returned home, and when they were near the village gate at Kyar-Kan, U Shein asked Ma Htwe Win why she had been in such a hurry. She said: "Because Doke was there." U Shein did not understand what she meant, and so the next day he returned to the shop and asked who "Doke" was. He then learned that "Doke" was the short name of "U Than Doke." He was one of the persons suspected of murdering U Nga Than, and, according to Ma Htwe Win, he had been one of the murderers. He had been the man sitting next to Ma Htwe Win in the teashop the previous day.

In April 1984 Ma Htwe Win again met Maung Than Htay Aung in Pyintha, when she and her family were returning from a journey to Pyinmana. On this occasion the two children stared at each other for a time; Ma Htwe Win did not cry.

Ma Htwe Win's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

Ma Htwe Win's Masculine Behavior. U Shein said that Ma Htwe Win "speaks like a boy," but he did not give an example of such speech or otherwise clarify his remark. He also said that Ma Htwe Win had wanted (and in 1984 still wanted) to wear boys' clothes. Her mother would not allow her to do this. At the time we met Ma Htwe Win, she was wearing shorts, which could be considered inappropriate for a village girl at the age of 11.

Ma Htwe Win's Vengefulness. Ma Htwe Win said that she would take revenge on the murderers. When her parents told her that this was infeasible because she was now a female, she replied that she would nevertheless find some means of revenge.

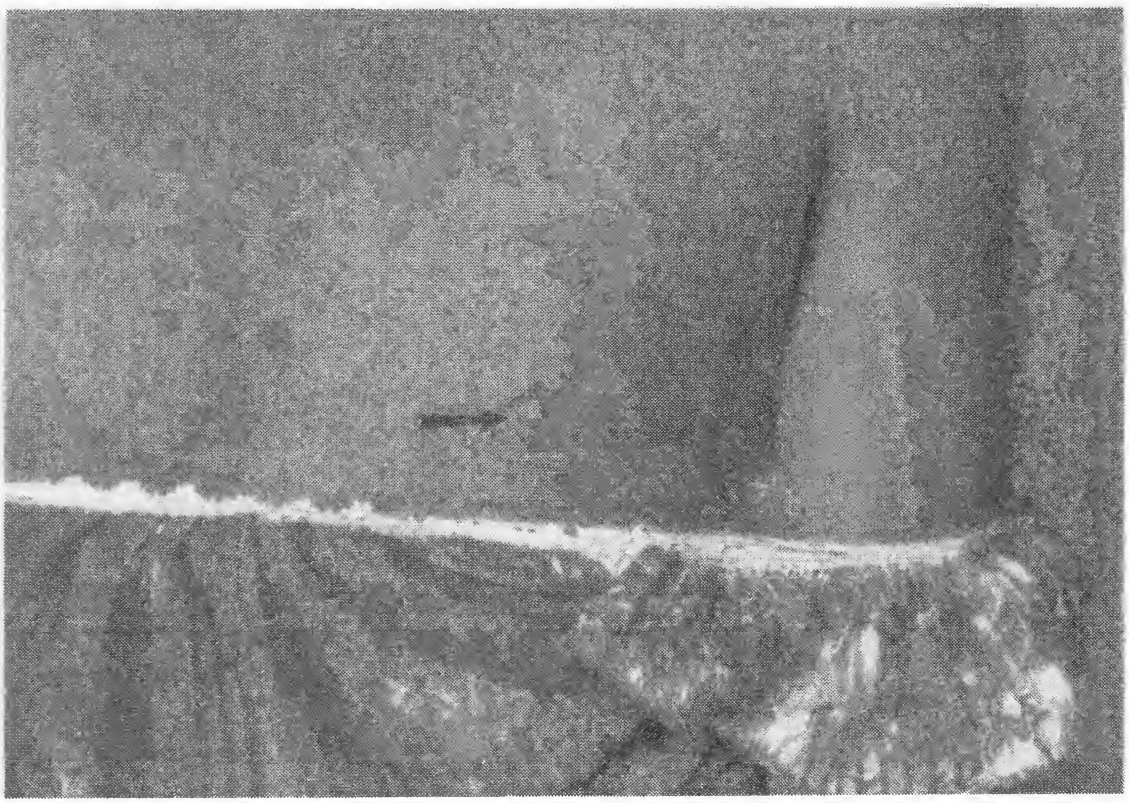

Figure 19-15 Birthmark on the left chest of Ma Htwe Win. This photograph was taken in February 1984, when she was almost 11 years old. The birthmark was a round area of puckered skin medial to the left nipple. It was approximately 1.5 centimeters in diameter.

Other Relevant Behavior on the Part of Ma Htwe Win

Ma Htwe Win had no phobias, and her father described her as being "quite fearless."

Ma Htwe Win's Birth Defects and Birthmarks

Ma Ohn Tin said that when Ma Htwe Win was born, the back of her head on the right side was swollen and bleeding. Her thighs and hands were also swollen, and she was bleeding from the palm of the left hand where the fifth finger, which was absent, should have been attached.

By 1984 the birthmark on Ma Htwe Win's head had faded, and when I examined her head, I found nothing remarkable there. In contrast, other birthmarks and birth defects remained distinctly visible.

Figure 19-15 shows the birthmark on Ma Htwe Win's left chest, where she said that she was stabbed in the previous life.

Figures 19-16 and 19-17 show her hands in two views. The right hand appeared normal. The fifth finger of the left hand was absent. There were grooves at the base of each of the remaining three fingers of that hand.

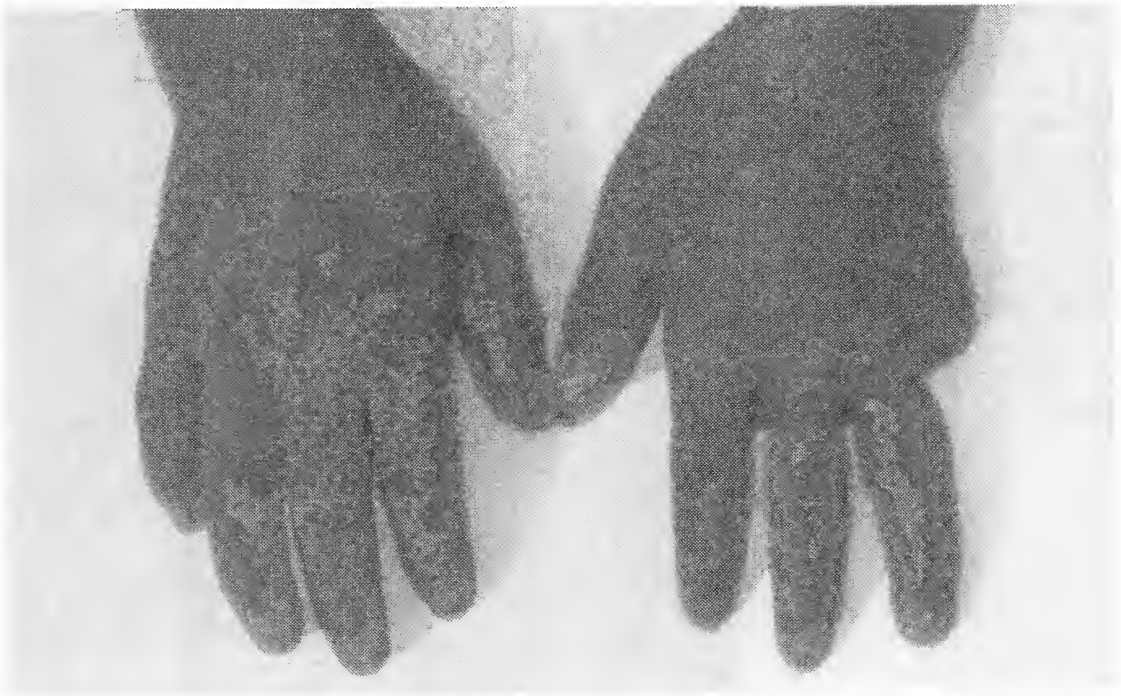

Figure 19-16 Dorsal aspect of Ma Htwe Win's hands as they appeared in February 1984. The right hand was normal. The fifth finger of the left hand was absent. The index, middle, and fourth fingers of this hand all had grooves at their bases, that on the middle finger being deepest.

Figure 19-17 Palmar aspect of Ma Htwe Win's hands as they appeared in February 1984. The grooves at the bases of the index, middle, and fourth fingers of the left hand can be seen, but seem less prominent than in the dorsal aspect.

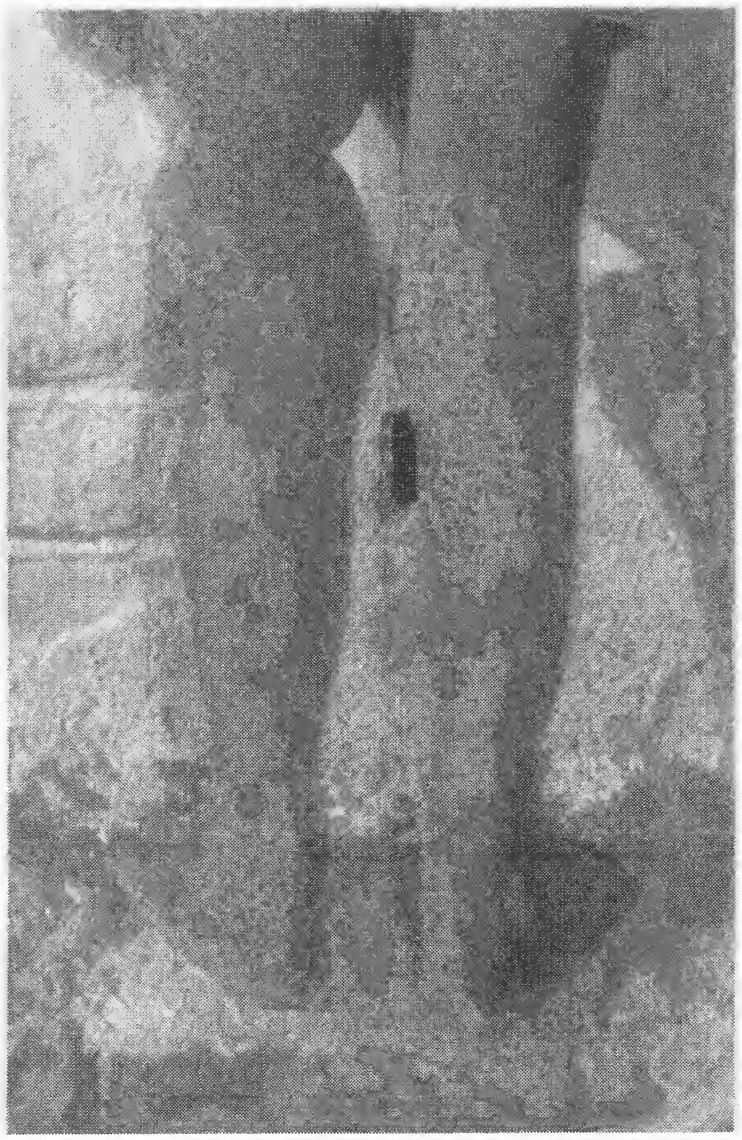

Figure 19-18 Posterior aspect of Ma Htwe Win's legs as they appeared in February 1984. The left thigh had a deep groove, and the left leg and foot distal to the constriction were somewhat swollen. There was also a much more shallow groove on the right leg above the ankle.

Figures 19-18, 19-19, and 19-20 show a deep groove around the middle of the left thigh. It was almost 1.5 centimeters wide and about 3-4 centimeters deeper than the surface of the surrounding skin. The figures also show a much less prominent groove above the right ankle.

Daw Hnin Aye noted (in February 1984) that Ma Htwe Win also had a groovelike depression above her *left* ankle (less prominent than that above the right ankle). If such a depression was there, I must have missed observing it; and I cannot see it in the photographs we took. I can, however, detect a faint horizontal band of hyperpigmentation on the left leg at the same level as the groove above the right ankle. This is most distinct in Figure 19-20.

Burmese people call birth defects and wounds of the kind Ma Htwe Win had at birth *ta-gyun-nar*, which means an affliction from a previous life. One treatment consists in applying to the wounds a paste made from a human

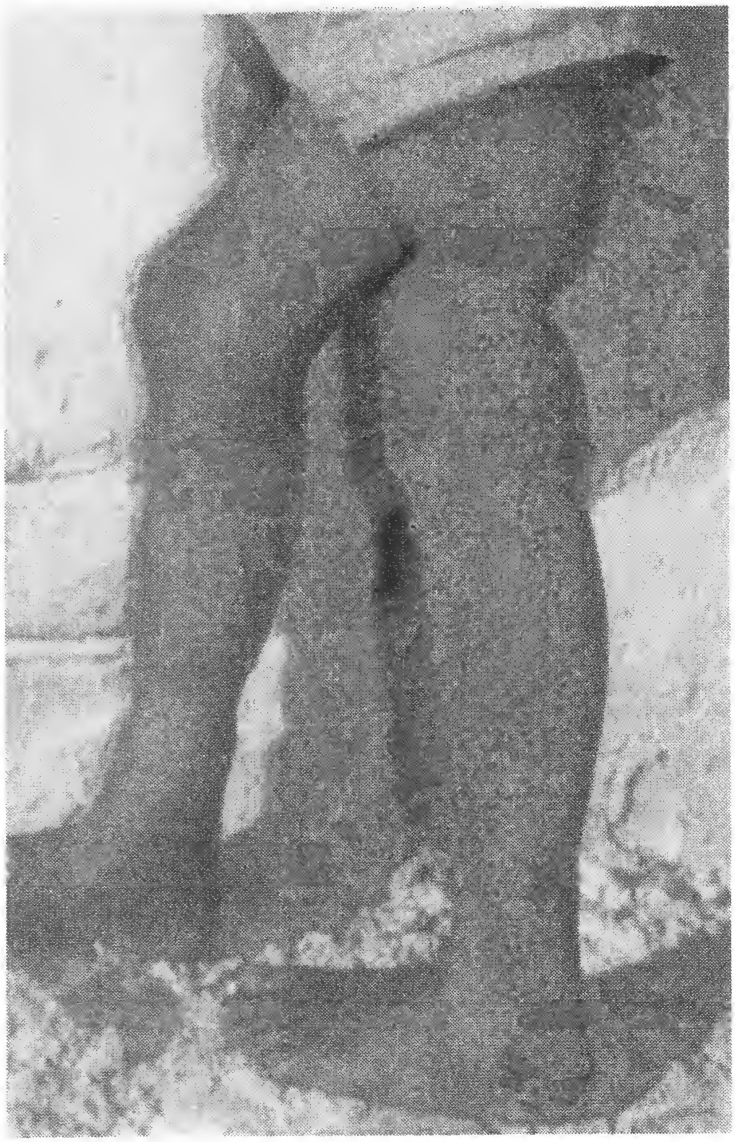

Figure 19-19 Lateral aspect of Ma Htwe Win's left leg and medial aspect of her right leg. Both the grooves seen in the previous figure can be seen extending around the legs.

bone, or perhaps bamboo or other wood, from the cemetery. Ma Htwe Win's family applied a paste of this kind to her wounds for more than a month before they healed up.[19]

Other Relevant Medical Information. During her pregnancy with Ma Htwe Win, Ma Ohn Tin received antenatal care from a trained midwife. She took no drugs or medicines. Her delivery of the baby was normal, but the placenta did not deliver soon afterwards in the usual way. Ma Ohn Tin was put into a bullock-cart to be taken to the hospital for possible extraction of the placenta; however, on the way the placenta came away, and the party returned to Kyar-Kan.

[19]Daw Aye Myint's suppurating birthmark was treated with an application of powdered human bones. Earth from a graveyard was applied to Maung Aung Than's hands, which were bleeding after his birth.

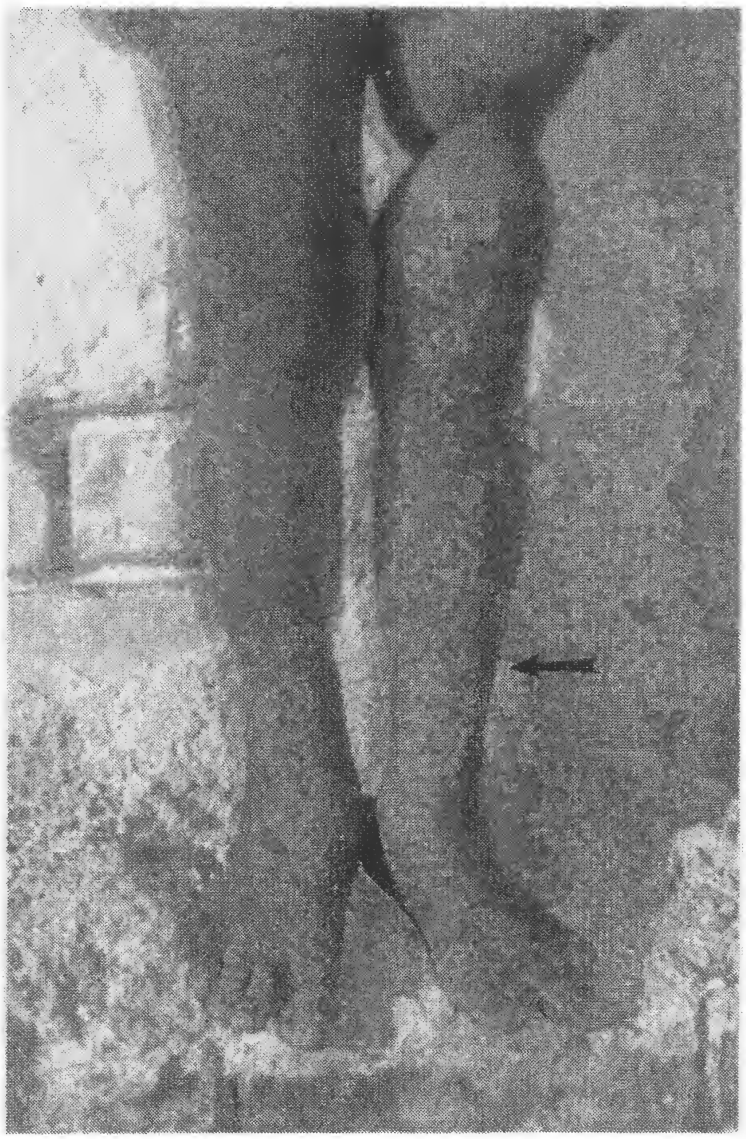

Figure 19-20 Anterior aspect of Ma Htwe Win's legs. Both grooves on the legs can be easily seen in this photograph. In addition, a faint horizontal band of hyperpigmentation can be seen on the left leg at the same level as the groove on the right leg. An arrow indicates its location. This band did not seem depressed below the surrounding tissues.

U Shein and Ma Ohn Tin were not related; in fact, they came from villages "far apart."

U Shein said that there had been no other instance of birth defects in his family or that of Ma Ohn Tin.

Comment

This work reports nine cases in which a subject had birthmarks attributed to ropes that bound the previous personality before his death. (A note in the report of Maung Aung Htoo's case lists these cases.) In most of these cases we have not been able to verify that the previous personality was in fact tied with ropes, although this seems likely to have happened. The present case is one of two cases

in which we have obtained some verification that ropes were actually used to bind the previous personality. I refer to Ma Ohn Tin's observation that ropes were in the gunny sack that contained U Nga Than's doubled-up body. The groovelike birthmarks on Ma Htwe Win's left thigh and right leg that were still visible in 1984 corresponded closely to the likely sites for the placement of ropes used to hold the lower legs behind the thighs so as to shorten the whole body before it was put in the gunny sack.

Ma Ohn Tin's dream may have resulted normally from her view of the doubled-up body of U Nga Than as it was removed from the gunny sack. One can imagine how the sight of such a body could stimulate a dream about a man who appeared to be moving on stumps.

However, we can also imagine an alternative explanation of the dream. This interpretation supposes that the discarnate U Nga Than developed an altered image of his physical body that became communicated in Ma Ohn Tin's dream. A person with his lower legs doubled up behind his thighs could appear to be walking on the stumps of his knees. Ma Htwe Win's statement that she followed her mother home, after Ma Ohn Tin stopped in Pyintha at the time the police were unpacking the body of U Nga Than from the gunny sack, suggests that U Nga Than had remained in a discarnate state around the physical body in the gunny sack. In the interaction between physical form and mental imagery of one's body that I believe occurs in all of us, he may well have been able, at that time, only to represent himself in the doubled-up position. If so, he would have appeared in the dream to be on stumps.

U Nga Than's murderers probably thought that he was dead when they tied up his body and put it in the gunny sack. According to Ma Htwe Win, however, she (as U Nga Than) was not then dead, but could hear the murderers as they talked while drinking. An imagined reconstruction of the wounds from the birthmarks enables us to think that she may have been right. The stab in the chest might have missed the heart and merely punctured the left lung. The blow on the head would have stunned U Nga Than and made him unconscious for a time. He might then have revived to some extent when in the gunny sack and afterward have died of shock and hemorrhage.

This is not to assert the impossibility of birthmarks deriving from ropes tied around a body *after* death, and the case of Cordelia Ekouroume provides an example of such birthmarks. It is also the other of the two cases in which we verified the use of ropes that presumably made marks on a body corresponding to birthmarks on a subject.

The deep groove on Ma Htwe Win's left thigh has associated with it a swelling of tissues distal to the groove that is characteristic of constriction rings. The case thus forms an exception to a rule stated by Barenberg and Greenberg (1942), according to whom constriction bands (or rings) "are never found above the elbow and knee" (p. 91). Other authors, however, have published examples (with photographs) of constriction rings above the knee or elbow (Glessner, 1963; Latta, 1925; Pillay and Hesketh, 1965).

THE CASE OF MAUNG THAN HTUN WIN

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Maung Than Htun Win was born in Moulmein, Burma, on November 19, 1965. He was the fourth child and second son of his parents, U Tun Aye and Daw Sein Myaing. Maung Than Htun Win had an older brother and two older sisters; a younger sister was born later. U Tun Aye was employed as an attendant in Army hospitals. When Maung Than Htun Win was 14 months old, the family moved from Moulmein to Aung San Mu, a village near Rangoon; and then (in about 1970) they moved again to Mingaladon, also on the outskirts of Rangoon. They were living there when U Win Maung and I investigated the case in 1972.

Maung Than Htun Win was born with a large bleeding wound at the top of his head (Figure 19-21) and with serious defects of the fingers of his left hand (Figures 19-22 and 19-23).

He began to speak when he was about 18 months old. His first clear words expressed a wish to fish, and he said that he wanted to eat salted fish. At about this time, or a little later, his parents asked him about his birth defects. He gestured to show that he had been given a blow on the head, and he fetched a knife with which he showed that his fingers had been cut with something like it. He was still only about 18 months old when he communicated these details.

Maung Than Htun Win made a few other statements about the previous life. Of these, the most important was that he had been a Karen soldier. After he said this and because he was somewhat big for his age, his family nicknamed him "Karengyi," which means "big Karen."

His parents found his remarks about the previous life so saddening that they never questioned him again, and they threatened to beat him if he spoke about the previous life. He never seems to have done so afterward.

I learned of this case in March 1971 through the Ven. U Dhammadara (formerly U Tin Tut), who was an informant for other cases, such as that of Ma Htwe Win. He gave me some preliminary information about the case that he had obtained from one of his nephews, U Than Dar, who was a cousin of Maung Than Htun Win's mother. The following year, on February 20, 1972, U Win Maung met Maung Than Htun Win and his mother at their home in Mingaladon. Later in the same year, he and I went together (on November 15, 1972) to meet Maung Than Htun Win and his mother, also at Mingaladon. We were also able to talk at that time with one of Maung Than Htun Win's older sisters, Ma Ohn Yee. She had never heard him make any statements about the previous life, but she had observed some of his unusual behavior that I shall describe later.

U Tun Aye was posted in Prome and not available for us to meet him in 1972. Subsequently, the family moved away from Mingaladon, and we have been unable to trace them.

Relevant Background Information

The Karens are one of the largest minority groups in Burma, and from time to time they have agitated for autonomy and even for independence from Burma. (See Appendix B.) They live principally in the eastern side of Burma, where there is (in 1995) a Karen State of the Union of Burma (Myanmar), and in the Delta region, southwest of Rangoon. However, Karens may be found in other parts of Burma as well. Their language is distinct from Burmese. Through the work of Christian missionaries beginning in the 19th century, many Karens became converted to Christianity. This in turn led to their being somewhat favored by the British, resulting in a consequent increase in their aspirations to greater freedom from the Burmese.

As a people the Karens are, on average, darker in complexion than the Burmese, and they tend to be stocky in their physique. Most of them are less educated than the Burmese, and some Burmese tend to regard the Karens, again on average, as uncouth.

I should emphasize that both of Maung Than Htun Win's parents were Burmese, and they had no acquaintances among the Karens.

Statements Made by Maung Than Htun Win

I have already explained that Maung Than Htun Win's parents stopped him from talking about the previous life before he had had a chance to say much about it.

He said that he had been a Karen and a soldier. In his play at being a soldier he said that he was an officer, and presumably this derived from a memory of the previous life. According to the preliminary information we obtained from U Than Dar, Maung Than Htun Win said that he remembered having children in the previous life; but Daw Sein Myaing did not mention this when we talked with her later.

He could give no additional details about being hit on the head and having his fingers cut with a knife or sword,[20] such as who the assailant or assailants had been. He did not say where in the previous life he had died or what his name had been. He also said nothing about any experiences after death or about how he came to be born in his family.

Maung Than Htun Win's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

Maung Than Htun Win's principal play differed markedly from that of other children of his group. When he was about 2 years old, he played at fish-

[20]As I explained in the report of Maung Myint Aung's case, the Burmese word *dah* can signify any object with a blade, from a kitchen knife to a large sword. At the age of 18 months Maung Than Htun Win possibly did not even know the word *dah*, let alone how to communicate the difference between a small knife and a sword. That he fetched a knife to show how in the previous life his fingers had been cut does not necessarily mean that he wanted to say that a knife was the weapon used.

ing in two different ways. He put a line of cotton on a stick and pretended that it was a fishing rod. More remarkable was his play at trapping fish. He would make a wall of mud around an area of water and then throw the water outside the wall until the imagined fish would become accessible. His mother said that he was quite adept at this play and could not possibly have seen anyone else doing it and imitated them. None of his playmates played at fishing. He also pretended that a stick was a rifle and, playing at being a soldier, said that he was an officer.

Maung Than Htun Win's preferences for food accorded with his play at fishing. He asked for *ngapi*, a paste of pickled fish, and for salted fish. (Karens like to eat salted fish; the taste is not specific to them, but other members of Maung Than Htun Win's family were not as fond of salted fish as he was.) He also asked for frogs, another food appreciated more by the Karens than by the Burmese. Another of his preferred foods was potatoes. Whereas the other children of the family ate potatoes almost reluctantly, he relished them. However, this preference, unlike his fondness for salted fish and frogs, was not identified as specially a Karen taste.

Maung Than Htun Win tended to speak brusquely and "like a tough." He did not use the honorifics which are obligatory among the Burmese people, particularly educated ones. (He was never observed to be speaking a language other than Burmese, such as Karen, and he never tried to use the common Karen honorific *Saw*.) As he grew older, his speech became more refined.

He was inclined to be physically violent. If he was punished, he would become furious and retaliate by throwing objects at his parents. He would also threaten to run away and actually did so whenever he was beaten when he was young.

Far from having a phobia of knives, Maung Than Htun Win seemed to enjoy using them.

Comment. The various traits that I have mentioned are individually of little significance, and certainly none is specific for Karens. And yet Maung Than Htun Win's behavior taken altogether was not only different from that of other members of his family; it was distinctly "Karenlike." His older sister, Ma Ohn Yee, had lived for a time among the Karens, and she said that the similarity between their behavior and that of Maung Than Htun Win impressed her greatly.

Maung Than Htun Win's Birthmark and Birth Defects

Daw Sein Myaing said that when Maung Than Htun Win was born, the birthmark on his head was actually a bleeding wound. It did not heal over for about a month. Figure 19-21 shows considerable scar formation as well as complete absence of hair in the area affected. This photograph was taken when Maung Than Htun Win was 7 years old.

Similarly, the defective fingers of Maung Than Htun Win's left hand "suppurated" for about 2 weeks after his birth. Figures 19-22 and 19-23 show that all

Figure 19-21 Top of Maung Than Htun Win's head as it appeared in November 1972, when he was 7 years old. There was a large area of hairless, scarlike skin, approximately round in shape and 3 centimeters in diameter.

the fingers of this hand were present, and all had nails. However, the third and fourth fingers were markedly reduced in size, and all except the thumb had constriction rings with edematous swellings distal to the grooves. The bases of the middle three fingers were syndactylous. The left thumb and the entire right hand were normal.

Maung Than Htun Win's Physique and Complexion

Maung Than Htun Win was distinctive in his physique and complexion. He was darker than the other members of the family, and his physique was distinctly stocky. (Figure 23-2 shows his physique.) These features are associated with Karens more than with Burmese people.

Figure 19-22 Dorsal surface of the hands of Maung Than Htun Win as they appeared in November 1972. The third and fourth fingers of the left hand were markedly smaller than the corresponding fingers of the right hand. All four fingers had constriction rings with edematous swellings distal to the rings. The right hand and the left thumb were normal.

Figure 19-23 Palmar surface of the hands of Maung Than Htun Win as they appeared in November 1972. Scarlike tissue can be seen at the bases of the middle three fingers, where there was partial syndactyly.

Other Relevant Medical Information

Maung Than Htun Win had no other birth defects (at least ones externally visible) apart from those I have described. No other member of the family had any birth defects.

Comment

U Tun Aye, as an Army hospital attendant, had sometimes to travel with units of the army to Karen areas. However, Daw Sein Myaing knew of no special friendship that her husband had ever developed with a Karen. Nor had she ever heard him mention having cared for a Karen as a patient in an Army hospital.

The line of questioning that generated this information was exploring any possible reason why, if the case is interpreted as one of reincarnation, a Karen should have been reborn in this pure Burmese family. Since I have found links of friendship or geographical propinquity between the two families concerned in many other cases, the possibility seemed worth exploring in this case.

THE CASE OF MAUNG THEIN

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Maung Thein was born on December 19, 1947, in Tu-Moung village, Upper Burma. (Tu-Moung is approximately 190 kilometers north of Rangoon, about halfway between Pegu and Toungoo.) His parents were U Aye Maung and Daw Aye Mya. Maung Thein was the second child and older son in a family that eventually had four children.

Daw Aye Mya said that Maung Thein was born with two birthmarks, one on his right wrist (Figure 19-24) and one on his left middle fingernail (Figure 19-25). Maung Thein told us that he also had a birth defect on his chest (Figure 19-26). When he was about 3 years old, he began to speak about a previous life. He remembered that he was Maung Po Chit, who had also lived at Tu-Moung village. Maung Po Chit's sister, Daw Phan, had adopted Daw Aye Mya. Thus Maung Thein was remembering the life of his (adoptive) grandmother's brother.

When Maung Thein grew up, he married a girl, Ma Chit, from Okshitgone village in Tatkon Township, and he moved to Okshitgone. He was living and working there as a cultivator when U Win Maung and I met him in 1975. U Win Maung had a long interview with him in October of that year; a few weeks later (in November) he and I talked with Maung Thein together.

In February 1979 U Win Maung met Maung Thein again at Okshitgone and asked him some questions about details of his case.

Up to this stage Maung Thein had been our sole informant for his case, and we had no independent verifications of his statements. Tu-Moung is a particularly inaccessible village, and U Win Maung and I never went there. Daw Hnin Aye,

however, managed to do so. In June 1988 she journeyed to Tu-Moung, where she interviewed Daw Aye Mya (Maung Thein's mother), Ko Tin Win (Maung Thein's younger brother), and four other villagers who remembered Maung Po Chit and were able to verify some of Maung Thein's statements.

The Life, Death, and Character of Maung Po Chit

Maung Po Chit was born in Tu-Moung village. His parents were U Thet Hnan and Daw Ngwe Hmi, and Maung Po Chit was the oldest of their three children. When he grew up, he married Daw Nge, and they had three children.

Maung Po Chit belonged to a group of village rowdies who drank alcohol heavily, smoked opium, and "made trouble in the village." When the Japanese Army (in about 1942) wanted conscript labor from Burmese villagers, the headman of Tu-Moung, U Pho Tu, saw an opportunity to rid the village of these obnoxious ruffians; and so he gave their names to the Japanese as persons they could conscript. Accordingly, the Japanese removed eight villagers of Tu-Moung, including Maung Po Chit and a distant uncle of his, Ko Yin Gyi. They were taken down to a camp at Thanbuzayat, which is near the town of Mudon, 25 kilometers south of Moulmein. Thanbuzayat is about 200 kilometers southeast of Rangoon and 320 kilometers from Tu-Moung. The conscripted Burmese laborers were put to work, along with Allied prisoners of war, in the construction of the Thailand-Burma railroad, which in 1942-43 the Japanese were trying desperately to complete in order to supply their troops in Burma. Maung Po Chit died while at Thanbuzayat, but Daw Hnin Aye's informants did not say how he had died, so this detail (which figured in Maung Thein's memories) remains unverified.

After Maung Po Chit's death, his uncle Ko Yin Gyi and another of the conscripts, U Htway, managed somehow to escape from the Japanese labor camp and, after many adventures, found their way back to Tu-Moung, where Ko Yin Gyi told the family about Maung Po Chit's death. He also said that as he and U Htway escaped, he addressed the spirit of Maung Po Chit and invited it to accompany them back to Tu-Moung. (Both Ko Yin Gyi and U Htway had died in the 1980s, not long before Daw Hnin Aye's visit to Tu-Moung.)

Maung Po Chit died in 1942 or 1943. He was between 45 and 50 years old when he died.

Daw Aye Mya remembered that Maung Po Chit had had a black mark on his right wrist and a "deformed" middle finger of the left hand. She did not tell Daw Hnin Aye the origins of these marks. Another villager of Tu-Moung, U Hla Gyi, remembered that Maung Po Chit had had a black mark on his right wrist. (He did not mention any other abnormality.)

An Announcing Dream

Daw Aye Mya said that a few weeks before she became pregnant with Maung Thein, she dreamed that her deceased uncle Maung Po Chit asked whether

he could come and stay with her. In the dream she replied that she would agree to this, if her husband did. Still in the dream it seemed that her husband, U Aye Maung, did agree. Daw Aye Mya became pregnant that month.

Statements and a Recognition Made by Maung Thein

Daw Aye Mya remembered that Maung Thein "talked about himself as Maung Po Chit." She, however, paid little attention to what he said. Her adoptive mother, Daw Phan, was much attached to Maung Thein, having become convinced by the correspondence between the birthmarks on his wrist and fingernail and the similar marks on Maung Po Chit that he was Maung Po Chit (her brother) reborn. (Daw Phan had died in 1970.) Daw Phan looked after Maung Thein most of the time during his childhood, and she listened to his talk about the previous life.

Maung Thein's younger brother, Ko Tin Win, told Daw Hnin Aye that he remembered Maung Thein saying once that "he died in his last life because of alcohol and that was a lesson for him." Ko Tin Win did not say how old Maung Thein was when he made this statement. (He said that Maung Thein did not drink alcohol at all.)

The only other informant in Tu-Moung for Maung Thein's statements as a child was Daw Kway Ma, who was Maung Po Chit's daughter-in-law. She remembered that Maung Thein had recognized Maung Po Chit's son, Ko Tin Maung (who was Daw Kway Ma's husband). Daw Hnin Aye did not learn any details about this recognition, which has little importance anyway, because this is a same-family case, and Maung Thein could easily have learned normally the identities of Maung Po Chit's family members.

Maung Thein's Statements in 1975. That this is a same-family case also influences our appraisal of Maung Thein's statements in 1975. He was then 28 years old, and he had had plenty of opportunity to learn about Maung Po Chit before he moved from Tu-Moung to Okshitgone. In reporting his statements, I shall use information he gave in the two separate interviews of October and November 1975.

Maung Thein said that he remembered that he had been a peasant called Maung Po Chit of Tu-Moung village. His wife was Ma Nge and his sister Daw Phan. He remembered that Maung Po Chit drank alcohol excessively and behaved in a rowdy and generally unpleasant manner.

Maung Thein recalled two events in the life of Maung Po Chit that occurred some time before his death.

Maung Po Chit had himself tattooed on the back of his right wrist. Almost immediately afterward, he became dissatisfied with the quality of the tattooing, the letters of which were blurred. He asked the tattooer to remove or efface the design. This resulted in a permanent disfigurement. Maung Thein said that the birthmark on the back of his right wrist (Figure 19-24) corresponded to the residue of the half-obliterated tattoo on Maung Po Chit. He thought that Maung Po Chit was about 25 years old when he was tattooed.

Maung Thein also remembered that once Maung Po Chit had been playing with his brothers, and one of his fingers had been crushed by a log. This left a permanent discoloration of the injured fingernail. Maung Thein said that the discoloration under the nail of the middle finger of the left hand (Figure 19-25) with which he was born corresponded to this injury to Maung Po Chit's finger. Maung Thein thought that this injury happened when Maung Po Chit was about 30.

Maung Thein remembered that during the Japanese occupation of Burma, the Japanese Army conscripted the Burmese for various work that they wished done. (Readers will remember an example of this in the case of Maung Mhat Tin.) The elders of Tu-Moung saw in this practice a chance to rid themselves of the odious drunkard that Maung Po Chit had become. They therefore arranged for the Japanese Army to conscript him. He was the only one of his group of friends in Tu-Moung village to be conscripted. The Japanese did, however, also take one of his uncles.

The Japanese Army, after conscripting Maung Po Chit, transferred him to Thanbuzayat, where they were constructing one section of the Thailand-Burma railroad.

About 10 days after Maung Po Chit reached Thanbuzayat, he got out of a bomb-shelter to have a look at an Allied airplane that had come over the area of the railway, presumably to bomb it. He was hit in the chest by a machine gun bullet from the airplane. He was aware of being hit by the bullet and then that he was physically dead, but continuing to exist in a discarnate state.

Maung Thein thought that Maung Po Chit had been killed in 1942 and that he was about 30 years old at the time. (This was considerably younger than the age of Maung Po Chit at his death that Daw Hnin Aye learned in Tu-Moung.)

Maung Thein's Statements about Events after Maung Po Chit's Death and Before His Birth. Maung Thein gave a rather lengthy account of the memories that he said he had of experiences in the discarnate state. Most of what he said is unverifiable, and only a little of it has been verified. And because most of his statements under this heading do not pertain to the main topic of this book, I shall mention only two events from among those he described.

The Japanese put Maung Po Chit's body in a grave near their encampment, and Maung Thein said that at first he (as a discarnate personality) stayed around this grave. Maung Po Chit's uncle managed to escape from the Japanese soon after Maung Po Chit's death, and, as he was leaving the area, he spoke to Maung Po Chit as if the latter could still hear him. Maung Thein later remembered that Maung Po Chit's uncle (Ko Yin Gyi) had said: "We are going back to the village [Tu-Moung]. If you want to come with us, you may do so." The discarnate Maung Po Chit, according to Maung Thein's memories, then followed his uncle back to Tu-Moung.

Maung Thein also remembered that, back in Tu-Moung, the discarnate Maung Po Chit "sent" a dream to Daw Aye Mya in which he asked whether he

could come and live with her and U Aye Maung. In the dream she replied that she would agree if her husband also agreed. Then it seemed that, still in the same dream, Daw Aye Mya obtained her husband's consent for Maung Po Chit to be reborn as their son.

Comment. As we have seen, Daw Hnin Aye obtained some verification for both of these items. She learned from Daw Aye Mya that Ko Yin Gyi had told Daw Aye Mya how, on escaping from the Japanese at Thanbuzayat, he had invited the spirit of Maung Po Chit to follow him back to Tu-Moung. Daw Aye Mya also verified the details of the announcing dream that Maung Thein remembered having sent to her.

Readers should remember nevertheless that all the information for this case was obtained many years after its main events, and the infomants, including Maung Thein himself, may often have discussed these events with each other.

Maung Thein's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

Circumstances and Manner of Maung Thein's Speaking about the Previous Life. Maung Thein said that he had preserved intact all the memories of Maung Po Chit's life, or at least all that he had had when he had been a young child. He said that he still thought sometimes spontaneously about the previous life. This occurred particularly when he saw young people drinking or one of them intoxicated. He would remember then what a drunkard he himself had been in the previous life. He could not think of any other stimulus for his memories of that life.

U Win Maung told me that when he talked with Maung Thein in October 1975 (a few weeks before I met him), Maung Thein had wept as he recalled the injustice—as it seemed to him—that the village elders had committed when they arranged for the Japanese Army to conscript Maung Po Chit. Maung Thein obviously still believed this to have been a grievous wrong.

Maung Thein's Attitude toward Villagers at Tu-Moung. As I have just mentioned, Maung Thein preserved a feeling of resentment against the village elders of Tu-Moung who had arranged for Maung Po Chit's conscription, an event that led to his being killed.

Concerning his relations with other members of the village at Tu-Moung, Maung Thein recalled that as a young child he would never address his mother's older cousin, Maung Tin Maung, as "uncle." He should have done this according to the etiquette of the Burmese people. But Maung Tin Maung was Maung Po Chit's son and hence, from Maung Thein's viewpoint, junior to him. Eventually, when Maung Thein became older, he began to address Maung Tin Maung properly as "uncle."

Other Relevant Behavior on the Part of Maung Thein. Maung Thein denied having had any feelings of animosity toward the Japanese. He also denied having any phobias, such as of airplanes.

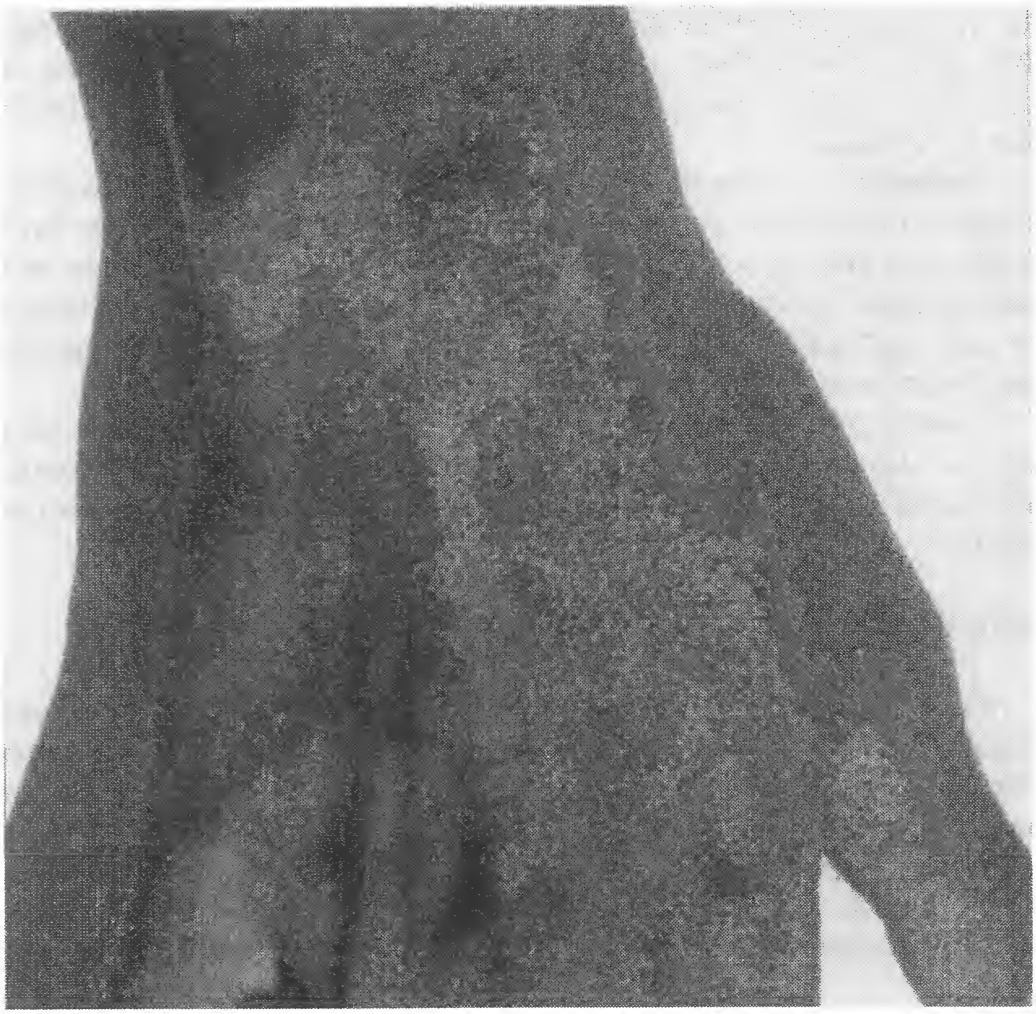

Figure 19-24 Area of hyperpigmentation on the dorsal surface of Maung Thein's right wrist as it appeared in November 1975, when he was almost 28 years old. It measured about 2 centimeters by 2.5 centimeters.

Maung Thein said that he was a teetotaler—from remorse over Maung Po Chit's misconduct.[21]

Maung Thein's Birthmarks and Birth Defect

Figure 19-24 shows the birthmark on the dorsal surface of Maung Thein's right wrist. The mark consists of an irregular area of hyperpigmentation compared with the surrounding skin. It measured about 2 centimeters by 2.5 centimeters. This birthmark corresponded to the black mark on Maung Po Chit's right wrist, which Maung Thein said had been a tattoo.[22]

[21]Although many subjects who remembered the lives of persons who were alcoholics showed a craving for alcohol during childhood, some did not. Mahes de Silva, Sylvia Hirst Ewing, and Maung Thein were subjects of this group who had, if anything, an aversion to alcohol.

[22]Other subjects who had birthmarks that were said to correspond to tattoos in previous (*continued*)

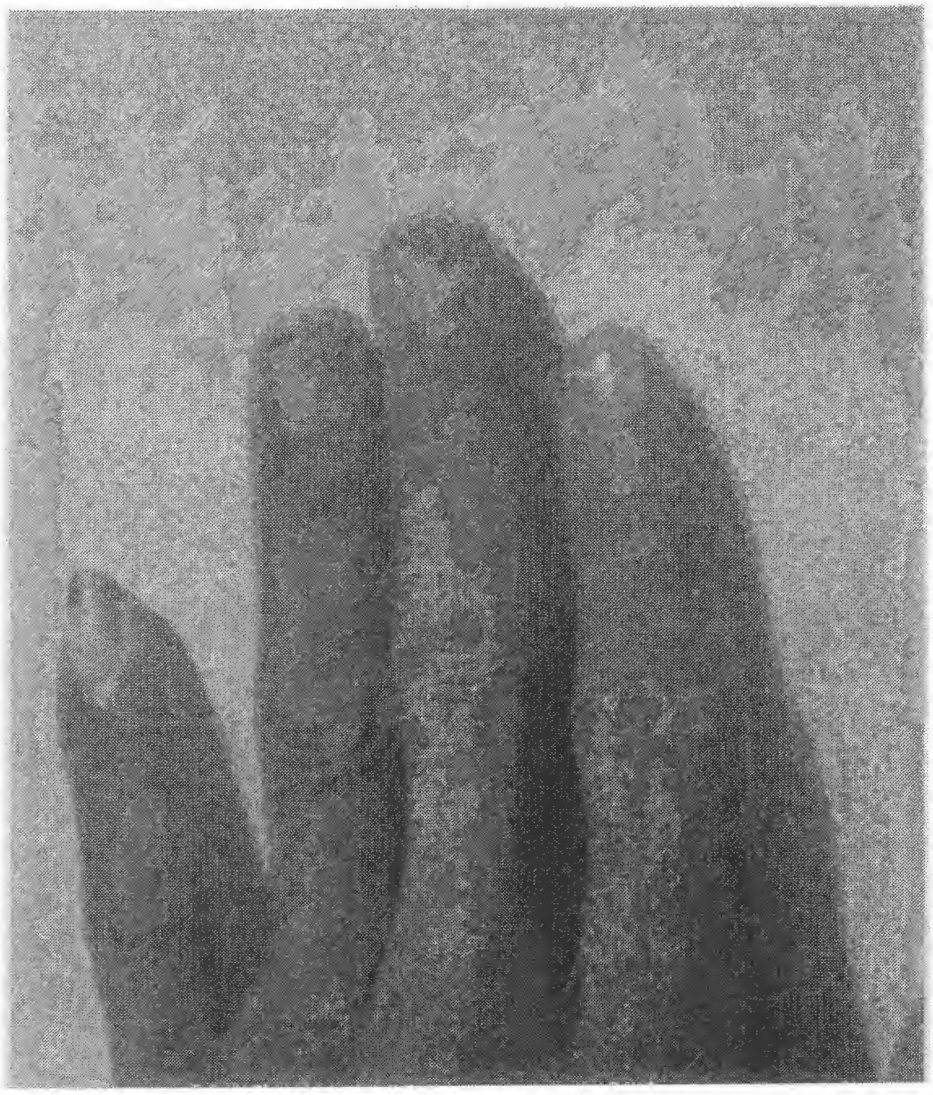

Figure 19-25 Birthmark on the middle finger of Maung Thein's left hand as it appeared in November 1975, when he was almost 28 years old. The birthmark consisted of a deep blue-black coloration at the distal end of the nail.

Figure 19-25 shows the birthmark on the nail of the middle finger of Maung Thein's left hand. It consisted of a deep, blue-black discoloration of the distal part of the nail. Maung Thein said that even when he allowed the nail to grow out, the discolored area under it remained.[23]

[22](*continued*) lives were John Rose, Rhonda Mead, U Po Thwai, Maung Tin Ngwe, and Thiang San Kla.

[23]Savitri Devi Pathak (Chapter 8) was another subject who had a birthmark corresponding to a persistent discoloration of a fingernail because of a subungual hematoma that followed a compression injury to the finger. As I explained in the report of her case, most lesions of this type resolve without a residue, but some do not, and then a permanent discoloration of the nail—from blood incorporated in the nail tissue—remains indefinitely (Stone and Mullins, 1963).

Figure 19-26 Birth defect on the chest wall of Maung Thein as it appeared in November 1975, when he was almost 28 years old. The defect consisted of a depression or cleft with sloping sides about 5 centimeters long and 0.5 centimeter wide.

Figure 19-26 shows a birth defect in Maung Thein's chest wall. The defect consisted of a linear area of abnormal depression to the left of the lower sternum. The depressed area was about 5 centimeters long and about 0.5 centimeter wide. The sides of the cleft sloped toward its bottom.

Comment. As I mentioned, Daw Aye Mya confirmed to Daw Hnin Aye that Maung Thein was born with the two birthmarks. She did not mention the defect on Maung Thein's chest, and we have only his statement about its congenitality. I believe this defect was congenital. As the photograph shows, there was no

scarring in the skin over the defect, which we should expect if the defect had resulted from a postnatal injury.

The abnormality on the middle finger of Maung Thein's left hand was a congenital subungual nevus. This is a rare condition (Coskey, Magnell and Bernacki, 1983). Some of these lesions fade as the affected child becomes older (Tosti et al., 1994), but others do not (Kikuchi et al., 1993). Maung Thein's, and also that of Savitri Devi Pathak (Chapter 8), did not.

THE CASE OF THIANG SAN KLA

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Thiang San Kla was born in the village of Ban Rasai, near Surin, in Surin Province, Thailand, on October 9, 1924. His parents were Charon San Kla and his wife, Puen. Both of Thiang's parents had dreamed before Thiang's birth that his father's older brother, Phoh, had come to them and said he wished to be reborn as their child. At Thiang's birth, or soon afterward, he was noticed to have six birth defects and birthmarks. The most prominent of these was at the back of Thiang's head (Figure 19-27). He also had an obvious defect of the nail of his right great toe (Figure 19-28). Phoh had been killed by a knife wound on the head about a year before Thiang's birth. Thiang's birth defects and birthmarks and his parents' dreams made them think that he was Phoh reborn. They were therefore prepared for Thiang to say, almost as soon as he could speak, that he was Phoh. He thereafter made a number of statements and recognitions of other persons that fully convinced members of his family that his claim was justified.

In adulthood Thiang San Kla worked as a farmer and then enlisted in the Royal Thai Army, and he was a sergeant during the 1960s when the case was investigated. Later, he resigned from the army and became headman of his village.

I first learned of the case from the late Francis Story, who worked with me on the investigation of these cases in South Asia for many years. He had gone to Surin Province in 1963 for the study of another case, that of Chaokhun Rajsuthajarn. Informants who learned of his interest in cases of the reincarnation type told him about Thiang San Kla's case, and he immediately conducted several interviews for its investigation. I have drawn on Francis Story's notes for this report. (He wrote a report of the case himself [Story, 1975].)

In 1969 I continued the investigation of the case. I had a long interview with Thiang San Kla himself and interviews with three additional witnesses whom Francis Story had not previously interviewed.

For all the above interviews Dr. Thavil Soonthararaksa (of Surin) was our interpreter. In 1971 I met Dr. Thavil again, in Bangkok, and he gave me some additional information concerning the case.

Figure 19-27 Large verrucous nevus, linear and irregular in shape, of left occipital area of Thiang San Kla's head. The photograph was taken in January 1963, when he was 38 years old.

Persons Interviewed during the Investigation

In Surin the following persons were interviewed:

Thiang San Kla (interviewed by F. Story in 1963 and by myself in 1969)

Manoon Rungrueng, Sergeant, Royal Thai Army (interviewed by F. Story in 1963)

Pramaun Thavisook, formerly Assistant District Officer, Surin Province (interviewed by F. Story in 1963)

Nit Vallasiri, Captain, Royal Thai Army (interviewed by F. Story in 1963)

In Ban Rasai I interviewed:

Losh San Kla, Thiang San Kla's paternal uncle and Phoh San Kla's younger brother

In Ban Kokteakian I interviewed:

Ping San Kla, Thiang San Kla's paternal aunt and Phoh San Kla's sister

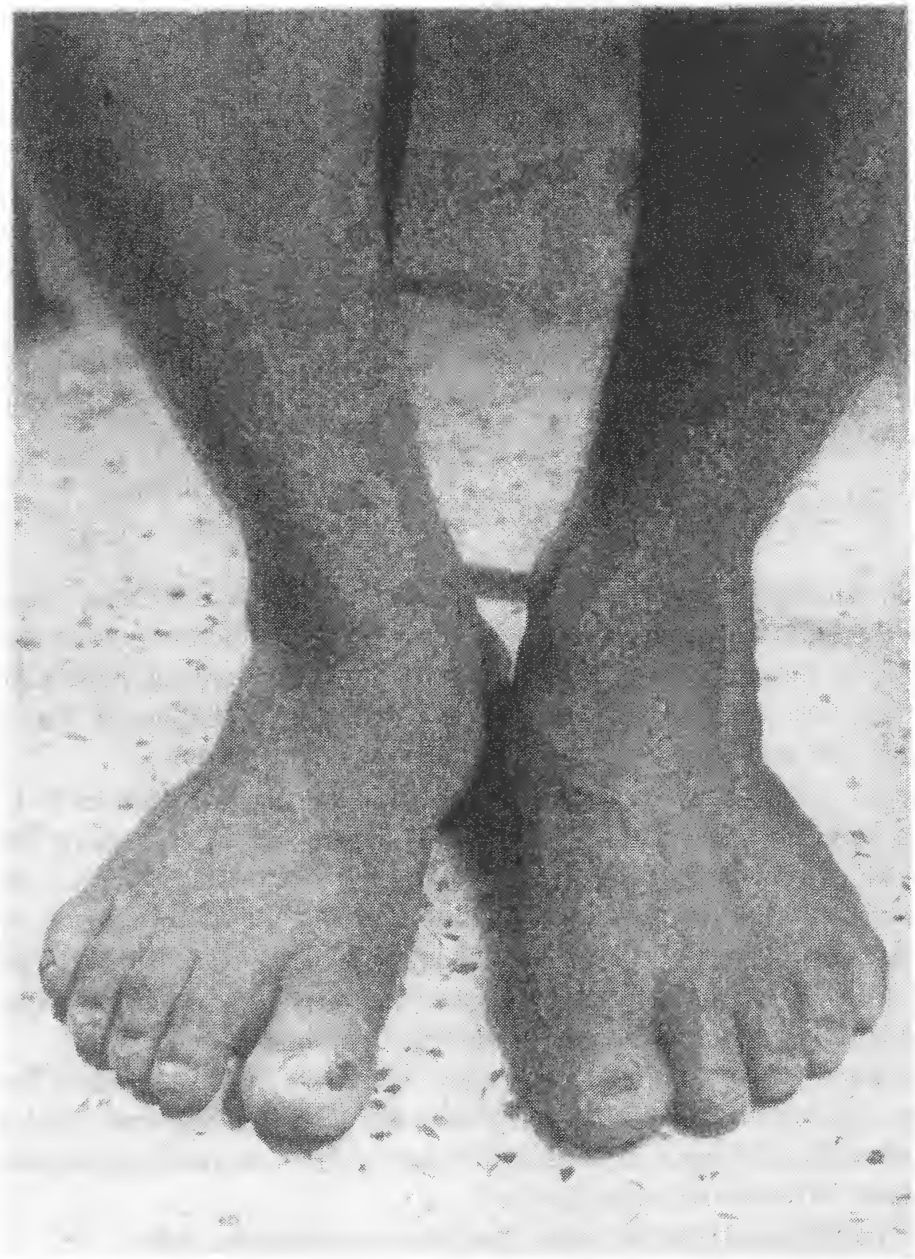

Figure 19-28 Birth defect of the nail of the right great toe as it appeared in March 1969, when Thiang San Kla was 44½ years old.

In Ban Dan I interviewed:

Pah San Kla, daughter and (in 1969) only surviving child of Phoh San Kla

Although some of the informants were elderly—for example, Ping San Kla was 77—they seemed to remember well the events they described, and their statements were generally consistent with other testimony.

Various other potential informants, such as Thiang San Kla's parents, had died before the investigation of the case began. His father died when he was about 4 years old and his mother when he was about 15.

Relevant Facts of Geography and of Family Relationships

Ban Rasai, where Thiang San Kla was born, is about 20 kilometers from Surin, which is the capital and largest city of Surin Province. Ban Ar Vud, where Phoh San Kla was killed, is about 45 kilometers from Surin and 25 kilometers from Ban Rasai. Ban Kae Yai, where Phoh lived, is about 32 kilometers from Ban Ar Vud.

Since Phoh San Kla was the brother of Thiang San Kla's father, the case developed within one family. Thiang's parents had normal knowledge of everything Thiang said about the previous life he claimed to remember; and he could have obtained the correct information he had about that life by means of normal communication from his parents.

The Life, Death, and Character of Phoh San Kla

Phoh San Kla was born in about 1889 in the village of Krahat. He was the oldest son of Nem San Kla and his wife, Yuem. I learned nothing about his childhood and little about his adult life prior to his death. He married a girl called Pai, and they had five children. He and his family lived at the village of Kae Yai. He was a cattle thief and notorious for this in the area where he lived.

One day in 1923 he went with a friend to the village of Ban Ar Vud, where they were going to see a particular bull. Villagers there, who knew of his cattle thieving, decided to finish with him, and a group of them attacked him. One of the assailants struck Phoh on the back of the head with a heavy knife of the type that villagers use for opening coconuts and chopping wood (Figure 19-29). This blow probably killed Phoh instantly. His left arm was also broken, but I do not know whether this injury occurred before or after the fatal blow to his head.

Members of Phoh's family came over to Ban Ar Vud and viewed his body. The group viewing the dead body included both of Thiang's parents. Phoh's body was buried in Ban Ar Vud 3 days after his death, which occurred in October 1923. He was about 34 years old when he died.

Pah San Kla said that her father had been a courageous man.

Some time before his death Phoh had injured his right foot in an accident. His right great toe became infected and continued so until his death. It apparently suppurated, because his sister Ping told me that his right great toe smelled badly. Losh San Kla, who was the principal informant about this lesion, did not say how long before Phoh's death he had injured his foot. Thiang said the injury had occurred 10 years before Phoh's death, but I did not verify this independently. It seems likely that the injury occurred only a few years at most before Phoh's death, because his daughter, Pah, who had moved to Cambodia 3 or 4 years before he was killed, knew nothing about it; however, she might not have known about the injury and infection, if she was living in another village of Surin Province before she moved to Cambodia.

Comment. Some readers may find it surprising that an infection of the toe would have persisted for years without becoming worse and spreading upwards into the foot as happened in the case of Dominic Nwachi, of whom Augustine

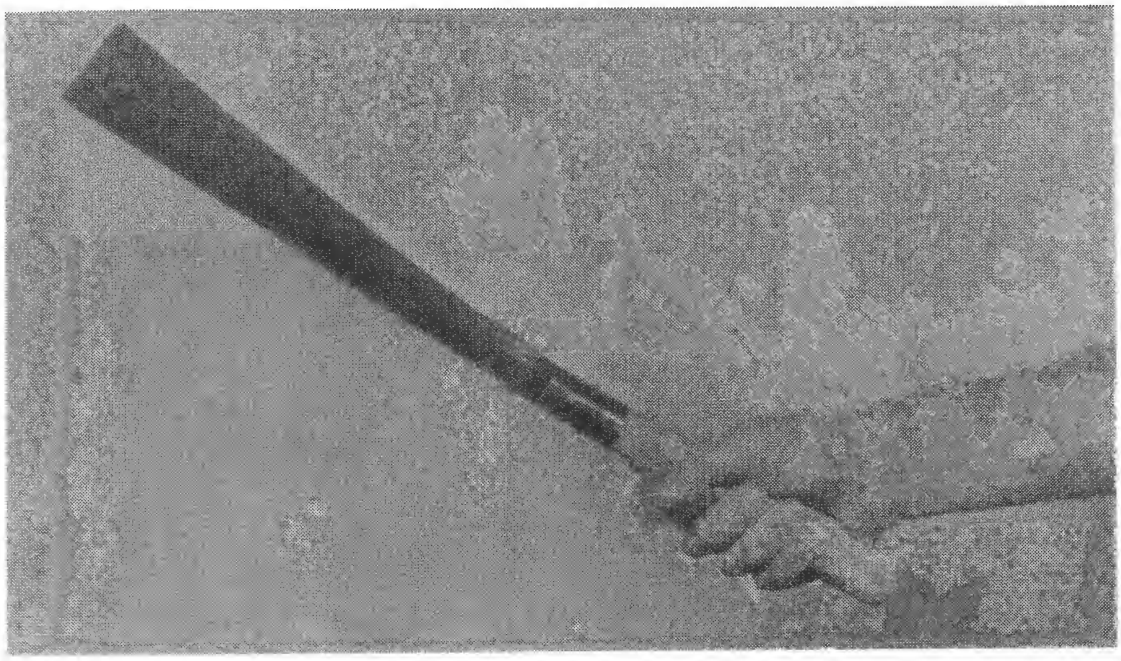

Figure 19-29 Heavy knife of Thailand of the type that might have been used in the killing of Phoh San Kla. This particular knife was purchased in Nakhon Panom.

Nwachi was thought to be the reincarnation. In Phoh's case, however, there may have been ample drainage from the infected area. It is also possible that what seemed to other persons to be chronic infection might in fact have been a susceptibility to repeated intermittent infections. A damaged and ingrowing toenail could have made the toe susceptible to such infections. Phoh's lesion occurred about two decades before the introduction of antibiotics, and, apart from this, villagers in that part of Thailand in those years could count on little in the way of medical care.

Two Announcing Dreams

As I have already mentioned, Thiang's parents had died before the investigation of this case began. My information about announcing dreams in the case is therefore only secondhand. In 1963 Francis Story learned from Thiang that his mother had dreamed that Phoh "wanted to come into her womb." In 1969 Thiang's aunt Ping told me that both Thiang's mother, Puen, and his father, Charon, had dreamed that Phoh came to them and said: "I want to live with you. I do not want to go anywhere else." I did not learn when these dreams occurred in relation to Puen's pregnancy with Thiang.

The Interval between Phoh's Death and Thiang San Kla's Birth

In 1963 Thiang told Francis Story that he had been born 3 months after Phoh's death. However, in 1969 Thiang told me that the interval between Phoh's

death and his birth was about a year. I think this discrepancy may be due to Thiang's having first disregarded the period of gestation and (as have other informants in South Asia) reckoned the date of rebirth from conception instead of birth.

Statements and Recognitions Made by Thiang San Kla

When Thiang was about 4 years old, his father, Charon, died, and the responsible male adult in his life became his uncle Losh, whom I interviewed. According to Thiang San Kla, his father had become convinced before he died that Thiang was his brother Phoh reborn. He apparently based his conviction on the combination of the birthmarks, the announcing dreams, and Thiang's first utterances about the previous life. These included saying that his father was his brother. His father died soon after Thiang began to talk about the previous life.

Pramaun Thavisook had investigated Phoh's cattle thieving and his murder when he was a young policeman, 18 years of age. When he heard that Thiang was claiming to be Phoh reborn, he went to see him. Thiang was then between 4 and 5 years old. Thiang at once recognized him and addressed him by name. He also gave correctly the names of the people concerned in the killing of Phoh. Pramaun Thavisook found that Thiang remembered the man, Chang, who had killed Phoh, and wanted to take revenge on him.

Thiang San Kla told me that at the age of 5, he could remember "everything" in a house at Ban Krahat where Phoh had lived at one time. He recalled utensils, the cattle, a suitcase, and some people, such as a cousin.

When Phoh's wife, Pai, heard that her sister-in-law had a child who claimed to be her husband reborn, she visited him to test him. Thiang was then about 5 years old. She brought a number of articles that had belonged to Phoh, mixed with others that had not. Thiang easily sorted out the articles that had belonged to Phoh. He also proved his identity to her satisfaction by narrating incidents from their married life.[24] Francis Story learned about Pai's testing of Thiang's knowledge of Phoh's life only from Thiang. Pai had died in 1962 at the age of 76.

Phoh's daughter, Pah, whom I interviewed in 1969, told me that she was one day driving a bullock-cart near the village of Ban Rasai where Thiang lived. He saw her on the road, spontaneously recognized her, and accosted her as "daughter." No one had asked him to recognize her, and she was taken by surprise, especially since there was a marked difference in the physical appearances of Phoh (her father) and Thiang. However, Thiang convinced her that he was her father by his demonstration of detailed memories of Phoh's life, including his knowledge of

[24]In the testimony of 1963, Francis Story was led to understand that Phoh's wife, Pai, was so impressed by the evidence Thiang gave her of being her deceased husband, Phoh, reborn that she became a Buddhist nun. The suggested implication was that as her husband was alive (in one sense) she was not a widow, and yet because she was not officially married, it seemed appropriate for her to become a nun. However, I learned in 1969 that Pai had only become a nun after Thiang married, whereas she had tested his knowledge of Phoh's life when he was 5 years old. Thiang, in talking with me, did not connect Pai's becoming a nun with his remembrance of the previous life.

Phoh's murder. Thiang was 7 when he recognized Pah. She had been in Cambodia for some time, and that was why she had not met Thiang before.

One further recognition made by Thiang deserves noting. Captain Nit Vallasiri of the Royal Thai Army, who was stationed at the military camp in Surin in 1963, testified to it. He had long been familiar with the case. He said that Thiang had laid claim to some land adjoining the army camp on the grounds that it had belonged to Phoh, which was correct. According to Captain Vallasiri, Thiang had apparently remembered that the land had belonged to Phoh without anyone having told him, and he correctly stated the circumstances in which Phoh had acquired it. He was told, however, that an adjudicating court would not allow his claim, and he reluctantly abandoned his application for the land. Thiang made this claim when he was in the Royal Thai Army, but we did not learn his age at the time.

Thiang San Kla's Account of Events after Phoh's Death and before His Birth. Thiang San Kla said that he remembered seeing Phoh's body after he (Phoh) had been killed. He wanted to return to the body, but there were many people standing around, and he was afraid to approach it. Someone brought a white sheet and covered the body; then it was buried. He did not watch the burial. He visited all his relations and friends, but they could not see him. He wanted to go to his own mother (for rebirth), but she rejected him. (Ping San Kla told me Yuem was too old to have another baby.) So he went to Puen, the wife of his younger brother, Charon. (Ping San Kla said that Charon was Phoh's favorite brother.) When Puen was eating breakfast, he "went into her mouth." During the months of uterine life, he "used to go in and out" of his mother's mouth.[25]

Thiang San Kla's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

In 1963 Thiang remembered that when he was a child he had insisted that his name was "Nai[26] Phoh." He became angry when his father or other persons addressed him as "Apong," which is a general nickname for a baby.

Thiang's aunt Ping told me that when Thiang was a young child, he sometimes called Charon San Kla "father" and sometimes called him "brother." Similarly, he sometimes called Ping "sister" instead of "aunt." She confirmed that he said: "I am Phoh," and that sometimes he would become angry if he was called Thiang instead of Phoh. At other times he did not object to being called Thiang.

Thiang San Kla had no dreams or nightmares related to the previous life. Discussing it did not ordinarily disturb him, although he told me that he had once had difficulty in sleeping after he had talked about the previous life.

[25]Some of Thiang San Kla's memories of the period between Phoh's death and his birth resemble those of the Ven. Chaokhun Rajsuthajarn, especially in the feature of seeing living relatives but being invisible to them. Ma Khin San Tin and Ma Khin San Yin, whose cases I describe in Chapter 25, said that they remembered similar experiences between their deaths (in previous lives as Japanese soldiers killed in Burma) and their births (as Burmese children).

[26]Thiang's use of the Thai honorific *Nai* indicated his expectation of being addressed respectfully, as if he were an adult.

He had no phobia of knives and apparently also no phobia of the village of Ban Ar Vud where Phoh had been killed. At least he offered willingly to take me there, but I did not have time to accept this proposal during my stay in Surin.

Thiang San Kla's Attitude toward the Murderers of Phoh. I have already mentioned the statement of Pramaun Thavisook concerning Thiang San Kla's vengeful attitude, when he was a child, toward the men who had killed Phoh, especially a man called Chang, who had delivered the fatal blow to his head. Phoh's sister Ping agreed that Thiang, when he was a child, had been angry at the people of Ban Ar Vud who had killed Phoh. She attributed this to the fact that Phoh was killed unjustly by people at Ban Ar Vud, because he had not stolen *their* cattle.

Thiang confirmed to me that he had had these impulses toward revenge. He said that they were particularly strong up to about the age of 15, but that even in 1969, when he was 45 years old, he sometimes had fantasies of going to Ban Ar Vud and killing there any of the 30 or so people who had formed the posse that had killed Phoh and who were still living. Thiang said that he generally enjoyed good health but suffered from some nervousness, and he blamed this condition on the murder of the previous life. When he became nervous, he was apt to have impulses to go to Ban Ar Vud and revenge the death of Phoh by killing Phoh's murderers.

Other Relevant Behavior of Thiang San Kla

Thiang's impulses toward revenge on the killers of Phoh—strong in childhood and less so in adulthood—were not the dominant feature of his character. It showed a marked difference from that of Phoh. Thiang told me that he realized his misbehavior in the previous life had led to his being killed. (He denied that as Phoh he had stolen cattle at Ban Ar Vud, and said Phoh should not have been killed for stealing cattle *there*; but he was, Thiang admitted, a thief at other times and places, and also a murderer.) So Thiang developed feelings of remorse and a resolve to reform his conduct. In his childhood and youth this tendency toward reform alternated with the mentioned impulses toward revenge, but gradually prevailed. Thiang became headman of his village, an office for which persons not enjoying the confidence of the community would not be selected.

Evidence about the excellence of Thiang's character did not come only from himself. He had risen to the rank of sergeant in the Royal Thai Army. Captain Nit Vallasiri of the Royal Thai Army, who knew Thiang well during his service in the army, said that he was a good soldier. Thiang San Kla obviously also enjoyed the confidence of Dr. Thavil Soonthararaksa, the Provincial Health Officer of Surin Province, who interpreted for Francis Story and me during our investigation of the case. Finally, Phoh's daughter, Pah, added her testimony concerning Thiang's character compared with that of Phoh. She said: "There was a change of character from thief to being a good man."

The duties of a village headman include control of thievery. It happened that on the first morning of my visit in Surin, Thiang San Kla had been busy trying to catch cattle thieves who had stolen some of *his* cattle.

The Attitudes of the Adults Concerned toward Thiang's Memories

Thiang's parents appear to have had no objection to his speaking about the previous life. However, after his mother died (when he was about 15 years old), his uncle Losh ordered him to stop talking about it. Losh even punished him for doing so. Two burn scars on his chest, where this punishment had been inflicted, were still visible in 1969, and Thiang showed them to me.

It appears that his talking about Phoh distressed Losh because he still grieved over Phoh; Thiang's talk exacerbated his grief. I conjecture that an additional motive for wishing Thiang to forget about the previous life came from Thiang's angry threats of revenge against the villagers of Ban Ar Vud who had killed Phoh. Losh's stern measures suppressed Thiang from talking openly about the previous life at least in front of Losh; but it did not diminish his memories, which he told me (in 1969) were as fresh as ever.

Thiang San Kla's Birth Defects and Birthmarks

Thiang San Kla said that he had four birthmarks and two birth defects. The birthmarks were on the dorsum of both hands and feet. He said they corresponded in location to tattoo marks on the dorsal surfaces of Phoh's hands and feet. He said that they were clearly visible in his early childhood, but had faded and disappeared completely by the time he was 6 or 7. When I examined him in 1969, I could see no evidence of anything like these birthmarks on his hands or feet. (Thiang did have some tattoo marks on his hands, but he had acquired these.) Thiang himself was the only informant for the existence of the birthmarks that he said corresponded to tattoo marks on Phoh. However, I did learn that Phoh had had some tattoos. His brother Losh said that Phoh had had tattoo marks on his feet, and his sister Ping said that he had had a tattoo mark on one or both of his feet. Neither of these informants mentioned tattoos on Phoh's hands. Both Francis Story and I gave less attention to the birthmarks related, according to Thiang, to tattoo marks on Phoh than I now wish we had. The birth defects he had were much more impressive, and for them, as I shall soon describe, we obtained independent testimony about their congenitality.

Figure 19-27 shows the extensive pigmented verrucous nevus on the left occipital area of Thiang San Kla's head, as it appeared in 1963. (This lesion might be labeled a birthmark, but it is so large and prominent that I have classified it as a birth defect.) It was irregular in shape and measured about 5-6 centimeters in length and 1-1.5 centimeters in width.

In 1969, when I examined the nevus, it was slightly raised above the surrounding skin, hairless, darkly pigmented, and much wrinkled. It was not attached to the

bone of the skull beneath, but was as freely moveable as the surrounding skin. It was not tender, and Thiang San Kla said he had never suffered from tenderness at this site or from headaches. (He remembered having had only one headache in his entire life.)

The defect of the right great toe consisted of a partially detached portion of the nail of that toe, and this nail or the tissue beneath it was darkly pigmented (Figure 19-28). Although the nail of the great toe was markedly abnormal, I could not tell to what extent the deeper tissues of the toe were also affected.

Thiang San Kla said he was born with these two defects. That they were in fact present at his birth was testified to by his uncle Losh, who said he saw Thiang and noticed them the day after he was born; and his aunt Ping said that she saw the nevus on Thiang's head and the defect of his toe 3 days after his birth. Thiang said that the birth defect on his head corresponded to the fatal knife wound received by Phoh, and the one on the right great toe corresponded to the chronic infection Phoh had had in this place for some years before he died.

Two other informants independently testified to the correspondences between the wounds on Phoh and Thiang's birth defects. The first of these was Pramaun Thavisook, the provincial officer whose evidence Francis Story recorded in 1963. He had investigated the murder of Phoh and was familiar with the location of the wound on his head. He examined Thiang San Kla when he was between 4 and 5 years old. He said that the birth defect on Thiang San Kla's head corresponded exactly with Phoh's fatal wound.

In 1969 Phoh's brother Losh told me that when Phoh was killed, he went to see the body and examined the fatal wound in the head. He said the birth defect on Thiang's head corresponded in location to this wound on Phoh's head. He also stated that the defect in the nail of Thiang's right great toe corresponded in location to the chronic infection from which Phoh had suffered.

A third informant, Ping San Kla, the sister of Phoh and Losh, said that she went with Losh (and their father) to see Phoh's body at Ban Ar Vud. However, she was pregnant and did not look at the body, evidently being afraid of some strong emotional reaction if she did so. She therefore was not an eyewitness of the fatal head wound on Phoh as were Losh and Pramaun Thavisook. She went to see Thiang 3 days after he was born and noted the birth defects on his head and toe. As I explained earlier, she was familiar with the chronic infection Phoh had had on his right great toe, and she testified to the correspondence between the area infected and the defect in the nail of Thiang's right great toe.

Other potential witnesses of the correspondence between the wound on Phoh's head and the birth defect on Thiang's had died. These included Charon (Phoh's brother and Thiang's father) and another sister, King, who had gone to see Phoh's body after his death.

As I mentioned earlier, Phoh had his left arm broken during the scuffle that led to his death. Thiang San Kla had a normal left arm and no disability in that area.

No one else in the family had had a defect on the head similar to Thiang San Kla's. (Both Thiang San Kla and Losh San Kla answered this question in the negative.)

Other than the correspondences between the wounds on the body of Phoh and the birth defects on Thiang, Phoh and Thiang seem to have been different in physical appearance. Both Losh and his niece Pah (Phoh's daughter) said that Phoh was taller and much fairer than Thiang. Sergeant Manoon Rungrueng also described these differences between Phoh and Thiang.

Comments on the Evidence of Paranormal Processes in the Case

Thiang's first statements about Phoh and the recognitions that he made were not recorded in writing until more than 35 years after they had occurred. In the interval some important informants had died, and others had forgotten some details of what he had said and done. Nevertheless, I think we established beyond any doubt that Thiang as a young child had claimed to be Phoh reborn and had satisfied several adults that he had accurate memories of Phoh's life and death. (He seems to have preserved some of these memories into middle adulthood.)

However, the birth defects of Thiang's head and right great toe provide the most important evidence in the case. Each is a somewhat unusual type of birth defect in a particular location. The combination of two such defects corresponding in location to lesions on Phoh seems difficult to explain other than by supposing that Phoh's discarnate mind somehow influenced the development of Thiang's body. We cannot, however, exclude a maternal impression as a possible interpretation of the case.

THE CASE OF ARIYA NOIKERD

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Ariya Noikerd was born in Bangkok, Thailand, on November 7, 1968. Her parents were Hong Noikerd and his wife, Nitaya. Hong Noikerd was an employee at the State Railway Printing Press in Bangkok. Ariya was her parents' fourth child and only daughter.

At her birth, Ariya had an extensive nevus flammeus that covered much of the left side of her face and part of the left side of her head (Figure 19-30). She also had a slanting indentation of the skin at her lower back just above her right buttock (Figure 19-34). The birthmarks and small defect, together with dreams that members of the family had had, convinced Ariya's parents that she was the reincarnation of their deceased son Apirak. He had been killed in 1967, about a year before Ariya's birth, when he was knocked down by a truck.

Someone almost immediately informed the *Bangkok Times* about this case, and they printed a report of it in their issue of December 2, 1968. Almost as quickly, one of my associates in Thailand drew this report to my attention, and when I was next in Bangkok, in March 1969, I began investigating the case. At that time Ariya was less than 5 months old and had not begun to speak. The case, therefore, consisted only of the announcing dreams and the birthmarks that

Ariya's parents thought corresponded with marks on Apirak. (Nasib Sirorasa subsequently translated part of the newspaper report for me.)

In 1971 I had further interviews with Ariya's parents and took some photographs of the birthmark on her face. I then lost touch with the family until 1980. But in March of that year I was able to learn about Ariya's growth and development since 1971, ask her father about some further details, and take new photographs.

Persons Interviewed during the Investigation

In Bangkok I interviewed:

Ariya Noikerd
Hong Noikerd, Ariya's father
Nitaya Noikerd, Ariya's mother
La-Mom Charoenrat, Nitaya Noikerd's older sister
Usha Charoenrat, La-Mom Charoenrat's daughter and an older cousin of Ariya

The Life, Death, and Character of Apirak Noikerd

Apirak Noikerd was the second son of his parents. He was born in Dhonburi (the twin city of Bangkok) on October 4, 1954. He had at birth a slanting crease in the skin of his lower back that corresponded in location and appearance—his parents said—with a similar defect in Ariya.

I think it is understandable that Ariya's parents remembered, or at any rate emphasized when they talked to me, aspects of Apirak's behavior that seemed to them relevant to the understanding of Ariya's case. One of these was Apirak's expressed wish to die. During the several months before his death, he said several times—as remembered later by both his parents—that he wished to die. His grandmother reproached him for this, but he said he wanted to know what happened after death.

Apirak had distinctly feminine traits. Although he did not refuse to wear boys' clothes, he liked to wear girls' clothes; and when he did so, he would apply rouge, lipstick, and eye makeup to his face. He wore girls' clothes so often that his mother remembered him as thus dressed, not as wearing boys' trousers. She also thought that he moved and walked slowly, like a girl. She remembered that he often played girls' games and that most of his friends were girls.

Apirak's mother had never heard him say that he wished to be reborn as a girl, but his father recalled that he had said this to him and to his aunt (perhaps not in his mother's presence). He had said this in the context of expressing a wish to die.

Apirak did not remember a previous life, either as a girl or as a boy.

The only other relevant attribute of Apirak about which I learned was his fondness for dancing to drums. No one else in the family liked to do this.

Apirak was on a visit to Pakchong (a town 180 kilometers northeast of Bangkok) with other members of his family when he was struck by a truck and

killed almost instantly. Just how this accident occurred did not afterward become clear. Three other persons were killed at the same time, and Apirak's grandfather had his arm broken. Other members of the family escaped.

Apirak's body was carried first to a nearby wat, where there was a short religious service. Afterward the body was brought to Bangkok, where, after further religious rites, it was cremated. Partly because the body was sent first to the wrong wat in Bangkok, it was not cremated until 7 days after Apirak's death. The body was not washed and its clothes not changed between the time of death and the cremation. Both of Apirak's parents and his aunt, La-Mom Charoenrat, afterward remembered that Apirak's face and head had blood on it after the accident at exactly the areas of Ariya's nevus flammeus.

Apirak died on November 5, 1967. He was a month more than 13 years old at the time.

I did not learn, and Ariya's parents probably did not know, from what injury or injuries Apirak had died. A person struck by a moving truck is likely to receive multiple injuries of which more than one may be fatal. I do not know, therefore, whether Apirak was injured in the head (although this seems probable), only that after he was struck and before his body was cremated, he had blood on his face and head.

Two Announcing Dreams

About 3 months after Apirak's death, Nitaya Noikerd dreamed about him. In the dream she was going to the market. He came, embraced her, and asked her for permission to return. She cried, called him "Son," but otherwise said nothing.

In the dream Apirak did not have blood on his face, and he did not say that he would be reborn as a girl.

At about the same time, Nitaya's older sister, La-Mom Charoenrat, also dreamed of Apirak. She only recalled about her dream that Apirak had come to her and said that he would be reborn in his family. He had no blood on his face in her dream also.

Both these dreams occurred shortly before Nitaya Noikerd became pregnant with Ariya, who was born almost exactly a year after Apirak's death.

Statements and Recognitions Made by Ariya

It would have been surprising if members of Ariya's family had not asked her what she could remember about the life of Apirak. They did ask her, and her only statements about it appear all to have derived from questions they put to her.

In March 1971 I learned that Ariya's aunt, La-Mom Charoenrat, had pointed to the birthmark on her face and head and asked her: "What is this?" Ariya replied: "The wound." Asked what wound, she had replied: "Wound by the car." Hong Noikerd was present during this questioning. He said that Ariya was somewhat more than 2 at the time, and it must have occurred therefore shortly before my visit in 1971.

Nitaya Noikerd said that Ariya had also been asked where, in the previous life, she had died, and she had replied: "Very far away." La-Mom Charoenrat recalled asking this question and that Ariya had gestured and said: "Over there." No one claimed that Ariya had mentioned the town, Pakchong, where Apirak had been killed.

At about the same age—just more than 2—Ariya's aunt had asked her in a leading way: "Is your name 'Ut'?" Ariya had nodded. (Ut had been Apirak's nickname.)

The family had a photograph of Apirak hanging on the wall. (It showed him as a baby sitting beside an older girl.) When Ariya was asked of whom this was the photograph, she replied: "Ut."

La-Mom Charoenrat mixed some of Apirak's toys and clothes that the family had kept with other toys and clothes and asked Ariya to select those that had belonged to Apirak. Ariya did this successfully. I did not learn at what age she had passed this test.

Ariya's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

I have already mentioned that Ariya never spoke spontaneously about the previous life, and I have nothing more to say about the circumstances in which she referred to it. She did seem to have at one time a strong identification with Apirak. Her cousin Usha told me (in 1971) that she had noticed that Ariya would turn around and respond if someone called "Ut" to her. But she also responded to the name "Ariya."

Ariya's Masculine Behavior. In 1971, and again in 1980, I learned that Ariya showed marked masculine traits. She liked to climb, and she kicked and punched like a boy. She preferred wearing short pants and trousers instead of dresses. (At the time of our meeting in 1980, she was wearing a shirt and short pants.)

Ariya's Phobia of Trucks. In 1971 I asked Hong Noikerd whether at that time Ariya had shown any phobia, and he said that she had not. He specifically mentioned that she was not afraid of cars and buses. Perhaps at that time (she was little more than 2) she had not been exposed to trucks. At any rate, when I asked about a phobia in 1980, I learned that she did then have a phobia of trucks, although not for other vehicles.

Other Behavior of Ariya Related to the Previous Life. Apirak had enjoyed dancing to drums. At the age of less than 2½, Ariya began to dance spontaneously when she heard drums. No one had taught her to do this, and her father said that she could not have imitated any member of the family because none of them danced. He said that at the time she did this spontaneous dancing, they did not own a television set. (They had owned one, I had noticed, when I first visited them in March 1969; but perhaps they no longer owned it later.)

Other Relevant Behavior on the Part of Ariya

Ariya's aunt, La-Mom Charoenrat, credited her with powers of paranormal cognition. She described an occasion when Ariya had quite unexpectedly told the

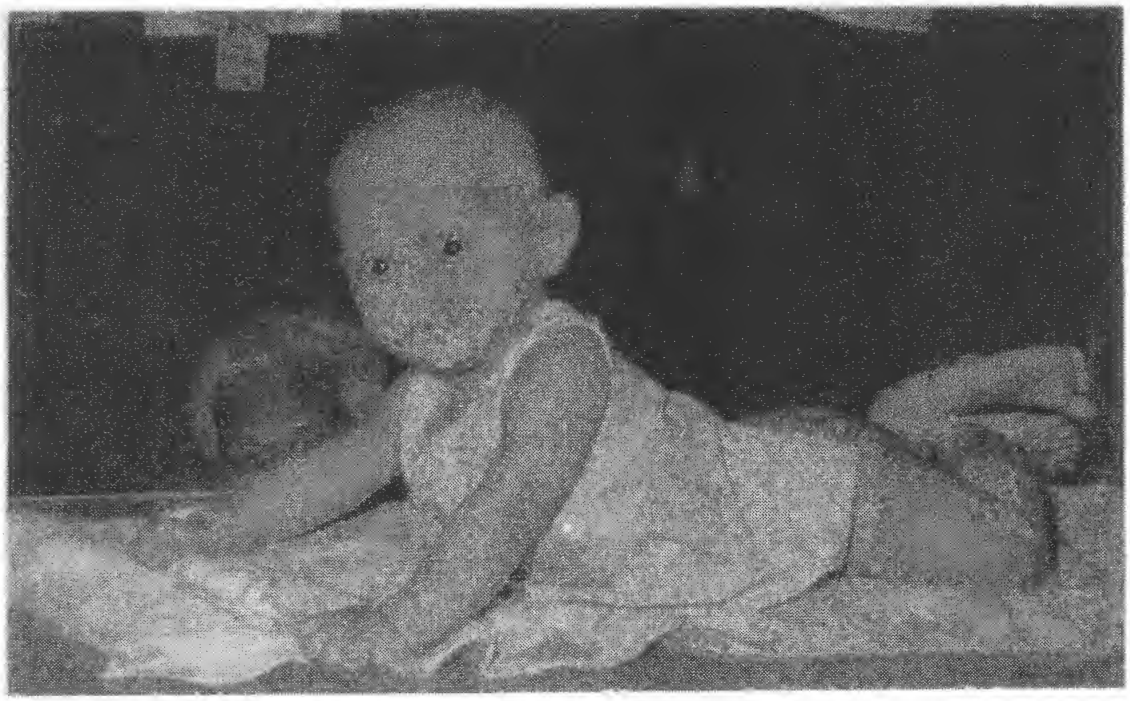

Figure 19-30 Nevus flammeus on the left side of Ariya Noikerd's face and head as it appeared in March 1969, when she was 4½ months old.

family that a particular uncle had died. They scolded her for saying this, but soon learned that the uncle had in fact died in an automobile accident at about that time. (I did not learn Ariya's age at the time of this incident.)

Ariya's Birthmark and Birth Defect

Figures 19-30, 19-31, and 19-32 show the nevus flammeus on Ariya's face at the ages of 4½ months, 2 years and 4 months, and 11 years and 4 months.[27] I have included Figure 19-33 to show the part of the birthmark on the left side of the head. It was then (1980) largely covered by hair. Ariya suffered from headaches often, and she pointed to this area on the left side of the head as the site of her headaches.

[27]Other examples of nevus flammeus in this work occurred in the cases of Ma Chit Chit Than, U Po Thwai, Yvonne Ehrlich, Cemal Kurt, Sunita Singh, Ma Choe Hnin Htet, Faris Yuyucuer, Selma Kılıç, and Patricia Fairley.

A correspondence between the nevus and blood left on the body of the deceased person before its disposal was said to have occurred in the case of Sunita Singh. In the case of Narong Yensiri, an increased pigmentation on parts of his body was attributed to the effects of blood left unwashed on the body of the person (Pan Srisukit) whose life Narong recalled, before this body was cremated.

The birthmarks on Ma Shwe Yee and Navalkishore Yadav may have corresponded to blood on the skin of the deceased person of whom they were said to be the reincarnation.

Figure 19-31 Nevus flammeus on Ariya Noikerd in March 1971, when she was 2 years and 4 months old.

Figure 19-32 Nevus flammeus on Ariya Noikerd in March 1980, when she was 11 years and 4 months old.

Figure 19-33 Left temporal area of Ariya Noikerd's head showing the persistence of the nevus flammeus in that site in March 1980.

Some superficial birthmarks of this type gradually fade as the affected child grows older. However, in Ariya's case at least part of the nevus flammeus became, if anything, more prominent as she grew older (Figure 19-32). On different occasions I suggested that the mark might be removed. When Ariya was an infant, her family rejected this suggestion. In 1980 Ariya herself told Nasib Sirorasa, who was interpreting for me that year, that she preferred to keep the birthmark.

No other member of the family had a birthmark like that on Ariya's face and head.

Figure 19-34 shows the slanting indentation of the skin on Ariya's lower back as it appeared when she was just over 4 months old. Her parents said that Apirak had had a similar defect, but no other member of the family had had one. Apirak's and Ariya's brothers (Na-Rong and Sakchai) were conveniently handy, and I examined them to verify this statement, at least for them; they had no similar defect.

When I visited Ariya and her family again in 1980, I enquired about the defect on her lower back. Her father had at first forgotten entirely about it and

Figure 19-34 Cleft in the lower back of Ariya Noikerd as it appeared in March 1969, when she was 4½ months old.

seemed astonished at my mentioning it. It was agreed, however, that we should examine Ariya's back again, and Figure 19-35 shows that this defect had also persisted. It was hidden at first between the buttocks, but easily seen once they were slightly separated.

Other Physical Resemblances between Ariya and Apirak

In 1969 Ariya's parents drew my attention to what they considered unusually long fourth toes on Ariya's feet. They said that Apirak had had similarly long fourth toes on his feet. I examined Ariya's feet and agreed that they did seem longer than most fourth toes are, in comparison with the third toes. However, when I examined the toes of Ariya's brother Na-Rong, I found that although his fourth toes were relatively shorter, the difference between his and Ariya's fourth toes (compared with their third toes) was not marked. In 1980, when I mentioned the abnormality (if it was one) in Ariya's toes, I was told that it was no longer present, and in that year I did not examine her toes.

Figure 19-35 Cleft in the lower back of Ariya Noikerd as it appeared in March 1980, when she was 11 years and 4 months old.

Ariya's father (also in 1980) mentioned that she had big teeth, especially big incisor teeth, which Apirak had also had. Ariya also suffered occasionally from stomachache, as had Apirak.

Comment

Although this case (compared with most others) is deficient in statements and recognitions made by the subject, I find it of particular interest because of the occurrence of a birthmark and a small birth defect in different locations of the body. Ariya's parents both knew well the defect on Apirak's back and knew also where his face and head had been covered with blood when he was killed. We cannot, therefore, exclude the interpretation of a maternal impression on Ariya's embryo or fetus in this case.

Although Apirak was, for a boy, definitely feminine and had even expressed a wish to be reborn as a girl, Ariya had distinctly masculine traits. The case is not unique in this respect. A parallel case is that of Gnanatilleka Baddewithana. She recalled the previous life of a boy, Tillekeratne, who had been effeminate and who had all but expressed a wish to be a girl. Nevertheless, Gnanatilleka showed when she was young some distinctly masculine traits.

THE CASE OF FARIS YUYUCUER

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Faris Yuyucuer was born in Adana, Turkey, on August 24, 1970. His parents were Ahmet Yuyucuer and his wife, Leyla. When Faris was born, they had one older daughter; I believe that other children were born after Faris, but I have no record of them. Ahmet Yuyucuer owned and operated a small grocery shop in the district of Adana where he and his family lived. They were Alevis.

When Faris was born, he was found to have a prominent birthmark on his left buttock. In Chapter 11 I described this birthmark to illustrate how some birthmarks fade as a child becomes older (Figures 11-8, 11-9, and 11-10). For my readers' convenience I include another photograph of this birthmark in this chapter (Figure 19-36). Faris's penis was much smaller than that of the average male baby, and he had little foreskin, as if he was half-circumcised (Figure 19-38). He also had a third birthmark on his lower lip. For this I have no photograph and can offer only a crude sketch of it that I made in 1971 (Figure 19-37).

When Faris was born, no one in his family identified him as the reincarnation of a particular person. However, 2 or 3 months *after* his birth, Leyla Yuyucuer dreamed about a young boy, Hasan Derin, who had drowned not long before Faris's birth. This made her think that Faris might be the reincarnation of that boy, and so she went to visit the boy's mother, who was living nearby. She then learned that Hasan's sister, Zehira, had also dreamed of Hasan, during the period between Hasan's death and Faris's birth. (Subsequently, we learned that Hasan's father had also dreamed about him after his death.)

Hasan's mother, Cavide Derin, was initially skeptical concerning the possibility that her son might have reincarnated as Faris. She said she could not believe this had happened unless Faris had appropriate birthmarks. Although the plural *birthmarks* occurs in my notes of this expectation, I think she particularly meant that Faris, to qualify as Hasan's reincarnation, should have a birthmark on his left buttock. Leyla Yuyucuer showed her the large birthmark on Faris's buttock (Figure 19-36), and Cavide Derin began to weep. The two families then compared information bearing on the origin of Faris's other birthmark and his birth defect.

Reşat Bayer and I were fortunate to learn about this case in March 1971, when Faris was just 7 months old. An informant for another case in the same district of Adana told us about it. We were able to interview members of both families concerned within a few weeks of being informed about the case.

This case developed further after Faris learned to speak and made some statements about Hasan's drowning. He also showed behavior appropriate to some of Hasan's experiences. Reşat Bayer and I followed the case closely. We were often in Adana during the 1970s, and I have notes of our meeting with Faris and his family in 1972 (Reşat Bayer alone), 1973 (Reşat Bayer and I

Figure 19-36 Nevus flammeus on the left buttock of Faris Yuyucuer, as it appeared in March 1971, when he was 7 months old. (See also Figures 11-8, 11-9, and 11-10 showing this birthmark and its progressive fading.)

together), 1974 (Reşat Bayer alone), 1975 (twice; once Reşat Bayer and I together, once Reşat Bayer alone), 1976 (Reşat Bayer alone), and 1977 (Reşat Bayer and I together).

I have not met Faris and his family since 1977. However, at my request Ertan Kura obtained some information about Faris's further development during a field trip he made to Adana in 1981.

Persons Interviewed during the Investigation

In Adana we interviewed:
Faris Yuyucuer
Ahmet Yuyucuer, Faris's father
Leyla Yuyucuer, Faris's mother
Sabiha İncirligöz, Faris's maternal grandmother

In Sadiya Köyü we interviewed:
Salih Derin, Hasan Derin's father
Cavide Derin, Hasan Derin's mother

Faris was a baby in arms when we began studying this case in 1971. However, we spoke with him in later years, especially in 1975 and 1977.

Although I have listed Faris's father, Ahmet Yuyucuer, as being interviewed, he contributed little to the total fund of information. He was present throughout our interviews with his wife in 1971 and again in 1975, but said almost nothing. In 1975 we particularly asked him whether he could add anything to what his wife had told us, and he said that he could not.

Our interview with Hasan's mother was brief and far from satisfactory. It took place in the village square of Sadiya Köyü, where a crowd larger than usual surrounded us. She could not speak Turkish, and we had to ask our chauffeur to interpret her Arabic for Reşat Bayer. She seemed reluctant to talk with us. And finally, our chauffeur was eager to leave Sadiya Köyü, because imminent rains threatened to turn the dirt road that we had to use into an impassable track of mud.

We did not interview Hasan's sister, Zehira, who had dreamed about him after his death and before Faris's birth. I have no note of why we did not meet her, but probably we omitted an effort to meet her under the pressure we felt to leave the village before the impending rains destroyed the road.

Relevant Facts of Geography and Possibilities for Normal Means of Communication between the Two Families

At the time of Hasan's drowning and Faris's birth, both families concerned lived in the same district of Adana. This district is at the outskirts of Adana with country beginning at its edges. I made a sketch of the locality that showed the location of their houses and of the small lake or pond where Hasan drowned. However, I failed to enter a note of distances in my sketch. Trusting my memory on the matter, I estimate that the two houses were at most 200-300 meters apart and perhaps nearer to each other. (In 1981 Leyla Yuyucuer told Ertan Kura they were 100-150 meters apart.) The little lake was about 100 meters from Hasan's house. On one of our visits to Adana we went to look at the lake. Its banks were steep, and it had the appearance of a quarry that was no longer used and had filled with water.

The Derin family ordinarily lived in the village of Sadiya Köyü. This village, where we interviewed Hasan's father and mother, is in the region of the town of Ceyhan, which is about 50 kilometers east of Adana. In fact, Sadiya Köyü is deep in the interior and accessible only on the dirt road that I mentioned above. The Derins came into Adana from time to time for seasonal work.

Leyla Yuyucuer at first told us (in 1971) that the two families were completely unacquainted before Faris's birth. However, she obviously meant by this remark to refer to the adults only, because she almost immediately mentioned that Hasan had come from time to time on errands of purchase to the Yuyucuers' grocery shop. She also said that after Hasan's drowning she had gone to see his body before it was buried. She explained that this view of the boy's body had enabled her to recognize him in the dream she had after Faris's birth.

Salih Derin confirmed Leyla Yuyucuer's assessment of the acquaintance between the families before the case developed. He remembered that his family had made purchases at the Yuyucuers' grocery and had some acquaintance with them; but he said they were not close friends.

Faris's family lived in modest circumstances. They were, however, somewhat better off economically than Hasan's family. Moreover, the former were urbanites, the latter villagers. The case therefore belongs to the group in which the subject remembered a previous life in socioeconomic conditions inferior to those of his family.

The Life and Death of Hasan Derin

Hasan Derin was born in 1963 in Sadiya Köyü. His parents were Salih Derin and his wife, Cavide. Hasan had at least one sibling, a sister, Zehira. We did not ask Salih Derin what his occupation was, but Faris himself later told us (possibly from normally acquired knowledge) that Hasan's father was a confectioner, and his (Faris's) mother said that this was correct.

Hasan had a red mark on his buttock. His father thought the mark was on the left buttock, but was not sure about the side; his mother said it had been on the left buttock. Leyla Yuyucuer told us that she had learned that Hasan had been accidentally burned on the buttock in infancy, but this may have been someone's conjecture. Salih Derin said that Hasan had not been burned and had had the mark on his buttock from birth on. His mother also referred to it as a birthmark, but I cannot be sure we did not suggest this word to her. I am confident, however, that the red mark on Hasan's buttock was either a birthmark or acquired soon after his birth.

In the summer of 1969, when Hasan was about 5, he was circumcised at home by a surgeon, Dr. Salim Çalik.[28] When Dr. Çalik examined Hasan, he found

[28]Boys in Turkey are not usually circumcised until they are 5 or 6 years old, occasionally a little older. The operation is ritualized. A sponsor called a kirve provides additional moral support for the boy, who is praised and cosseted for enduring the pain bravely. A boy's kirve is an important person in his life, and the boy is important for the kirve. A kirve figured importantly in the case of İsmail Altınkılıç; in this work I mention kirves in the reports of the cases of Mahmut Ekici (*continued*)

a calculus lodged in the penis near its base. Presumably he hoped that this might pass down the urethra spontaneously, but instead it jammed there, and after the circumcision Hasan became unable to urinate. Accordingly, 3 days later, Dr. Çalik admitted him to a hospital in Adana, where he incised the penis to the urethra and removed the calculus. This operation took place under local anesthesia. Hasan was apparently terrified at the time of the operation. His father heard his cries while waiting outside the operating room; they troubled him so much that he burst into the operating room and had to be ejected. After the operation, Hasan appeared to have fully recovered and enjoyed good health.

About a year after these operations Hasan drowned accidentally in the small lake or pond near the family's house in Adana. Hasan had a small dog that was entering other people's houses and making a nuisance of itself. So he decided to drown the dog—or was possibly told to do this—in the lake. How Hasan came to drown himself was not clear. I think there were no immediate witnesses to what happened, although he was found soon enough after drowning to justify an attempt at resuscitating him. His father told us that the dog proved able to swim, and he thought that Hasan had gone into the water to hold the dog's head under water until he drowned.

According to Leyla Yuyucuer, when Hasan's body was recovered, persons trying to revive him had the idea of opening his mouth and forcing him to vomit water that he had swallowed. In doing this they lacerated his lower lip. She must have heard this account later. I mentioned earlier that she had gone to see Hasan's body before it was buried, but she had not noticed any wounds on it. Hasan's parents confirmed that he had a wound on his lip. His father thought the upper lip was the one injured; his mother indicated both lips as having been injured. She said the injury was on her son's dead body, but she did not say what had caused it. His father seemed to suggest that Hasan had somehow injured himself on the lip.[29] In sum, Hasan had some injury to one or both of his lips when he was buried. He may have injured himself while trying to save himself from drowning; or persons trying to revive him after drowning may have injured his lip or lips.

Hasan's father said his death occurred in July 1970. He remembered later that Leyla Yuyucuer had been pregnant at the time Hasan died. Leyla herself told us that the interval between Hasan's death and Faris's birth was only 9 days; she

[28](*continued*) and Metin Köybaşı.

I mention these details not because circumcision as practiced in Turkey is likely to be any more (or less) painful than that performed during infancy in a hospital, but because the attendant ceremony probably makes it more memorable.

[29]I thought that perhaps Hasan's parents did not wish to admit that they had injured his body while trying to resuscitate him. However, my notes are defective concerning the detail in question. For our interview with Hasan's father they trail off in an incomplete sentence, as if another line of thought had been distractingly introduced (which sometimes occurs during our interviews for these cases). I mentioned earlier how unsatisfactory our interview with Hasan's mother had been. Therefore, Hasan's parents may not have had adequate opportunities to tell all the details that they knew and that we wished to learn.

must have derived this figure from some information, but I do not know what it was. I see no reason to doubt Salih Derin's memory of the event—told to us only 9 months later—and I therefore believe that Faris was born 4 to 6 weeks after Hasan's death.

In an effort to obtain a more precise date for Hasan's death, Reşat Bayer (in 1972) spent long hours in various government offices trying to find some documentary evidence of it. We had assumed that a coroner's inquest would have been held after Hasan's drowning. Reşat Bayer had a search conducted for a relevant document at the Government Tribunal in Adana, where we were accustomed to find evidence of this kind. There was, however, no record of Hasan's death, either there or at several police stations and depositaries of police records. Frustrated by these defeats, Reşat Bayer went back to the Yuyucuer family for more information. (I think at this time the Derins must have been back at Sadiya Köyü.) They then told him that Hasan's inert body had indeed been taken to the hospital, but the hospital authorities had refused to admit him on the grounds that he was undoubtedly dead. Hasan's stunned family then took his body away and quietly buried it themselves in some convenient place. There was no inquest. In fact, Hasan's death was never formally registered anywhere; officially, he is still alive.

We also wanted to interview the surgeon who had operated on Hasan the year before he drowned. However, when we went to Dr. Salim Çalik's office in Adana, we learned that he had moved to Istanbul and had subsequently died. We had learned the name of the hospital in Adana where he had operated on Hasan, and we intended to try to obtain a record there; however, I can find no evidence in my file of the case that we did this.

Three Announcing Dreams

After Hasan's death, his father, Salih, dreamed of Hasan, who said to him: "Daddy, don't feel unhappy. I am coming back near you, close to the grocery store." (I presume this was a reference to the Yuyucuers' grocery store.)

Salih was one of our (secondhand) informants for the dream that Hasan's sister, Zehira, had after his death. In her dream, Hasan said: "My mother should not wear any black band for me [as a sign of mourning]. She should not cry any more. I am very close to you." Leyla Yuyucuer's (also secondhand) account of this dream was closely similar. She added the detail that Hasan, in Zehira's dream, had said: "Come and visit me."

We did not learn exactly when the two dreams just mentioned occurred, except that they were dreamed after Hasan had drowned. Leyla Yuyucuer's dream occurred 2 or 3 months after Faris's birth and was more detailed than the other two dreams. From his birth Faris had difficulty nursing at Leyla's breast. She said that he seemed almost to be choking or drowning when he nursed. He would turn red and then black. One day Leyla, perhaps a little vexed at him, spoke to him saying: "Why can't you accept my milk easily? You are big enough now." The

night after making this little reproach to Faris she had the following dream. Here I quote from my notes (translated from the French and put into the first person):

> I seemed to have lost both my children. This upset me greatly, and I was searching for them everywhere. Finally I found this baby [meaning Faris] in the lake where that boy [Hasan] had drowned. I took him in my arms. The boy [meaning Faris again] had drowned, and I cried. Suddenly the body of the baby became larger and changed into that of the boy who had drowned [Hasan].

This dream did not mark any sudden turning point in Faris's ability to take his mother's milk easily. However, he did gradually learn to nurse normally.

Statements Made by Faris

Faris's Statements in Early Childhood. When we met the Yuyucuer family in February 1973, Faris was 2½ years old. He had begun to speak, but had made no reference with words to the previous life. He had, however, shown some behavior that seemed to derive from Hasan's life, and I shall describe it in the following section.

In January 1974 Reşat Bayer wrote me that he had made one of our regular visits to the Yuyucuers and had learned that in July 1973 another boy had drowned in the lake where Hasan had drowned. When Faris heard about this, he became greatly interested and said: "Just like me! Just like me!" His mother said: "But, look! You are alive." To this Faris replied: "No. I was dead, dead."

At our next visit (in 1975) we learned that four or five persons in all had drowned in the same lake. By this time, Faris had given his version of how Hasan had drowned. He said that after he threw the dog (that was to be drowned) into the water, he repented. Then he tried to pull the dog out of the water, but fell into it himself. He fell head first and became caught in the mud (presumably at the bank or bottom of the lake). Faris had made no other statements about the previous life, but had continued to show behavior compatible with what might have been expected of Hasan.

After his visit to the Yuyucuers in 1976, Reşat Bayer wrote me that Leyla Yuyucuer had told him of another remark Faris had made with reference to the previous life. Someone in a conversation had mentioned the name Hasan. On hearing this name spoken, Faris said: "I would like to be called Hasan. My name 'Faris' is silly and makes no sense." Faris was about 6 years old at this time.

In 1977 we asked Faris some questions about the previous life to test how much he knew about the previous family—whether from normally obtained information or from residues of imaged memories he had. When we asked him whether he could remember the name of the person whose life he recalled, he at first seemed not to be able to recall the name. Then, after a little time, he said: "Hasan." Then we asked him the name of Hasan's father. Again, he could not tell

us immediately. Then he said he remembered that his father (of the previous life) had been a confectioner, which Faris's mother, listening, said was correct. After this he also stated the father's name: Salih.

Comment. Most subjects of these cases seem to remember all the details of the previous life (that they will ever remember) when they are young children, usually under the age of 4. They may take 2 or 3 years to gain vocabulary and other components of speech in order to be able to communicate clearly everything they remember to their parents; but what they will ever remember seems to be present in entirety from the beginning, so to speak. There are other subjects, however, in whom the process of remembering seems to work differently. For them, the memories seem to occur bit by bit, as they grow older. Sometimes the additional memories come as a result of special efforts to recover them, as in the case of Suleyman Andary. In other cases, the additional memories come spontaneously, perhaps stimulated by events similar to those of the previous life. Faris may belong in this group. I suggest this because in 1981 he gave to Ertan Kura a much fuller account of the previous life than he had ever given before to Reşat Bayer and me. It is possible that he had made these statements to his family earlier, without our having learned about them. It is also possible that Faris had incorporated normally acquired information into a stock of images and could no longer tell the difference between original imaged memories and later accretions.

Faris's Statement in Later Childhood. In the autumn of 1981 Faris was a little over 11 years old. Ertan Kura recorded (in notes I have edited) that Faris said:

> I had a white dog. I was coming with the dog. There was a slope where I was standing, and we fell down. Someone called Nihat rescued me. I had a brother called Yildiray, and I was called Hasan. My father was called Salih. He used to sell refreshments[30] from a portable stand. I cannot remember my brother very well. I just remember his face from the time he was 6 or 7 years old. I was in Irin [this name not placed in the case], and I went to the water where I fell down. I am afraid of going toward water now. But now there is no water there [meaning, in the lake]. It has dried [up].

Leyla Yuyucuer told Ertan Kura that Faris had mentioned another detail concerning the drowning of the dog, namely: "I had a dog. My mother shouted at me: 'Throw that dog away.' The place where I was standing was soft, and I sank into it."

Faris's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

Circumstances and Manner of Faris's Speaking about the Previous Life. I have little to add under this heading. However, it is worth emphasizing that up to September 1975 Faris's statements had been entirely confined to refer-

[30]The Turkish word *bicici* (used here) refers to someone who sells ice cream, sherbets, and similar refreshments. Faris had used this word in 1977, when we had translated it as "confectioner."

ences to Hasan's drowning, including his warnings to other children not to go near the lake. He was then 5 years old. His mother said that he had so far not said what name he had had in the previous life. Nor had he given any explanation for the physical abnormalities that seemed to derive from the previous life. (This last omission is not surprising, because he would never have seen the birthmark on his buttock, and he may have had little opportunity to compare his penis with those of other boys of his age.)

Faris's Phobia of Water. From an early age and certainly before he spoke about the previous life, Faris showed a phobia of being immersed in water.[31] In 1971 Leyla told us that Faris—who was then 7 months old—showed fear when cold water was put on him, but did not object to warm water. (Possibly at this age he was not being fully immersed in water.) When we next had a report of his attitude toward water (in February 1973), we learned that he resisted being bathed to the point where two persons were needed to wash him, presumably one to hold him and one to do the washing. (Faris's older sister, in contrast, greatly enjoyed taking baths.)

In September 1975 Faris's phobia of water was persisting. Leyla told us then that Faris was still afraid of being bathed and would not sit or lie down in a bathtub, but remained standing. He would have preferred not to be bathed at all. The phobia still persisted at the time of our meeting in 1977. (This was the year Faris started going to school.) According to Ertan Kura's notes of 1981, Faris said that he was still afraid of going near water, but he seemed to be referring to water like that of the lake where Hasan had drowned. However, Leyla Yuyucuer told Ertan Kura that Faris was still afraid of taking a bath.

Faris also showed fear when taken to the lake where Hasan had drowned. In 1973 his grandmother, Sabiha İncirligöz, told us that she had carried Faris on a walk she had taken. He was in her arms and seemed asleep until they happened to pass the lake where Hasan had drowned. He then became aroused, seemed frightened by the sight of the lake, and began to cry.[32] He got down from his grandmother's arms and threw a stone into the lake. For some days after this he had a fever.

When Faris became able to speak and was beginning to express memories of the previous life in words, he warned other persons against going near the lake where Hasan had drowned. He would say, for example: "Don't go there. You could drown as I did." He felt so strongly about the danger of the lake that he would try to hold by the clothes any boy who said he was going to the lake in order to prevent the boy from doing so. Since several other persons had drowned in the lake, even after Hasan's drowning, there must have been a general concern

[31]Other examples of subjects showing a phobia or other strong emotional reaction related to the previous life before they expressed any imaged memories of it occurred in the cases of Shamlinie Prema, Sujith Lakmal Jayaratne, Maung Sein Win, Maung Myo Min Thein, and Lal Jayasooria.

[32]Other subjects who had a phobia of the place where the previous personality's death occurred include Ma Myint Thein, Süleyman Zeytun, and Necati Çaylak.

about the danger in the neighborhood. Yet whatever that may have been, Faris's fear of the lake seemed unusual to his mother.

Faris's Unusual Dislikes and Preferences for Foods. Faris did not like to eat eggplant, meat, or milk; and his family learned that Hasan had also disliked these foods. (We did not verify these aversions with Hasan's parents; at the time we met them, Faris had not shown any difficulty in eating, apart from that when he nursed at his mother's breast.)

In contrast to the mentioned food aversions, Faris called for *bulgur-ayran*, a dish of crushed wheat with yogurt typically eaten by peasants in villages like Sadiya Köyü, but not ordinarily in the cities like Adana. Leyla had perhaps a degree of urban snobbery, and she would tell Faris, when he asked for such food: "Go and get it at Sadiya Köyü." After such a rebuff Faris would withdraw and sulk for a time.

Faris's Attitude toward Hasan's Family. Leyla Yuyucuer noticed that when Faris was an infant, he generally did not like to be held in the arms of anyone but his mother; however, he seemed to be happy when Hasan's father held him.

Later, when Faris could speak, he never expressed a desire to go to see Hasan's family, and Leyla thought he had no attachment to them.

For their part Hasan's family visited Faris from time to time when they were in Adana. One such visit occurred early in 1976. However, we learned in 1977 that the Derins had been to Adana for the marriage of a daughter, but had not come to see Faris. The Yuyucuers received information that the Derins were afraid that meeting Faris would sadden them.

Other Relevant Behavior on the Part of Faris

Faris showed an unusual emotional reaction to lanterns, such as kerosene lamps, and his family thought that they had found an explanation for this in events of Hasan's life. However, the account of how Faris reacted to lamps seemed unclear to me; and we had no opportunity to verify the Yuyucuers' conjectures about its significance with Hasan's parents.

Faris's health was in general good. However, his mother said (in 1975) that he was "very nervous." He seemed to sleep poorly, and he sometimes jerked in the bed while sleeping. In 1977 Leyla told us that he had frequent nightmares in which he would cry out: "No. Don't do that."

Faris's Birthmarks and Birth Defect

Figure 19-37 shows the sketch I drew in 1971 of the birthmark on Faris's lower lip. It consisted of a vertical swelling of the lip about 5-6 millimeters long; it was elevated above the surrounding tissue by about 1 millimeter.

This birthmark seemed to me to be the least important of the physical abnormalities noted at Faris's birth. The evidence concerning a corresponding wound on Hasan was unsatisfactory. However, as I noted earlier, Hasan had some

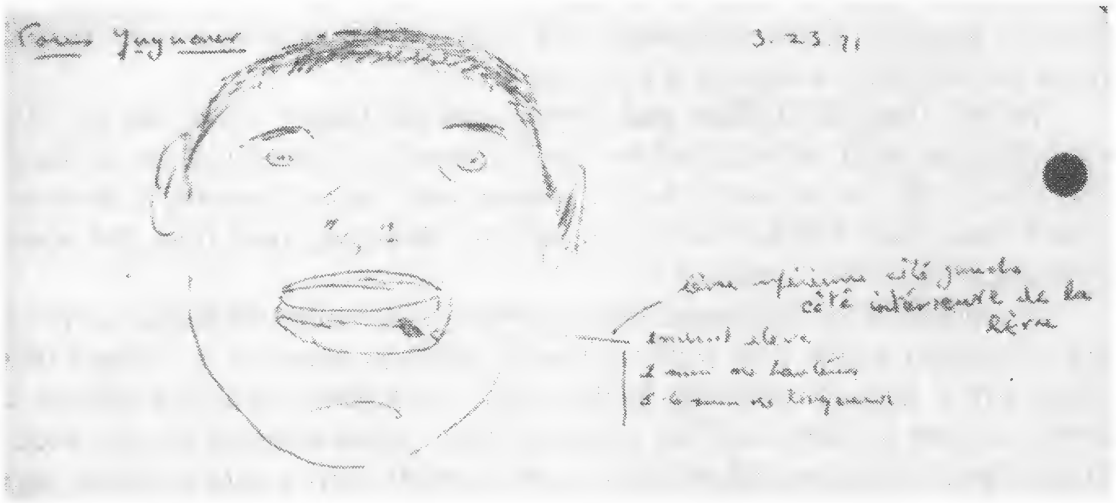

Figure 19-37 Sketch of congenital swelling in Faris Yuyucuer's lower lip as it appeared in March 1971, when he was 7 months old.

injury to one or both of his lips that occurred either as he was drowning or perhaps during efforts to resuscitate him after his body had been taken out of the lake. Also, the birthmark of Faris's lip appears to have contributed to the evidence convincing Hasan's family that he had reincarnated as Faris.

Nevertheless, because this birthmark was poorly related by site and evidence of cause with the wound on Hasan's lips, I gave it little attention at later phases of the investigation, and I do not even have a note of when, if ever, it disappeared. I now wish that we had continued to observe it, instead of concentrating our attention exclusively on the other physical changes that took place in Faris's body as he became older.

In Chapter 11 I described the birthmark on Faris's left buttock sufficiently, but readers may wish to refer back to the description I gave there and examine again Figures 11-8, 11-9, and 11-10.

Figure 19-38 shows Faris's penis at the age of 7 months. It was unusually small—only 1 centimeter or less long—and had almost no foreskin. This abnormality gradually resolved, and by March 1977, when Faris was 6½ years old, his penis, including its foreskin, was entirely normal in appearance (Figure 19-39).

Other Relevant Medical Information. Leyla Yuyucuer told us that no other member of the family had had birthmarks (or birth defects) similar to those of Faris.

Comment on Micropenis. Extreme degrees of micropenis, such as Faris had at his birth, occur rarely. I have not learned a figure for its incidence, but support my assertion with the following statement from A. J. Schaffer and Avery (1971). After referring to the fact that an infant's penis of normal length (2 to 3 centimeters) may sometimes be "buried within the thick pad of subcutaneous fat," they continued: "Rarely the phallus is indeed tiny, measuring less than 2 cm. in total palpable length" (p. 379).

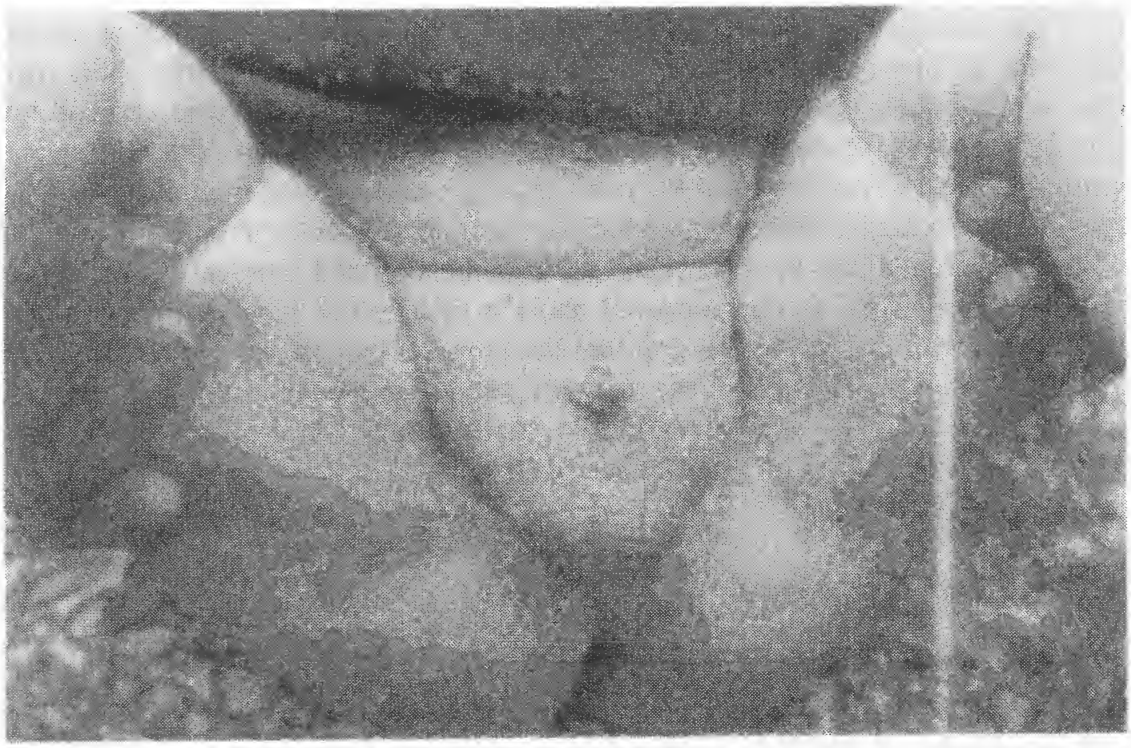

Figure 19-38 Micropenis with reduced foreskin in Faris Yuyucuer as it appeared in March 1971, when he was 7 months old.

Figure 19-39 Faris Yuyucuer's normal penis in March 1977, when he was 6½ years old.

Some degree of micropenis is found in hypopituitarism and other causes of testicular deficiency, such as occurs in Klinefelter syndrome and Prader-Willi syndrome (Campbell, 1951; Cohen, 1982; D. W. Smith, 1982). Faris showed no grossly visible evidence of any endocrinological abnormality, and the subsequent entirely normal development of his penis and foreskin (without treatment) virtually eliminates a major disorder of endocrine function as a factor in his micropenis.

I mentioned that the operations for circumcision and removal of a calculus impacted in Hasan's urethra occurred about a year before his death and had no connection with it. I am suggesting that the physical pain of his disorder and the apparent terror associated with the second operation produced a strong and enduring impression in Hasan. The affected "body image" of Hasan's penis then became the stimulus of an interference, fortunately temporary, with the development of Faris's penis.

Other Relevant Information

An incident not directly connected with Faris's statements or behavior related to the previous life deserves mention here because it illustrates the beliefs and actions of some of the persons among whom these cases occur most frequently. In 1977 Leyla Yuyucuer told us the following.

When Faris was about to start school (in 1977), one of Leyla's relatives (who was also a friend) dreamed that Hasan and three other personalities in his line of incarnations would die just before they were to start school. The dream included advice to Leyla to sacrifice some animal before letting Faris start school. She took this advice and sacrificed a cock. Faris then started school and continued to be in good health.

Comment

There are advantages and disadvantages to having the subject of one of these cases identified in infancy—on the basis of dreams, birthmarks, or other indications—as the reincarnation of a particular deceased person known to his family. The advantages include the alerting of the family to notice statements that the subject may later make about a previous life, when he begins to talk, or unusual behavior he may show that may seem more appropriate for the previous life than for the subject's situation. The principal disadvantage comes from the temptation parents may be under to pass from simple listening to what the child may say to suggesting, perhaps unconsciously, what he should say. The distinction between observing and suggesting may have become blurred at times in the present case. Salih Derin told us of an episode, perhaps innocent enough by itself, that shows how other persons, especially enthusiastic adults, may guide a subject's behavior. Late in March 1971 (just a week before we met him), Salih had gone to visit Faris. When he approached the child, someone said to Faris: "Look! Your father is here." At this, Faris turned toward Salih and snuggled his cheek

against Salih's. At the time of this incident Faris was only 7 months old, and there was no question of putting words in his mouth. The episode, however, illustrates how suggestions may influence the subject's behavior and statements related to a previous life.

In the present case I do not believe that suggestions played a significant part in evoking the statements and behavior attributed to Faris. If they had done so, I should have expected to have heard that he had commented on his birthmarks and birth defect. They were certainly prominently in the mind of his mother, and I think in the minds of Hasan's parents also. Yet Faris seems never to have referred to them.

In addition, neither of the families appear to have gained anything from the case, and even the sternest critic would not suggest that the gifts of candies that we sometimes gave the Yuyucuers would have sustained an artificial case during the 9 years when we had this one under surveillance.

THE CASE OF SUKH LAL SHARMA

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Sukh Lal Sharma was born in 1908 in the village of Bisalpura, District Bhind, Madhya Pradesh, India. His father was called Mihi Lal; I did not learn his mother's name. He had one older brother, Samokhi Lal, who was born in 1899. His family were Brahmin cultivators.

At birth Sukh Lal was found to have a markedly malformed right hand (Figure 19-40) and also a malformation of the right side of the chest (Figure 19-41), which defects I shall describe later.

After he became able to speak, Sukh Lal said that he had been called Kashi Ram and had been killed by one Chhotey Lal, who had cut off the fingers of his hand. He stated a few additional details about the previous life.

When Sukh Lal was still a child, R.B.S. Sunderlal learned about his case and investigated it. He took the trouble to keep Sukh Lal in his house for a week (apparently to get to know him better and learn all the boy could say about the previous life). He also studied the police dossier about the murder of a man called Kashi Ram, who had been killed in 1908. Subsequently, Sunderlal (1924) published a brief report of the case.[33]

[33]Sunderlal tried to publish his case reports in English-speaking journals, but encountered incredulity and rejection. His success in publishing his reports through Gustave Geley's editorship of the *Revue métapsychique* reflects the generally more open-minded attitude toward reincarnation of French psychical researchers (of that period) compared with English and American ones.

Through the diligence of James Matlock, I have been able to study a copy of Sunderlal's (unpublished) English account of the four cases that he investigated. The English version contains a few details omitted from the published French account, of which the most important one is that Sunderlal himself examined the police record of Kashi Ram's murder and compared Sukh Lal's birth defects with the police reports of Kashi Ram's wounds. The birth defects corresponded to the wounds.

The case was then neglected until the late 1930s when S. C. Bose (who investigated several cases during these years) obtained some additional information. I later obtained a copy of his notes pertaining to the case. However, S. C. Bose did not study the case at first hand, as Sunderlal had, but learned about it from a magistrate, Ram Gopal Mishra, of Moradabad, Uttar Pradesh, who apparently had also not studied the case himself, but had obtained his information from Sunderlal.

In 1971 I thought that it was not too late to try to obtain further information about the case, and even, perhaps, to meet Sukh Lal himself. Dr. L. P. Mehrotra succeeded in tracing the family for me. It was too late for a meeting with Sukh Lal, because he had died in 1943. However, his older brother, Samokhi Lal, was still living, and I was able to meet him and another villager of Bisalpura (who had been at school with Sukh Lal) on November 26, 1971.

In 1973 Samokhi Lal answered a few questions about details of the case in correspondence with Dr. Jamuna Prasad.

Relevant Facts of Geography and Possibilities for Normal Means of Communication between the Two Families

The Bhind District is in the northern part of Madhya Pradesh, and its territory adjoins that of Uttar Pradesh. Bhind is only about 25 kilometers from the boundary of Uttar Pradesh. In the days of the British Raj in India, Uttar Pradesh was known as the United Provinces and was under direct British rule. Bhind, however, was part of the princely state of Gwalior. The villages concerned in the case were even closer to British territory than was Bhind. It would, therefore, have been relatively easy for Chhotey Lal to have escaped out of the territory of the state of Gwalior into that of the United Provinces.

Kashi Ram's village, Nonenhta, is about 15 kilometers south and east of Bhind, and Bisalpura is about 24 kilometers from Bhind, farther east than Nonenhta. I did not visit Nonenhta, but I estimate the distance between it and Bisalpura to be about 16 kilometers.

Samokhi Lal did not think that he had ever met Kashi Ram. (He was, we should remember, a boy of only 9 when Kashi Ram was killed in 1908.) He did not think that his and Sukh Lal's father, Mihi Lal, had known Kashi Ram; but he could not say that he had not. It happened that Kashi Ram's main work was in a village called Jakhmoli, which was about 9 kilometers from Bisalpura, but on the side away from Nonenhta. This means that in traveling between Jakhmoli and Nonenhta or between Jakhmoli and Bhind, Kashi Ram would probably have passed through Bisalpura, where he and Mihi Lal might have met. I learned that a "cousin brother" of Sukh Lal's family had married a girl from Nonenhta before Sukh Lal was born. And after his birth a nephew married another girl from there. Thus there were opportunities for the members of the two families to meet. However, they seem to have had no definite acquaintance prior to the development of the case, and when I asked Samokhi Lal why Sukh Lal had been born in their family, he replied: "God knows. I do not."

The Death of Kashi Ram

Kashi Ram was a native of the village of Nonenhta. He belonged to the caste of Kayasths, who specialize in legal and governmental work. When he grew up, he became a *patwari*, a type of clerk concerned with legal and financial records, including taxes. He married and had at least two sons.

It happened that a zamindar (landowner) of Nonenhta called Chhotey Lal was summoned to the Collectorate (tax office) of the district, at Bhind. He had apparently to answer for some suspected wrongdoing. Kashi Ram was instructed to appear at the Collectorate also, and he was scheduled to testify against Chhotey Lal. Chhotey Lal and Kashi Ram started toward Bhind together, and along the way Chhotey Lal tried to win Kashi Ram over to his side in the case against him. Kashi Ram proved incorruptible, and so Chhotey Lal shot him and then cut off the fingers of his right hand. He took one of the fingers that he had cut off, put it in Kashi Ram's (portable) ink pot and put that on Kashi Ram's chest. He then fled from the scene. The murder occurred in 1908 in the princely state of Gwalior. Chhotey Lal escaped into territory ruled directly by the British government, and he was never apprehended.

R.B.S. Sunderlal stated in his report that he had studied the police record of the murder of Kashi Ram. For this reason, I think we should accept his account of the circumstances of the murder rather than a somewhat different account given to me by Samokhi Lal in 1971. When I drew Samokhi Lal's attention to the discrepancies between his account of the murder and that of Sunderlal, he acknowledged that he might have forgotten some details and deferred to Sunderlal's account. He and his family were living in Bisalpura in 1908, and their information about Kashi Ram's murder was all secondhand.

Samokhi Lal estimated that Kashi Ram had been between 40 and 45 years old when he was killed.

The Interval between Kashi Ram's Death and Sukh Lal's Birth

Sunderlal wrote that Kashi Ram was murdered in 1908. Since he had examined the police dossier in the case, I think we can take this date as accurate. He also said that Sukh Lal was born "soon after" Kashi Ram's death. This accords with Samokhi Lal's statement (to me in 1971) that Sukh Lal was born in 1908. We can say, therefore, that Sukh Lal was born not more than 12 months after Kashi Ram's death; and the interval may have been much less.

Statements and a Recognition Made by Sukh Lal

In his report (of 1924) Sunderlal stated that Sukh Lal had told him that he remembered all the main events of the previous life, including "the drama in which it ended." He added that Sukh Lal was then beginning to lose his memories. (We do not know how old Sukh Lal was when Sunderlal interrogated him, but the

reference Sunderlal made to him as "this child" suggests that Sukh Lal was still under 10 or 12 years of age at the time.) Unfortunately, Sunderlal (whose report of the case is exceedingly brief) did not give particulars of what Sukh Lal remembered of the previous life.

Samokhi Lal was 72 years old when I met him, and he had pardonably forgotten some details of the case. He did remember, however, that Sukh Lal had said that his name had been Kashi Ram and that he had been killed by Chhotey Lal. Samokhi Lal said that he had himself asked Sukh Lal why he was born with a birth defect of his right hand, and Sukh Lal at first said that his hand had been cut by "Kakka." A few days later, Samokhi Lal repeated the question, and this time Sukh Lal said that his hand had been cut by Chhotey Lal and that he had been murdered under a peepal tree. (It seems that "Kakka" was a nickname for Chhotey Lal; it is probably a colloquial form of "chacha," a Hindi word for "uncle.") Samokhi Lal said that Sukh Lal did not say (at least to him) why Chhotey Lal had cut his hand and killed him.

During my brief visit to Bisalpura in 1971, I met Suba Singh, a villager who had been at school with Sukh Lal. Suba Singh was born in 1913 and was therefore 5 years younger than Sukh Lal. He said candidly that he did not remember what Sukh Lal had said about the previous life when he had been a very young child, because he was even younger himself then. However, he recalled that once, when he and Sukh Lal (who was then 14 years old) were going to school together, he asked Sukh Lal about the previous life, and Sukh Lal told him some details. I shall next quote from my notes of Suba Singh's statement:

> Sukh Lal said that there had been ill will between Kashi Ram [himself in the previous life] and Chhotey Lal. Chhotey Lal said: "You should not trouble me like this." Kashi Ram replied: "I will have all the clothes of your women sold."[34] This was more than Chhotey Lal could tolerate. When Kashi Ram was going to Bhind for a court case, Chhotey Lal stopped him about 2 kilometers north of Nonenhta. Kashi Ram pleaded with Chhotey Lal not to take his life, saying that he would do what Chhotey Lal wished, but Chhotey Lal killed him anyway. He [Kashi Ram] was still alive [after being shot by Chhotey Lal] while Chhotey Lal cut off his fingers, except for the little finger. As he did this, Chhotey Lal said: "It [meaning their quarrel] is not this little finger's fault, but that of the other fingers, so I have left that one."

S. C. Bose's notes include references to a small number of statements that Sukh Lal made, additional to those I have already mentioned. Ram Gopal Mishra told Bose that Chhotey Lal heard about Sukh Lal's statements and went over to Bisalpura to see him. He was standing in a crowd of people when Sukh Lal recognized him and called out that he was his enemy and murderer.

[34]This would be a particularly insulting way of threatening to ruin Chhotey Lal. In the United States a person like Kashi Ram might say to a legal adversary: "I will get every cent you have."

Sukh Lal's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

Circumstances and Manner of Sukh Lal's Speaking about the Previous Life. Sukh Lal's first statement about the previous life seems to have occurred when Samokhi Lal asked him to explain his birth defects. According to Ram Gopal Mishra's (secondhand) report to S. C. Bose, this occurred soon after Sukh Lal began to speak coherently. I did not obtain any other information about circumstances stimulating Sukh Lal's statements about the previous life. Sunderlal mentioned that Sukh Lal's father and older brother (perhaps Samokhi Lal, but not named) spoke reluctantly about the case out of fear about "a possible scandal." This remark could have reflected concern about reviving village animosities, and it is possible that Sukh Lal's family tried to suppress his talk about the previous life.

Other Behavior of Sukh Lal Related to the Previous Life. Sukh Lal had a phobia of Nonenhta, and he would hide when he heard that someone from there was coming to Bisalpura. He had no phobia of guns or knives. He never spoke about revenging himself on Chhotey Lal.

Sukh Lal's Birth Defects

I have already said that Sunderlal's report was exceedingly brief, and he gave only a meager description of Sukh Lal's birth defects. He said that Sukh Lal "had all the marks of the violence that the patwari had undergone at the moment of his death.... [He was] born without fingers on his right hand and with his ribs looking as if they had been broken and stuck together again" (Sunderlal, 1924, p. 306; my translation).

Sunderlal did not mention that Sukh Lal had one finger on his malformed right hand. I obtained a fuller description of Sukh Lal's right hand from Samokhi Lal. From this description I made a sketch of the hand in my notebook, and an artist then rendered this more elegantly (Figure 19-40). The essential points are that, according to Samokhi Lal, Sukh Lal had no fingers on the right hand, except a part of the thumb and the little finger. The thumb was shorter than normal and had no fingernail. The little finger was more or less normal, but Samokhi Lal thought that its nail was smaller than normal. Samokhi Lal also described the hand as having part of the palm (distal portion) missing.[35]

Samokhi Lal also gave me a fuller and somewhat different description of the birth defect in Sukh Lal's chest compared with the brief description of Sunderlal. He said that the defect was in Sukh Lal's right lower chest, below the nipple. Part of the nipple was missing, and below it was an area depressed below the surrounding regions. Samokhi Lal described this as being about 7 centimeters in diameter and about 5 centimeters (at its deepest) below the normal level of the

[35]In the 1930s Ram Gopal Mishra of Moradabad, Uttar Pradesh, possessed a copy of a photograph of Sukh Lal, evidently taken years before by Sunderlal or at his request. A copy of this photograph may still exist and eventually become available.

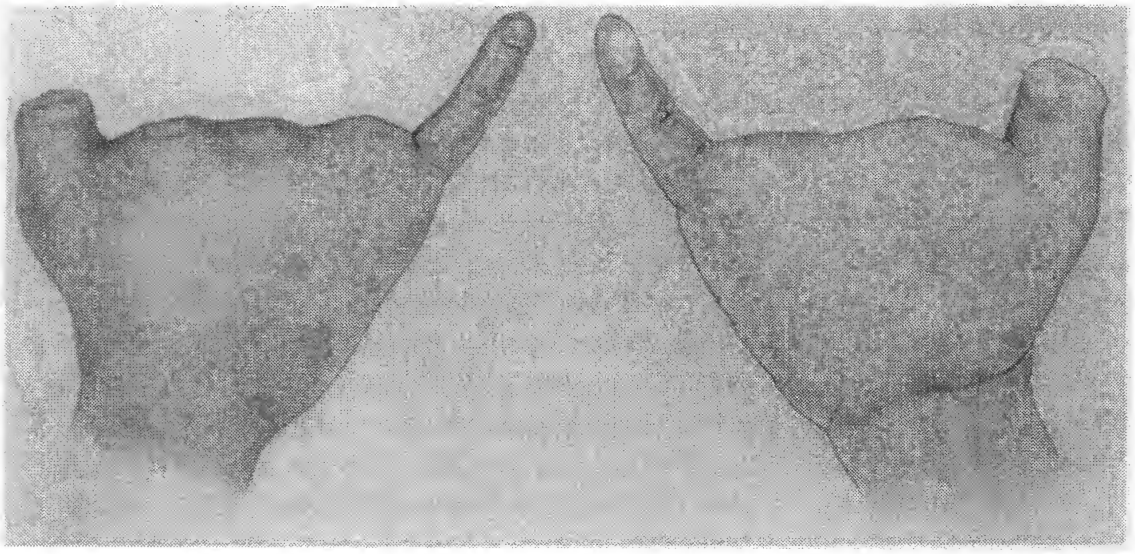

Figure 19-40 Sukh Lal's right hand showing dorsal (left) and palmar (right) surfaces drawn by an artist from a sketch that I made from the description of the hand given in 1971 by Sukh Lal's older brother, Samokhi Lal. Only the fifth finger was morphologically normal, although it was slightly smaller than normal. The thumb was markedly shortened and had no nail.

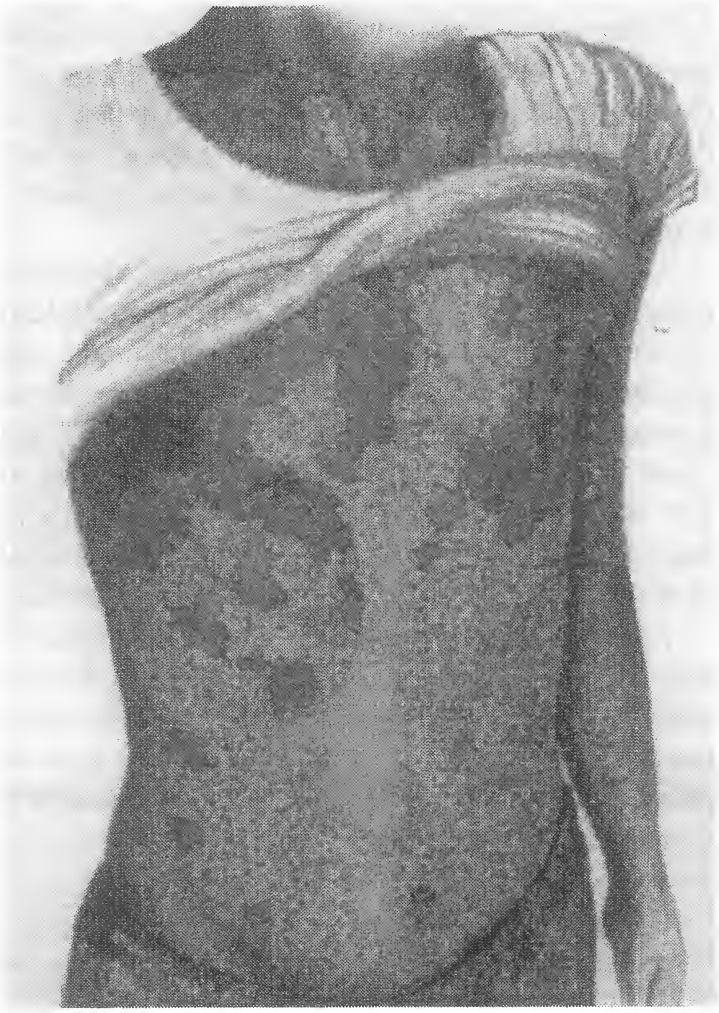

Figure 19-41 Artist's representation of depression in the right chest of Sukh Lal as described by Samokhi Lal in 1971.

ribs in that area. The ribs were intact in this hollowed area. From this description an artist drew Figure 19-41 for me.

Sukh Lal had never complained of pain in his chest.

Other Relevant Medical Information. Sukh Lal worked as a cultivator. He appears not to have been greatly handicapped by the defect of his right hand and could do most work. He mainly used his left hand, giving it support as needed with the right hand. He wrote with his left hand. He never married. He died after a short febrile illness in 1943 at the age of about 35.

There were no other birth defects in the family.

Comment on the Birth Defect of Sukh Lal's Right Hand. Sukh Lal's birth defect—an extremely rare one—was a type of cleft hand with absence of some digits (ectrodactyly) (Maisels, 1970). Flatt (1977) published a report and photographs (p. 267) of a case of such an atypical cleft hand, with defects closely resembling those of Sukh Lal's hand. Birch-Jensen (1949, p. 13) estimated the incidence of atypical cleft hand at 1 in 150,000 births in the Danish population.

Comments on Some Details of the Case

At points of overlapping, Suba Singh's statement about what Sukh Lal told him and Sunderlal's report of the murder of Kashi Ram agree. Suba Singh gave the additional detail of Sukh Lal's explanation of why he was born with the little finger of the right hand, but none of the other three fingers.

The people of India are far from unique in their animosity toward tax collectors, but they may be unusual in the thoughts they have about mutilating the hands of the clerks who write out the assessments of taxes. The case of Lekh Pal Jatav, presented earlier in this work, touched on these fantasies. When Lekh Pal's birth defect of his right hand was first noted, it was thought half-jokingly that perhaps he had been a tax clerk in a previous life and that some enraged taxpayer had cut off the fingers of his hand. The detail mentioned by Sunderlal (which he probably obtained from the police records) of how Chhotey Lal had placed one of Kashi Ram's amputated fingers in his inkwell further shows the anger that the irate taxpayer focuses on the fingers that record the amount of taxes to be paid. In Suba Singh's account of Sukh Lal's memories, Chhotey Lal exempted Kashi Ram's little finger from extirpation, because it would not have participated in holding the pen that wrote out tax assessments, as the other fingers would have done.

Samokhi Lal was a secondhand witness of Kashi Ram's murder, which is why I set aside his version of the quarrel between Chhotey Lal and Kashi Ram. But he was a direct observer, and no doubt a frequent one, of Sukh Lal's birth defects, and I feel justified in accepting his description of these over the much briefer one of Sunderlal.

As I mentioned earlier, Sunderlal stated (in his English account of the case) that Sukh Lal's birth defects corresponded to "the description of the dead body in the police file." I think the side (right) of the chest on which Kashi Ram was wounded is an important detail. Sukh Lal told Suba Singh that he was still alive—

presumably meaning having some degree of consciousness—during the cutting off of his fingers. However, if Chhotey Lal had shot him in the *left* chest at the same level, he would have punctured the heart, and Kashi Ram would have died within a few minutes. In that event, I would not have expected Kashi Ram to have been conscious while Chhotey Lal cut off the fingers of his right hand.

THE CASE OF JULALUDDIN SHAH

Introduction

The subject of this case made no statements about a previous life, and his identification with a deceased uncle rests on a dream that his mother had and a birth defect and birthmark that he had.

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Julaluddin Shah was born in 1959 in Allahaganj, District Shahjahanpur, Uttar Pradesh, India. His parents were Gulsher Shah and his wife, Bhaggo. They were Sunni Moslems. Julaluddin was the oldest of their four children. I described the case of his younger brother, Nasruddin, in Chapter 6.

Bhaggo Shah, when pregnant with Julaluddin, dreamed that her recently deceased brother-in-law, Bissa, said he was coming to live with her and Gulsher. When he was born, Julaluddin had a birthmark on his forehead (Figure 19-42) that corresponded with the scar of an injury Bissa had received in childhood; and Julaluddin was also born without a foreskin (Figure 19-43). Bhaggo's dream, together with Julaluddin's birthmark and birth defect, led Gulsher and Bhaggo to believe that Julaluddin was the reincarnation of Bissa.

Dr. Satwant Pasricha learned about Julaluddin's case, just incidentally, at the time she began the investigation of Nasruddin's much more detailed case in May 1975. She made some preliminary notes about the case at that time. She and I then investigated the case further in October 1976 (with Dr. David Barker) and in March 1979.

Our informants were Julaluddin's mother, Bhaggo, Bissa's widow, Muradan, and a villager, Yograj Singh, who had known Bissa and had also known Julaluddin since his childhood. Gulsher Shah was not present during our interviews for this case.

The Life and Death of Bissa Shah

Bissa Shah—he may have been distantly related to Gulsher Shah—was born in Bhamroli, District Hardoi. (Bhamroli is about 25 kilometers from Allahaganj.) Estimates of his age at death varied, but if he was about 50 years old when he died, as Bhaggo estimated, he was born in about 1908.

When Bissa was about 6 or 7 years old, a horse kicked him in the forehead, and a permanent scar remained there afterward.

In adulthood he married Gulsher Shah's sister, Muradan, and they had three sons.

When we asked what Bissa's occupation had been, we were told that he had been a beggar. He and his family lived in poverty without possessions. At the end of Bissa's life he and Muradan were living with Gulsher and Bhaggo.

In 1958, when he was about 50 years old, Bissa became ill with an illness labeled "asthma." He was short of breath. After being ill about a month, he died in Gulsher's and Bhaggo's house in Allahaganj.

Bissa, like almost every Moslem, had been circumcised.

An Announcing Dream

Soon after Bissa's death, Bhaggo dreamed of him, and in the dream he said: "I have not gone anywhere. I will come back to you." Bhaggo was about 2 weeks pregnant with Julaluddin when she had this dream.

Julaluddin's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

Bhaggo said that Julaluddin "when he was born [that is, in early infancy] had more attachment and affection for Muradan than for me." We failed to ask Muradan whether she agreed with this observation.

Bhaggo also said that Julaluddin, like Bissa, was short-tempered.

The Attitude of the Adults Concerned toward the Case

In presenting the case of Nasruddin Shah, I explained that his (and Julaluddin's) parents, although Sunni Moslems, had come to believe in reincarnation. They knew that reincarnation forms no part of orthodox (Sunni) Islam, but the statements, behavior, and birthmarks of Nasruddin had altered their belief. Julaluddin was about 3 years older than Nasruddin. Compared with Nasruddin's case, his had only meager details, and I am not surprised that it alone did not change their parents' beliefs about reincarnation. By the time we began to investigate the cases, however, Bhaggo Shah had come to accept Julaluddin's case as one of reincarnation just as much as Nasruddin's.

Muradan dissented from Bhaggo's view of the case. She did not believe that Bissa had reincarnated as Julaluddin. Unlike most Sunni Moslems, her skepticism did not derive from a categorical denial of reincarnation. She said that it was possible. She may have been unimpressed by the evidence in the case, the paucity of which I have already emphasized. Her attitude may also have derived from a quarrel she was having with Julaluddin in 1979—the year we interviewed her. I did not learn what this quarrel was about, but it might have colored her stance on the question of whether Julaluddin was her husband, Bissa, reborn.

Figure 19-42 Birthmark near the center of Julaluddin Shah's forehead as it appeared in March 1979, when he was about 20 years old. The birthmark was a linear, depressed area of hyperpigmentation. It was approximately 2 centimeters long and, at its widest point, approximately 4 millimeters wide.

Julaluddin's Birthmark and Birth Defect

Figure 19-42 shows the birthmark near the center of Julaluddin's forehead as it appeared in March 1979, when he was about 20 years old. It was a linear depressed area of hyperpigmentation about 2 centimeters long and 4 millimeters wide. Muradan remembered the scar on Bissa's forehead as having been in its center. Julaluddin's birthmark was not exactly at the center of his forehead. Bhaggo said that the birthmark might have moved since his birth, but she did not mention (and I did not ask her) in what direction, if any, it had moved. Apart from any such movement, however, I believe that the birthmark was sufficiently near to the center of the forehead so that we may consider it as corresponding with acceptable closeness to the scar on Bissa's forehead.

Figure 19-43 shows Julaluddin's penis with congenital absence of the foreskin.

Information and Comment about Congenital Absence of the Foreskin

Congenital absence of the foreskin (prepuce) is a rare anomaly, but I have not been able to find any report of its incidence. It may occur more frequently than most clinicians realize. T. James (1951) observed four cases in as many years

Figure 19-43 Julaluddin Shah's penis showing congenital absence of the foreskin. This photograph was taken in October 1976, when Julaluddin was about 17½ years old.

of pediatric practice. (He found a suggestion of a genetic factor in two of his cases.) Also, Doutté (1905, p. 353) stated that among Moslems of Morocco, being born circumcised (that is, without a foreskin) is considered a blessing. From observations in Pakistan, Kadir (1953) wrote: "It is not...unknown to find babies born without the prepuce. Quite a few examples can be collected" (p. 568). These statements show that at least some Moslems are familiar with the occurrence of male infants born without a foreskin.

Among Moslems (as among Jews) male circumcision has a special importance (Öztürk, 1973). It was widely practiced among the peoples of the Middle East before Islam (Levy, 1957, p. 251). The Prophet Mohammed himself was born circumcised (Ibn Saad, 1917, p. 64); and this occurrence contributed to the significance Moslems attach to male circumcision (Gibb and Kramers, 1953, p. 255). On the Shiite side of Islam we are told that each of the 12 Imams was born without a foreskin (Sachedina, 1981, p. 184).

Figure 19-44 Mukul Bhausar's penis showing congenital absence of the foreskin. This photograph was taken in November 1987, when Mukul was 13½ years old.

In India, where Hindus do not practice circumcision routinely, congenital absence of the foreskin would be regarded as a Moslem characteristic.[36]

If we include the partial congenital circumcision of Faris Yuyucuer, this work reports five cases of children born without foreskins. For one case the stimu-

[36]I have studied one other Indian case the subject of which was born without a foreskin. He was Mukul Bhausar, the child of a Hindu family living in Soyat Kalan, a village of western Madhya Pradesh. Dr. Pasricha and I investigated his case in 1986, and Dr. Pasricha obtained further information about it in 1987. She also took the photograph of Mukul's penis shown in Figure 19-44. When a young child, Mukul spoke about a life that he said he had lived in Shujalpur, another community of Madhya Pradesh. He said that he had been a Moslem and was called Alauddin. He thought he was about 15 years old when he drowned. Among other apparent memories of the previous life, he described how he had been made to sit on a pitcher and was then circumcised. Mukul had some habits distinctive of Moslems, and his parents observed him in the posture of *namaz* (the Moslem form of prayer) even before he could speak. He continued doing namaz until he was about 8 years old. Although Mukul had seemed to furnish enough details to permit finding a person corresponding to his statements, we failed to do so, despite strenuous efforts on our part. Dr. Antonia Mills and Dr. Narender Chadha tried again to solve the case in 1988, but also did not succeed. If Mukul was remembering the life of a person who had existed, the previous life may have been too far back in time for living informants to remember the person we were trying to find.

lus was said to be a maternal impression (Case 30 of Table 3-2, reported by J. G. Harvey [1888]); for two cases (Maung Aung Than and Faris Yuyucuer) trauma in a previous life appears to have provided the stimulus; and in two cases (Julaluddin Shah and Mukul Bhausar) either the subject or adult informants attributed the defect to an operative circumcision in a previous life.

Most of the cases investigated in India have occurred among Hindus. We have, however, data on 19 Indian subjects who remembered the previous life of a Moslem (Mills, 1990a, 1990b). Eleven of these subjects were Hindus, and 8 were Moslems; 16 were males and 3 were females. (There were no sex-change cases in this group.) Presumably, all the 16 male previous personalities had been circumcised. Among these 16 cases (having male previous personalities) only 2 subjects (Julaluddin Shah and Mukul Bhausar) were born with absent foreskins. During our study of the case of Mukul Bhausar, Dr. Pasricha and I were told about other cases of Hindu children born in the area of Soyat Kalan without foreskins who remembered the previous lives of Moslems. The community has both Moslem and Hindu residents, and it was implied that some Moslems were being reborn as Hindus. We have not traced and investigated these cases. If we or our successors are able to study a large number of such cases, we might obtain some clues to why some persons who remember the lives of circumcised persons are born without foreskins whereas others are not.

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20

EXPERIMENTAL BIRTH DEFECTS

INTRODUCTION

In Chapter 10 I mentioned that South Asia and West Africa are the only regions of the world where, to my knowledge, experimental birthmarks are observed. Such birthmarks, however, seem to be relatively rare in West Africa, although experimental birth *defects* (to which I come shortly) are not. Uchendu (1965) described a case of experimental birthmarks—his own. After briefly describing doubts that had been expressed about his mother's fertility, he continued:

> There is no doubt that my birth in 1930 relieved the anxiety of my parents. My name, Chikezie ("May God Create Well"), is symbolic of what I meant to them. My family's confidence was doubled when the diviner returned his verdict that I was Ufɔmadu reincarnated. Ufɔmadu was my father's immediate older brother, the third of the four sons of my father's mother. On his deathbed, he had advised my father to marry quickly for "he was coming back to him." The diviner's verdict could not be doubted: I have "birthmarks" (three black spots on the right side of my belly) to vindicate it! It is claimed by my father that my "birthmarks" resulted from the marks made on Ufɔmadu *post mortem* for the purpose of vindicating his "personality" in the next cycle of life, which I now represent. (p. 6)

Uchendu did not state how Ufɔmadu had been marked, such as by cuts with a knife or by rubbing on some substance like charcoal in the style of the experimental birthmarks of Southeast Asia. Ufɔmadu, the previous personality in

Uchendu's case, died in adulthood. The marking of *adults* for the production of experimental birthmarks seems to occur relatively rarely in southern Nigeria, the part of West Africa of which I have most knowledge. In contrast, the marking and, even more, the mutilation of dead *children* occur frequently, and this subject forms the main part of the present chapter.

REPEATER CHILDREN OF WEST AFRICA

Over a vast area of West Africa there exists the practice of sometimes mutilating a dead infant or child with the expectation that upon reincarnating it will be recognized by a birth defect corresponding to the mutilations on the dead body. I cannot say that every ethnic group of West Africa practices mutilations of dead infants; my information from direct informants and examination of published reports is not sufficiently comprehensive to support such a general statement. I do know, however, that the practice extends at least as far to the east as the Ibibio of eastern Nigeria (Talbot, 1923/1967) and as far to the west as the Serer of Senegal (Collomb, 1973; cases reported here). In the north/south geographical axis, the practice extends from the Akan people of Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire on the Gulf of Guinea (as I learned from an informant) to the Bambara of Mali (Monteil, 1924/1977; Tauxier, 1927). (Edelstein [1986] reviewed the range in time and location of reports of this practice among West and East Africans.) My personal experience of this practice has been restricted to studies among the Igbo of Nigeria and the Serer of Senegal. All the six cases I report in this chapter come from these two ethnic groups.

The mutilation or marking of dead infants derives from the belief that in a family having two or more children who die young the same personality or soul is being born, dying, and being reborn repeatedly in the same family. The expression *repeater children* describes the concept most concisely, but each ethnic group has a special word in its language for such children (for example, *ogbanje* in Igbo and *abikú* in Yoruba). The associated beliefs about repeater children vary from one ethnic group to another. Among the Serer, parents deplore the death of a child, but do not blame the child for its death. They may mutilate its body so that it will be recognized, on returning to the family, by a birth defect corresponding to the mutilation (Collomb, 1973). In contrast, the Yoruba and the Igbo often react to the death of a child not with grief only, but also with anger. Their mutilations of a dead child may express this anger, because (as two of my case reports in this chapter show) the mutilations extend far beyond what recognition (after reincarnation) by a birth defect would require. Illustrating the possible terrible effects of parental anger toward a dead infant, Wenger (1980) described the case of: "Adíja [a Yoruba of Oshogbo, Nigeria], who died ten times in infancy, was then flung on the ground and thus mutilated by her mother (driven insane with grief) and was born for the eleventh time without any chin, because her chin [that is, of the tenth dead infant's body] had been smashed [when that baby was

flung to the ground]" (p. 91; my translation). Adíja was still living in Oshogbo when I was there in 1982, but I was unable to meet her.

For the Igbo, the repeater child or ogbanje returns to the same parents over and over in order to harass them. The ogbanje is thought to belong to a band of discarnates who take vows to die young before being reborn (Noon, 1942; Okonji, 1970; Stevenson, 1985). Another justification for the mutilations derives from the belief (among the Igbo) that the members of the discarnate ogbanje band find bodily disfigurements repugnant; it is thought, therefore, that they expel from their society any mutilated person, who, accordingly, at his or her next rebirth would have no ties to the discarnate ogbanje band and would therefore remain alive.

Some ogbanjes die suddenly without warning, but others show premonitory signs of frailty and illness. A family with such a child may consult an oracle who, if he diagnoses that the child is an ogbanje, may recommend or practice certain rituals to prevent the child from dying. An oracle whom I interviewed told me that he sometimes made a cut across the child's palm and rubbed herbal ingredients into the wound. A further measure, practiced in the area of Awgu (south of Enugu), is amputation of the distal phalanx of the left fifth finger. When Dr. Stuart Edelstein and I were in Awgu in 1981, the principal of a school on the outskirts of the town assembled (within a few days) for our inspection 13 children of the area around the school from whose left fifth fingers the distal phalanx had been amputated, because the child was a suspected ogbanje, and the mutilation was intended to prevent the child from dying. (Toes were also sometimes amputated in this area.)

West Africa has a high infant mortality rate. The children die mainly of malnutrition, pneumonia, dysenteries, malaria, and sickle cell disease. The heterozygous (A/S) state for the sickling trait appears to increase resistance to malaria, and this probably accounts for the high incidence of sickle cell disease in areas also having a high incidence of malaria (Edelstein, 1986). Some authors have suggested that the ogbanje children die from sickle cell disease (Isichei, 1976; Onwubalili, 1983); but Dr. Edelstein and I showed from two types of evidence that children identified as ogbanjes do not have a higher incidence of sickle cell disease than the general population. Some undoubtedly do die of sickle cell disease, but they also die of all the other causes, in medical terms, of the high infant mortality in West Africa (Edelstein and Stevenson, 1983).

Parents rarely mutilate the first child of the family who dies in infancy. It is instead after the death of the third or fourth infant—all supposedly the same personality or soul reincarnating—that they lose patience and practice the mutilation. (As I shall mention later, however, Akan parents may mutilate *all* stillborn babies, not just later-born ones.)

The Igbo have an extremely high percentage (92%) of same-family cases. This means that almost every child thought to be reincarnated is identified with a deceased family member. Exceptions occur in occasional "enemy cases" and in the cases of some ogbanjes. The subjects of enemy cases are identified as the reincarnations of persons who were killed—perhaps in a tribal

feud—away from their village; they supposedly became reborn in the village where they died instead of back among their own people. I studied an enemy case in Awgu in 1981. The subject, Aniago Obodo, was born in about 1935. As a child, he had some memories of having been fatally wounded and dying about a week later. He said that he had been killed during a battle between two communities. He was not identified as anyone known to his family, and it was supposed that he was remembering the life of a warrior who was killed near Aniago's birthplace. (The case was thus analogous to those of the Burmese children who claimed to remember the lives of Japanese soldiers killed in Burma.) Aniago thought that he had at one time remembered the name of the killed warrior, but he had forgotten it by the time I met him. He was treated well in his family, but no one had considered it important to identify a previous personality for him.

Many ogbanjes, as I have explained, are identified as the reincarnation of a deceased sibling. Less often they are identified as having had some other kind of relationship to the family or as having come into the family from outside, as it were.

Correlations between Mutilation Practices and Birth Defects

In Chapter 10 I described experimental birthmarks as involving a type of prediction: that a person would be born (in the same family or at least in the same geographical area) who would have a birthmark at a particular location of the body. The cases of experimental birth defects similarly involve a prediction that someone will be born—soon after a mutilation—with a birth defect corresponding to the mutilation. The cases with birth defects have an additional feature, however, that makes them potentially even more important than those with experimental birthmarks. So far as I have learned, persons marking the dying or dead bodies in Thailand and Burma choose the sites of marking haphazardly, although they generally do not mark the face. Thus almost any part of the body is as likely to be marked as any other. In contrast, the different ethnic groups (or even smaller communities) of West Africa mutilate the bodies of the dead children at different, locally preferred sites.

I have myself observed the differences in the mutilation practices between the Igbo around Awgu (where the distal phalanx of the left fifth finger, or sometimes a toe, is amputated) and the Serer of Senegal (where an ear is mutilated). In the case reports to follow, one subject from Awgu was born with congenital absence of the distal phalanx of the left fifth finger (and also with absent fifth toes). In contrast, all three of our subjects among the Serer had congenital defects of the ears. In addition to the different mutilation practices among the Igbo and the Serer, I have learned of three other areal variations in the mutilations, each accompanied by births in the region of babies having defects corresponding to the local type of mutilation.

Goody (1962) described among the LoDagaa of northwestern Ghana the practice of making cuts on the face of a dead child (alleged to be a repeater child,

called *tshaakuor* ["one who comes back"] among the LoDagaa). If subsequent to such a cutting of a child's corpse a baby is born to the same mother with marks corresponding to the facial cuts, they exclaim: "He's come back! He's come back!" (Goody, 1962, p. 150).

One of my informants (Susanne Wenger of Oshogbo, Nigeria) wrote me that around Ile-Ife there were "some persons with absent upper lips after adults had inflicted on the little corpses this disfigurement" [that is, excision of the upper lip].

My fifth example was communicated by Aristide Kolotey, a native of Ghana and himself the subject of a case I described in Chapter 5. According to him, the Akan people of southern Ghana and southeastern Côte d'Ivoire have (or had) the practice of making a cut on the buttocks of stillborn children. He estimated that (in the 1980s) roughly 10% of the pregnancies in that part of Ghana terminated in stillbirths and, further, that about 10% of living persons had on a buttock a birthmark corresponding to the wounds made on the buttocks of stillborn children.

Table 20-1 summarizes the practices and apparently associated birthmarks or birth defects in these five ethnic groups.

Table 20-1. **Correlations between Mutilation Practices and Occurrence of Birthmarks or Birth Defects in Different West African Ethnic Groups**

Ethnic Group	*Mutilation Practice*	*Congenital Abnormality Reported to Have High Incidence in Region*	*Source*
1. Igbo (of Awgu, Nigeria)	Amputation of distal phalanx of left fifth finger	Congenital absence of distal phalanx of left fifth finger	Edelstein and Stevenson, 1983; case of Onuchukwu Nwobodo
2. Yoruba (of Ile-Ife, Nigeria)	Excision of the upper lip	Congenital absence of upper lip	Suzanne Wenger (personal communication)
3. LoDagaa (of northwestern Ghana)	Cuts on the face	Birthmarks corresponding to facial cuts	Goody (1962)
4. Akan (of southern Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire)	Cut on the buttocks	Birthmark on buttock corresponding to a cut	Aristide Kolotey (personal communication)
5. Serer (of Senegal)	Excision of part of an ear	Congenital absence of part of an ear	Cases of Tadé Sarr, Wagane Sene, and Sedar Diouf

CASE REPORTS

THE CASE OF ONUCHUKWU NWOBODO

Introduction

This case consists solely of birth defects of digits on three of the subject's four extremities. Its significance derives from the occurrence of these defects in a community of Igbos whose members practice mutilation of these digits as a treatment of repeater children, who, as I explained, the Igbo call ogbanjes.

I mentioned in the Introduction to this chapter that in the region of Awgu (south of Enugu in Anambra State, Nigeria), a common treatment of a suspected ogbanje is amputation of the distal portion of the left fifth finger. I also mentioned that Dr. Stuart Edelstein and I studied such cases in March 1981 at one of the schools in Awgu. We asked to see children who had had fingers amputated because they had been suspected of being ogbanjes. Within a few days 13 such children were brought forward and shown to us. Of these, six were students of the school, and the other seven were preschool children of the neighborhood.

Onuchukwu Nwobodo was presented to us among these children, but his case had the important difference that his defects (he had three) were congenital and not the result of postnatal amputations.

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Onuchukwu Nwobodo was born in Awgu, Anambra State, Nigeria, in 1968 (or possibly in 1969). His parents were Nwobodo Okonkwo and his wife, Ukagbu.[1] They were Igbos. Onuchukwu was their second son and second child. At the time we met him there were six living children in the family; a baby girl had died in infancy. I did not learn Nwobodo Okonkwo's occupation, but I believe he was a migrant farm laborer.

Onuchukwu was born with the distal phalanx of his left fifth finger absent (Figures 20-1 and 20-2) and also with both fifth toes absent (Figure 20-4). Onuchukwu never made any statements about a previous life.

In March 1981 Onuchukwu's father was our only informant for his case. Dissatisfied with this limitation and hoping to meet Onuchukwu's mother (as well as to take better photographs), we tried to meet the family again when we were next in Awgu in December 1982. Unfortunately, Onuchukwu himself had left Awgu and gone north to Niger State, where he had been apprenticed to another family. His father was working elsewhere, and his mother was not at home either. We obtained a small amount of additional information about the case from Olote Odigbomma, who was Onuchukwu's paternal aunt by marriage.

[1]In Onuchukwu's name, as in many other Igbo names, his father's first name is his second one.

Conjectures about Onuchukwu's Previous Life

Onuchukwu's family and village elders had thought that he might be the reincarnation of his paternal grandfather, Okonkwo Ago. Okonkwo Ago had died when his son, Nwobodo Okonkwo, was a baby, and we learned little about him. He was said to have been a generous person, and Onuchukwu also showed this good quality. This possible identification provided no explanation for Onuchukwu's birth defects.

Another previous life conjectured for Onuchukwu was that of some ogbanje child who had been mutilated at the sites customary in the Awgu area and then had died. (The child's parents might also have amputated its digits *after* its death.) However, if Onuchukwu had had a previous life as an ogbanje (mutilated while living or after dying), this life must have been in some other family. As I mentioned above, Onuchukwu was his parents' second child, and his older brother was still living in 1981; at the time of Onuchukwu's birth the family had not lost a child. After Onuchukwu's birth another child, an infant girl, had died. An even later-born sister who had "fits" was suspected of being an ogbanje, and her left little finger was duly amputated as a treatment.

In response to a question about ogbanjes in the extended family who might have died *before* Onuchukwu's birth, Nwobodo at first denied that there had been any. However, when the question was repeated later in the interview, he said that several cousins had been considered ogbanjes. Even so, none of them had been identified as Onuchukwu's previous personality.

Onuchukwu's Birth Defects

Figure 20-1 shows the palmar aspect of Onuchukwu's hands. (I neglected to photograph the dorsal aspect of his hands close up.) Figure 20-2 shows a close-up view of the distal end of his left fifth finger. There is no sign of scar tissue, and the appearance of the end of Onuchukwu's left fifth finger should be compared with that of another child, Chiabagzie Ogbanna, one of Onuchukwu's schoolmates. Chiabagzie had been suspected of being an ogbanje, and the distal phalanx of her left fifth finger had been amputated. One can readily see in Figure 20-3 the scarring at the end of her left fifth finger.

Too ambitiously, I tried to photograph Onuchukwu's toes in the same exposure as his hands, and shadows obscured the toes. Even so, Figure 20-4 shows that both of Onuchukwu's fifth toes were missing.

Nwobodo Okonkwo said that Onuchukwu's mother observed his birth defects "immediately" after his birth.

Other Relevant Medical Information. According to Nwobodo Okonkwo, Ukagbu's pregnancy with Onuchukwu was normal. She had no illness during it and took no medication. Delivery took place in the home, with an elderly relative assisting. (Nwobodo Okonkwo was away at work at the time.)

Figure 20-1 Palmar aspect of Onuchukwu Nwobodo's hands as they appeared in March 1981, when he was about 12 years old. The distal phalanx of the left fifth finger was absent. At the end of the finger there was no scar tissue suggesting a postnatal amputation.

Figure 20-2 Another view of Onuchukwu's left hand to show the absence of scarring at the tip of the fifth finger.

Figure 20-3 The hands of another Igbo child, Chiabagzie Ogbanna, who, as a suspected ogbanje, had had the distal phalanx of the fifth finger of the left hand removed. The scar of this amputation can be seen at the end of the finger.

Figure 20-4 Hands and feet of Onuchukwu. Although the feet were photographed in a shadow, the photograph shows that the fifth toes of each foot were absent. The abnormally short fifth finger of the left hand can also be seen. This photograph was also taken in March 1981.

Nwobodo Okonkwo and Ukagbu had a great-grandfather in common, and so they were second cousins.

No other member of the family had birth defects similar to Onuchukwu's.

THE CASE OF CORDELIA EKOUROUME

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Cordelia Ekouroume was born in the village of Umuokue, Imo State, Nigeria, in 1958. Her parents were Ekouroume Uchenda[2] and his wife, Irodirionyerku. Cordelia was the fourth of their five children. Ekouroume Uchenda was a practitioner of indigenous medicine. He had numerous other children with other wives. He and his family were Igbos.

Cordelia was born with extensive defects of her hands (Figures 20-5, 20-6, and 20-7), legs (Figures 20-8 and 20-9), and feet (Figure 20-10). These corresponded to equally extensive mutilations on the body of a baby girl named Nwanyi, who had died at the age of about 1 year. Nwanyi was Ekouroume's daughter by another wife, and she was said to have been the reincarnation of Ekouroume's sister, Wankwo, who had died before Nwanyi's birth.

I learned about this case near the end of my visit to Nigeria in 1981. In 1982 I was able to go to Umuokue, where I met Cordelia and her parents. Dr. Stuart Edelstein, Dr. Bernard Kalu, and Eddie Etunwoke were with me. Eddie Etunwoke acted as our interpreter.

Persons Interviewed during the Investigation

We were advised not to discuss the previous life with Cordelia, and we did not. (She cooperated willingly in our photography and obviously knew why we were interested in her birth defects.) We obtained most of our information from her father, Ekouroume Uchenda, but we also interviewed Cordelia's mother, Irodirionyerku.

Ekouroume Uchenda was not the easiest person to interview. He had a tendency to extol his accomplishments, and he hinted at our good fortune in being able to learn something of his powers, which was perhaps true.

He said he was 90 years old. Although I would not have estimated his age at more than 70, I have no other grounds for disputing his claim to be as old as he said he was. At the time we met him, he had three wives and a large number of children. He remembered that "about 14" of his children had died. He had 40 living descendants, but this figure included grandchildren as well as children.

The Life and Death of Wankwo

Wankwo was the daughter of Uchenda and a full sister of Ekouroume Uchenda. She grew up, married, and lived at a place called Ahuma. In adulthood she quarreled with a man—not her husband—called Kafor, who threatened to kill

[2]Cordelia's naming resembled that of Onuchukwu Nwobodo. Her last name was her father's first name; his father's name was Uchenda.

her. She then appealed to Ekouroume Uchenda, who killed Kafor, not with crude physical violence, but with sorcery. Wankwo later died in Ahuma of natural causes[3] in about 1945 and was then, according to Ekouroume Uchenda, reborn as his daughter and received the name Nwanyi.

The Life and Death of Nwanyi

Nwanyi was born a year after Wankwo's death, in about 1946. Her parents were Ekouroume Uchenda and one of his senior wives, Onyenyerego. An oracle said that Nwanyi was the reincarnation of Wankwo.

When Nwanyi was about a year old, she died. I have already explained that Ekouroume Uchenda lost about 14 children (not necessarily all before Nwanyi's death). Nwanyi's death particularly provoked him, because he thought that the least she—the reincarnation of his sister Wankwo—could have done, given the trouble he had taken to kill Kafor, was to stay in the family for longer than a year. In what can only be regarded as a fit of rage, he cut off some of the dead Nwanyi's fingers and toes. In addition, he tied her legs together with some cord, symbolically preventing her from ever walking again. To block the Wankwo/Nwanyi personality from ever returning, he put some of the amputated fingers and toes, along with some "medicines," in a little bag and hung this up in his house. This ritual was intended to banish Wankwo/Nwanyi permanently and prevent her from ever being reborn in Ekouroume Uchenda's family.

The Breaking of the Spell against Wankwo/Nwanyi and the Birth of Cordelia

After Nwanyi's death and the subsequent mutilation of her body and the ritual to prevent her from ever coming back, Ekouroume Uchenda married another junior wife, Irodirionyerku. She almost certainly knew that some of Ekouroume Uchenda's children had died; but she told us that prior to Cordelia's birth she knew nothing about Nwanyi and the ritual intended to keep her from reincarnating in the family.

For almost 11 years all went well with Irodirionyerku's pregnancies and children. She had three normal children. Then there was some remodeling of the house to be done, and without understanding its significance, Irodirionyerku cut down the little bag that contained the fragments of Nwanyi's amputated toes and fingers. Ekouroume Uchenda learned of this event with alarm and predicted—to himself only—that Irodirionyerku's next baby would be born with birth defects. (Although I am not positive on this point, I believe that Irodirionyerku was preg-

[3]"Natural causes" of death is a Western concept, related to such other Western ideas as "chance" and "accident." According to the traditional beliefs of the Igbo, no one ever dies of "natural causes," and I have used the expression here only to emphasize that Wankwo's later death was not related to the quarrel with the man whom Ekouroume Uchenda said he killed with sorcery.

nant when she unintentionally neutralized her husband's measures to keep Wankwo/Nwanyi from being reborn in their family.) Ekouroume contemplated stopping Irodirionyerku's pregnancy with a ritual performed over Nwanyi's grave, but in the end he decided to let it proceed. He said nothing about his prediction of birth defects to Irodirionyerku.

Cordelia was the next baby born to Irodirionyerku. She was born somewhat postmaturely. Moreover, Irodirionyerku had a prolonged labor that seemed to become arrested. Ekouroume Uchenda, apparently sensing some reluctance on the part of Wankwo/Nwanyi to be reborn in the family (understandable from their presumed perspective, considering what he had done), then appealed to the incarnating soul and promised to give it anything it asked for if it would be reborn. After this, Irodirionyerku's labor resumed, and she gave birth to Cordelia; but she then fainted from exhaustion.

Ekouroume Uchenda was saddened when he saw Cordelia's birth defects. As for Irodirionyerku, she was totally unprepared for the birth of such a malformed child. She thought the baby would die, and to provide extra assurance against this possibility she had Cordelia baptized earlier than usual in the Roman Catholic Church and given a Christian name.[4]

Cordelia's Birth Defects

Figures 20-5 and 20-6 show dorsal and palmar views of Cordelia's hands. Several fingers on each hand were markedly shortened, and some had no nails. Figure 20-7 shows a close-up view of her right hand. Figures 20-8 and 20-9 show Cordelia's lower legs and feet. There was a deep constriction of the left lower leg above the ankle. (This was said to correspond to the groove made by the cord with which Ekouroume Uchenda had tied Nwanyi's legs.) The right leg had a similar, but much less prominent mark at about the same level; this mark is not discernible in the photographs. Figure 20-10 shows a closer view of Cordelia's feet. All the toes (except the right great toe) were shortened, none had nails, and some were involved in syndactylous processes.

Ekouroume Uchenda said that he had amputated some but not all of Nwanyi's fingers and that the birth defects of Cordelia's fingers "corresponded exactly" to the mutilations he had made on Nwanyi's body.

Comment. I put "corresponded exactly" in quotation marks, because this was the phrase that Eddie Etunwoke used in translating Ekouroume Uchenda's confident assertion. That Ekouroume would have a memory for having cut some

[4]A syncretic religion combining features of the traditional religion and Christianity occurs widely in the southern areas of West Africa that have been most exposed to Christian missionary endeavors. Such blending of religions occurs in many other cultures. For example, many Burmese Buddhists continue to negotiate with *nats* (non-human spirits conceived as able to intervene in human affairs [J. G. Scott, 1910]); and, as I explained in Chapter 1 and in the report of Sampath Priyasantha's case, many Sinhalese Buddhists invoke the help of Hindu gods. In Alaska I was told of an Athabaskan shaman who was also a deacon of the local Episcopal Church.

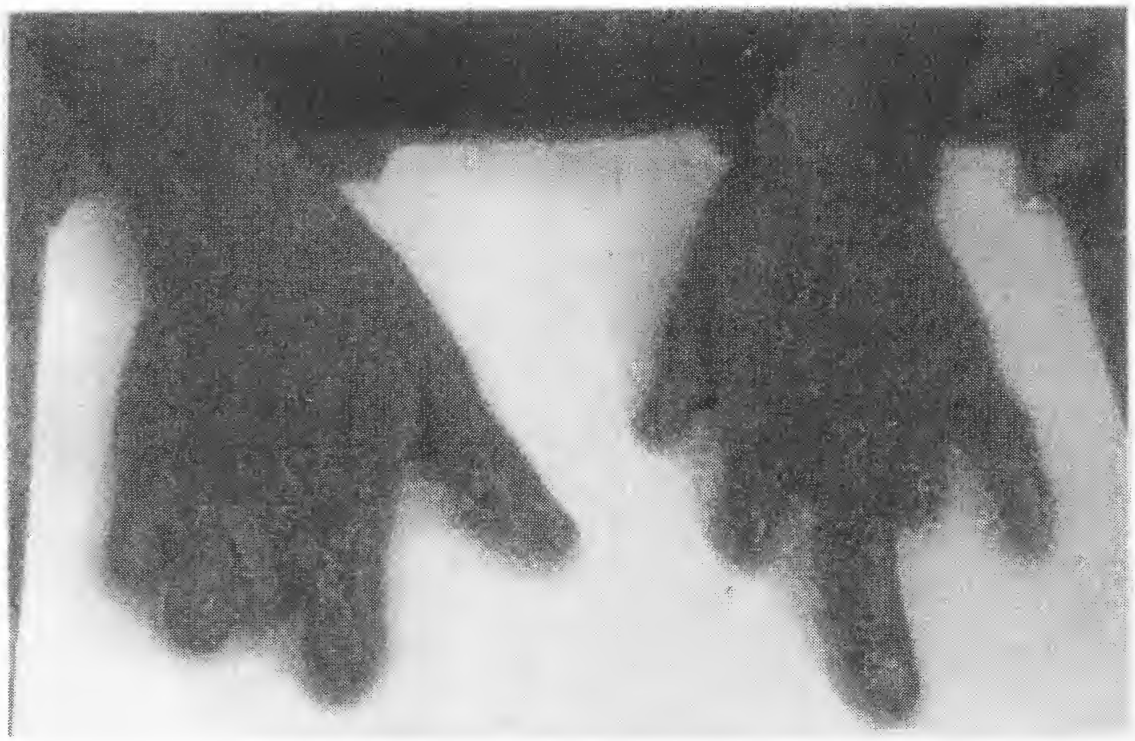

Figure 20-5 Dorsal view of Cordelia Ekouroume's hands as they appeared in December 1982, when she was about 24 years old. The right thumb and the left middle and fifth fingers were normal, but all the other fingers were markedly shortened and lacking nails. The right middle and fourth fingers were involved in a syndactylous union.

Figure 20-6 Palmar view of Cordelia Ekouroume's hands as they appeared in December 1982.

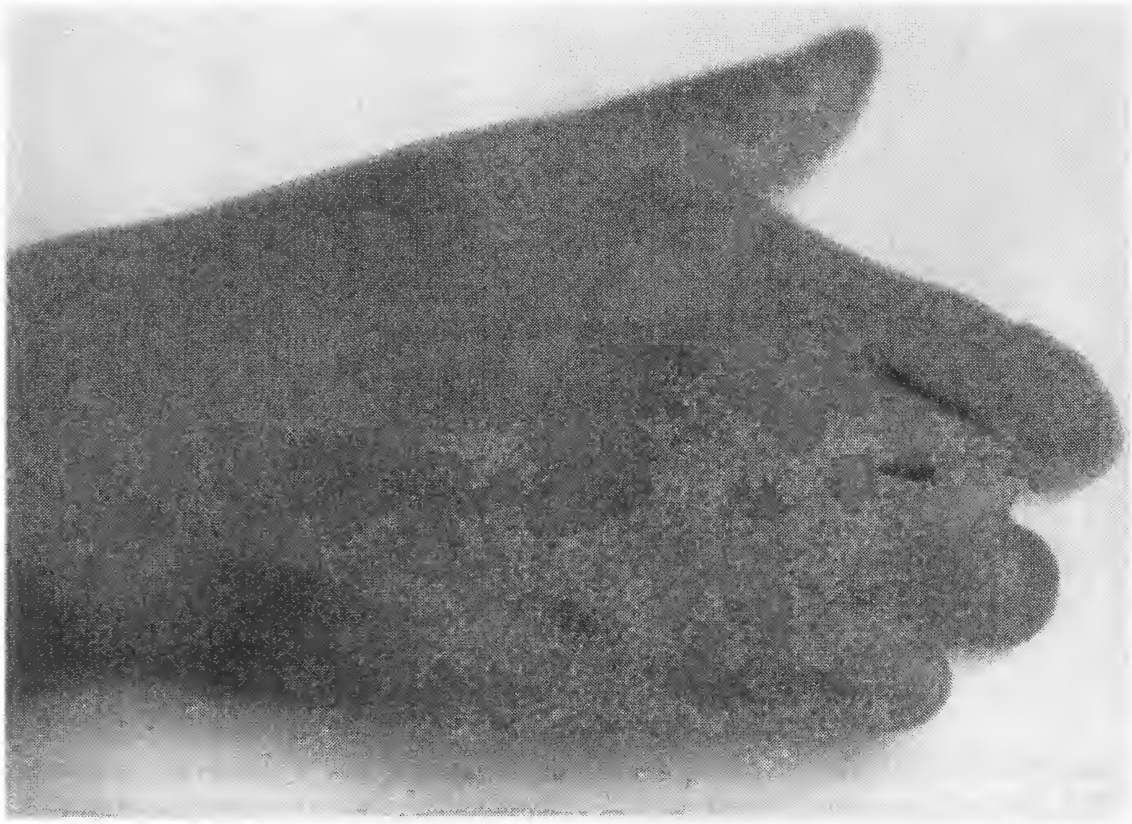

Figure 20-7 Close-up view of Cordelia Ekouroume's right hand to show details of its defects.

fingers and toes and tied rope around the legs I do not doubt. I am not asking my readers, however, to believe that he would remember—over a period of about 12 years—just which fingers and toes he had cut and which he had left unmutilated. I do not believe this myself.

Other Relevant Medical Information. Irodirionyerku had a normal pregnancy with Cordelia, except for the slight postmaturity and prolonged labor. She enjoyed good health and took no drugs or alcohol. She subsequently had another, normal baby.

I did not ask whether Ekouroume Uchenda and Irodirionyerku were related, but I am sure they were not.[5]

Ekouroume Uchenda and Irodirionyerku both stated that no other member of their family had birth defects.

[5]The Igbo almost never marry a person to whom they are related. This rule is so strictly observed that, as I mentioned in the report of Uwamachi Okogbue's case, one of my interpreters refused to put to the informant for that case a question on this matter. He implied that such a question would be not just otiose, but insulting. It would be tantamount to suggesting that the couple concerned were not really Igbos, as they claimed to be, but members of some alien group.

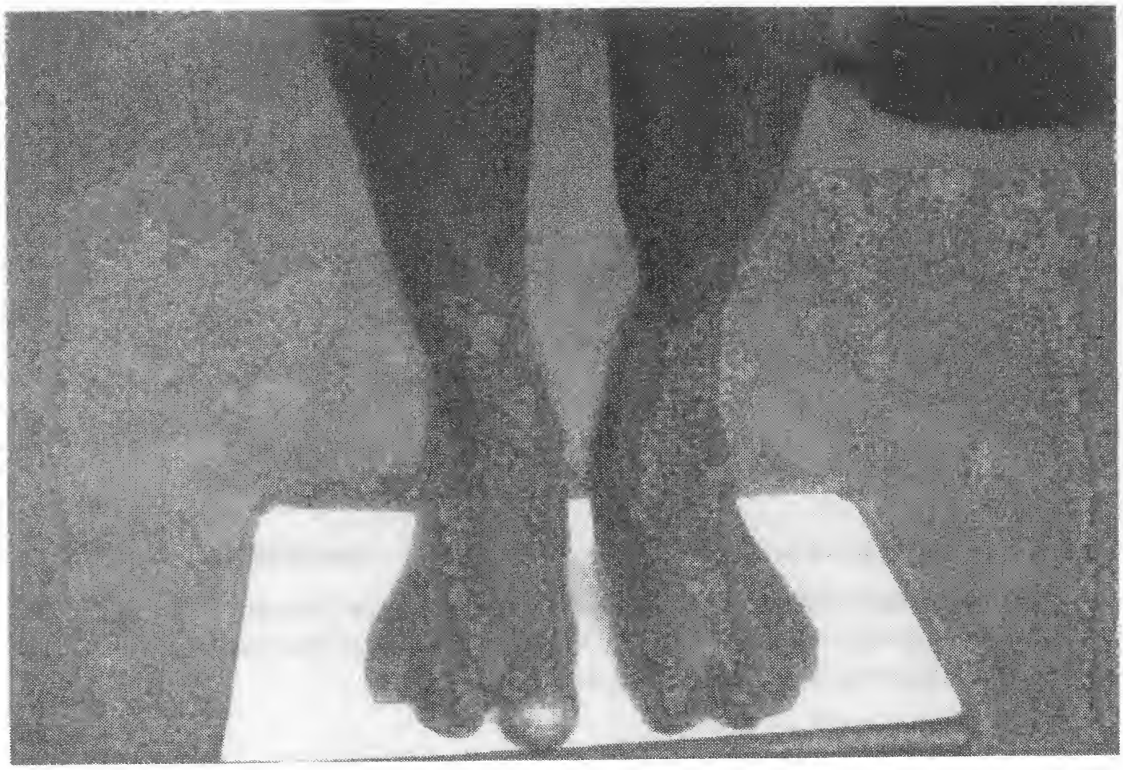

Figure 20-8 Lower parts of Cordelia Ekouroume's legs as they appeared in December 1982. The left leg had a deep groove about 8-10 centimeters above the ankle. A faint mark at the same level on the right leg is not visible in the photograph.

Figure 20-9 Lower parts of Cordelia Ekouroume's legs as they appeared from the rear.

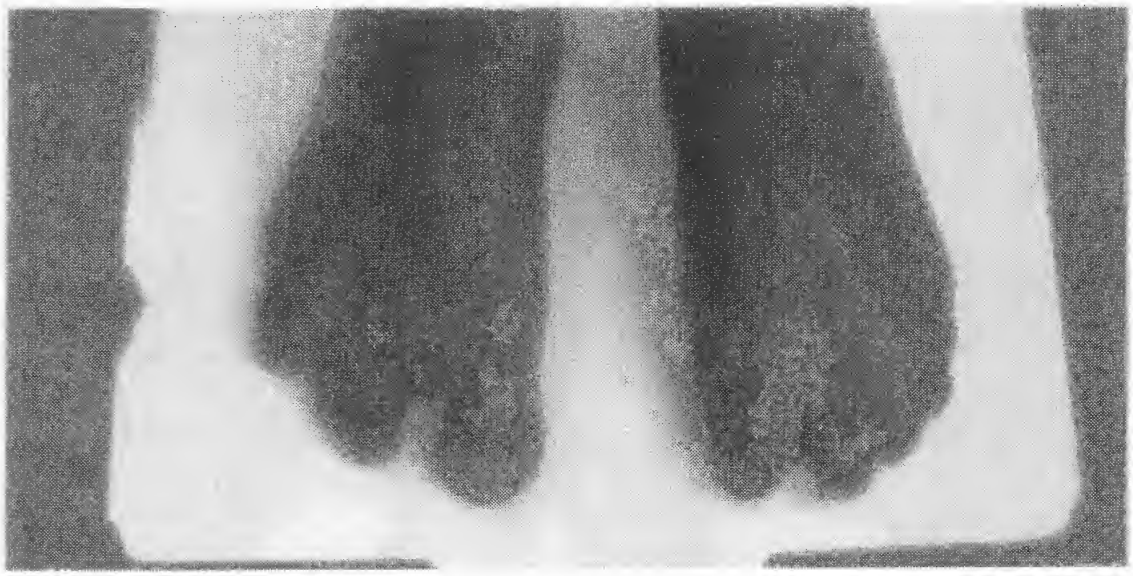

Figure 20-10 Cordelia Ekouroume's feet as they appeared in December 1982. Only the right great toe appeared normal. The other toes were markedly shortened, and some were involved in syndactylous unions; none had nails.

Other Relevant Information

When I asked whether Cordelia had ever spoken about a previous life, Ekouroume said that she had not done so in words, but had given certain signs suggesting that she was aware of her presumed previous incarnation or incarnations. He did not specify what these signs were.

We were told that Cordelia would not speak about the previous life, and her mother asked us not to ask her about it, so we did not.

THE CASE OF FLORENCE ONUMEGBU

Introduction

This case closely resembles that of Cordelia Ekouroume in its main features: mutilation of a deceased infant followed by the birth in the same family of a child with birth defects corresponding to the mutilations of the first child. The subject of this case, like Cordelia Ekouroume, had no imaged memories of a previous life.

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Florence Onumegbu was born in the village of Isieke-Ibeku, in Imo State, Nigeria, in about 1942. Her parents were Dick Onubugo and his wife, Hannah. They were Igbos. Florence was the first of their children to survive birth. Her

mother's first three pregnancies all resulted in premature births with the infants dying soon after birth. After Florence's birth, Hannah had five other children who survived infancy.

Florence was born with severe defects of both her hands (Figures 20-11 and 20-12) and both her feet (Figures 20-13 and 20-14). She was otherwise normal.

I learned of this case in December 1982 from Allison Nwaogwugwu (of Umuahia), who thought that he could arrange for me to meet the subject on a subsequent visit to Nigeria. When I next returned to Nigeria, in the summer of 1984, he enabled me to meet Florence Onumegbu, her mother, and her husband. Her father had died in 1982. Nicholas McClean-Rice assisted in the investigation of the case.

Florence's mother, Hannah Dick, gave her testimony somewhat reluctantly. She was aware that the birth defects of Florence's feet had been attributed to the chopping off of the toes of a baby in the family (she did not mention the defects of the fingers), but she said that "this happened when she had been a pagan." Since then she had become a Christian, and she seemed to think her present faith incompatible with the traditional religion that she had left behind but in the context of which the case had developed. Nevertheless, she seemed adequately forthcoming with regard to essential facts.

History of the Presumed Previous Personality

Dick Onubugo had an older brother, Iroka Onubugo, who married and had three children, all of whom died in infancy. When the third of Iroka's babies (who was a girl) died, he took a knife and chopped off the distal part of the feet and some of the fingers of the dead infant. Iroka Onubugo and his wife had both died by the time of my investigation of the case.

Florence Onumegbu was born some time after Iroka Onubugo had mutilated the body of his deceased infant daughter. Her malformations corresponded to the mutilations Iroka had made on the body of his infant. My informant for this correspondence was Timothy Onumegbu, Florence's husband. He had not known Iroka, who had died before the time of Timothy's marriage to Florence. He did, however, know his father-in-law, Dick Onubugo, Iroka's younger brother. Iroka had told Dick about the mutilations he had made on the body of his infant daughter, so that he and Dick were in a position to observe correspondences between the mutilations Iroka had made on his dead infant and Florence's birth defects. Dick had then later told Timothy about the correspondences. In talking with me, Timothy emphasized that before he decided to marry Florence—she being a woman with severe birth defects—he thought that he should make careful inquiries about their possible origin, and he had done so.

Florence's Birth Defects

Figures 20-11 and 20-12 show that the distal portions of the three middle fingers of both hands were missing so that these fingers were comparatively short

Figure 20-11 Dorsal view of Florence Onumegbu's hands as they appeared in June 1984, when she was about 42 years old. The three middle fingers of each hand were markedly shortened and had no nails. The fifth fingers were somewhat shortened, but had nails (although these are not readily seen in the photographs). The thumbs were normal.

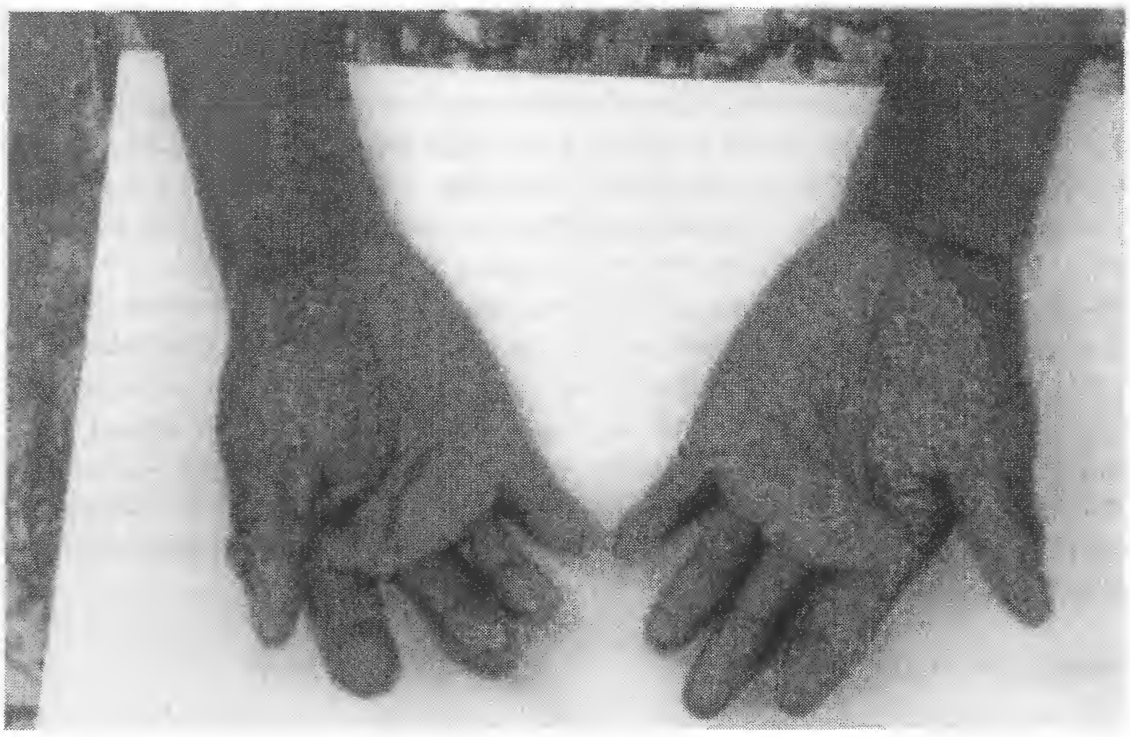

Figure 20-12 Palmar view of Florence Onumegbu's hands as they appeared in June 1984.

Figure 20-13 Florence Onumegbu's feet as they appeared in June 1984. The anterior third of each foot was absent.

Figure 20-14 Another view of Florence Onumegbu's feet as they appeared in June 1984.

and without nails. The fifth fingers of both hands seemed unusually short, but both had nails. The thumbs were normal.

Figures 20-13 and 20-14 show that the anterior thirds of both feet were absent.

So far as I could tell from visual examination, the remaining parts of Florence's hands and feet were normal.

Other Relevant Medical Information. Hannah Dick said that her pregnancy with Florence was normal. She suffered from "some dysentery" during the pregnancy and took native medicines, but no drugs from Western medicine. The pregnancy went to full term.

Hannah and Dick Onubugo were not related. There were no other instances of birth defects in the family.

Florence herself had five children, all without birth defects.

Information about Relevant Behavior on the Part of Florence

Although Florence had no imaged memories of a previous life, I thought she might have, or might have had, some behavioral memories related to the mutilation of the presumed previous personality, Iroka's infant daughter. However, I learned of nothing relevant. Specifically, Florence had had a good relationship with Iroka and experienced no fear or aversion with regard to him. Nor did she have any fear of knives, matchets, or other bladed weapons.

THE CASE OF TADÉ SARR

Introduction

After some correspondence with Dr. Henri Collomb of Dakar, Senegal, I made a stop there in 1978 and delivered a lecture about the research embodied in this work at the Centre Hôpitalier de Fann. Josephine Ndour, a social worker at the hospital, attended the lecture and afterward spoke to me, mentioning this case. I was not in a position to investigate it then.

In 1983 I asked Dr. Stuart Edelstein to stop in Dakar and investigate this and any other cases to which Josephine Ndour could take him during the time he had available. In the end, this was the only case about which he obtained sufficient information to warrant a separate report. Tadé Sarr was Josephine Ndour's cousin, and she acted as Dr. Edelstein's interpreter. I have not myself met Tadé Sarr.

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Tadé Sarr was born in about 1940 (although Dr. Edelstein thought that he appeared younger than the 43 years that birth in 1940 would have made him in 1983). He was born in Palmarin, which is about 100 kilometers southeast of Dakar. His parents were Pierre Sarr and his wife, Marie-Hélène. They were Serers. Tadé was the eighth of their nine children. Before his birth the family had lost four infants, who had all died between the ages of 4 and 6 months. After the last of these infants (a boy) died, a member of the family cut off a part of the dead baby's ear.

Figure 20-15 Left ear of Tadé Sarr as it appeared in February 1983, when he was about 43 years old. A large part of the superior edge of the helix was absent.

When Tadé was born, a part of his ear was absent (Figure 20-15), and the birth defect was said to correspond to the part of the ear of the deceased infant that had been cut off after its death.

Josephine Ndour remembered that when Tadé started to speak (at the age of between 2 and 3 years), he said that his ear had been cut by Tening Ndour. Josephine Ndour was herself a young girl of about 10 when she heard Tadé make this statement. Tening Ndour was a senior female member of the family, and she had conducted the ritual of cutting off part of the dead infant's ear.

When Dr. Edelstein was able to go to Palmarin (in February 1983), unforeseen circumstances delayed his arrival there and shortened the time available for interviews. He speaks French, and there was no barrier of language. However, the informants showed considerable reserve in talking about their traditional religion and about cases of the reincarnation type with a stranger—even one introduced by Josephine Ndour, who came from Palmarin and was related to them. In view of the practical difficulties that he encountered, I consider it fortunate that he was able to obtain the information I have given above.

Tadé Sarr's Birth Defect

Figure 20-15 shows that Tadé Sarr's left ear had a marked defect at the superior part of the helix.

THE CASE OF WAGANE SENE

In 1984 I was able to return to Senegal. In the meantime, Josephine Ndour had continued to try to locate cases for me and to make preliminary investigations of them. She learned about the case of Wagane Sene from Tekhé Diouf, who was a native of the region where the case occurred and a fellow employee of hers at the Centre Hôpitalier de Fann in Dakar.

Wagane Sene was born in about 1953 (this date is far from exact) in the village of Ndianiao, Fatick, Senegal. (Fatick is approximately 145 kilometers east and slightly south of Dakar, and Ndianiao is approximately 18 kilometers north of Fatick.) Wagane's parents were Birame Sene and his wife, Khemesse Mgom. They were Serers. Wagane was their second son and fourth child.

At birth Wagane was found to have a birth defect of his left ear. The superior portion of the pinna, perhaps one-sixth of its total, was absent. Figure 20-16, which shows the defect, should be compared with Figure 20-17, which shows Wagane's normal right ear. He was identified as the reincarnation of his older sister, Ngone, who had died at the age of 2 years in about 1948. Before burying Ngone, her parents had mutilated her left ear.

On June 29, 1984, I went to Ndianiao with Josephine Ndour and Tekhé Diouf. We had a short meeting with Wagane's parents, whom I interviewed together. They described the two features of the case: their mutilation of the left ear of their daughter Ngone (after her death and before her burial), followed by the birth, about 5 years later, of Wagane, who had a malformed left ear. They had had no other child between Ngone's death and Wagane's birth.

They were obviously convinced, on the basis of the correspondence between the part of Ngone's left ear that they had removed and the birth defect of Wagane's left ear, that he was the reincarnation of Ngone.

When we were at Ndianiao, Wagane was away, and I thought that I was not going to meet him. However, as we were driving out of the area we met Wagane, who was coming back to the village with his horse-cart bearing his wife and child. He obligingly allowed me to photograph his ear, and we talked for a few minutes.

Wagane told me that no other member of the family had a birth defect of the ear like his.

He appears to have had no imaged memories of the life of Ngone. I did not specifically enquire about these, but neither Wagane himself nor his parents mentioned that he had had such memories.

Comment

The birth defect in this case seems to me particularly unusual. I have never seen a defect like that of Wagane's ear in any monograph or textbook on birth defects that I have examined.

Since Ngone had been a girl, the case includes the feature of sex change.

Figure 20-16 Left ear of Wagane Sene as it appeared in June 1984, when he was about 31 years old. The upper sixth of the pinna was absent.

Figure 20-17 Wagane Sene's right ear for comparison with Figure 20-16.

THE CASE OF SEDAR DIOUF

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Sedar Diouf was born in Niakhar, Fatick, Senegal, in about 1909. (Fatick is approximately 145 kilometers east and slightly south of Dakar; Niakhar is about 15 kilometers north of Fatick.) He was the son of Ndiack Diouf. I did not learn his mother's name. He was a Serer. When I met him, he was working as a cultivator, as I believe he had been doing all his life.

Sedar Diouf was born with a birth defect in his left ear; it had a substantial hole in its lobe (Figures 20-18 and 20-19). He was identified as the reincarnation of his older brother, Daly, whose ear had been mutilated after he died.

Sedar had no memories of a previous life, that of Daly or any other.

I learned of Sedar's case from his son, Tekhé Diouf, who was also my informant for the case of Wagane Sene. I was able to study the case on June 29, 1984. By "study" I mean in this instance that I met Sedar Diouf in the fields where he was working, talked with him about what he knew of his case, and photographed him. During this short interview, his son, Tekhé Diouf, acted as my interpreter. (Josephine Ndour had accompanied us.) Because of Sedar's advanced age, I did not expect to meet any other informants for his case, and none were suggested to me. He was, therefore, the sole firsthand informant for the case. However, Tekhé Diouf gave me some background information about the family. I also learned from him the age of Daly when he died, a detail that he had presumably learned from his father. I neglected to ask Sedar himself about this; he would have been a secondhand informant for it himself.

History of the Children of Ndiack Diouf

In the first years of his marriage Ndiack Diouf and his wife had several—at least three—children who died in infancy. (Sedar did not know the sexes of these first children.) When, therefore, a boy called Daly died at between the ages of 2 and 3, his left ear was mutilated. Neither Sedar nor Tekhé said how Daly's ear had been mutilated; but they obviously believed that the hole in the lobe of Sedar's ear corresponded to the mutilation.

Daly had been born in about 1906. After him a daughter, Khemesse, was born (while he was still alive.) She also died in infancy at the age of about 2 years. (Sedar did not mention whether Khemesse's body had been mutilated after her death.) Sedar was born soon after Khemesse's death.

Sedar's Birth Defect

Figures 20-18 and 20-19 show the hole in the lobe of Sedar's left ear. Figure 20-20 shows his right ear for comparison. The hole was generally round in shape and approximately 1.5 millimeters in diameter.

Figure 20-18 Left ear of Sedar Diouf as it appeared in June 1984, when he was about 75 years old. The lobe had a penetrating hole.

Figure 20-19 Another view of Sedar Diouf's left ear. In it the light background can be seen through the hole in the lobe.

Figure 20-20 Right ear of Sedar Diouf for comparison with Figure 20-18.

Other Relevant Medical Information. No other member of the family had been born with a hole in the ear. Sedar spoke to this point himself. So did his son, Tekhé, who claimed that he was familiar with all the members of the family.

CONCLUDING REMARKS ABOUT EXPERIMENTAL BIRTH DEFECTS

Readers of the Introduction to this chapter and the six case reports can readily notice that I have never followed an individual case of experimental birth defects through its successive stages: from cadaver mutilation to the birth of a baby with corresponding defects. I have observed the results of mutilations of living children (not cadavers) at Awgu, and I have observed birth defects that informants attributed to such mutilations. It remains for other investigators to follow cases through the whole cycle.

A closer scrutiny of the occurrence of experimental birth defects will probably require investigations by medically trained investigators who are also natives of the countries where these mutilations occur. I tried to initiate such an investigation in one of the universities of Nigeria, but failed.

Renewed efforts should be made. Additional observations confirming the reports that birth defects in a particular geographic (and ethnic) region correspond to the type of mutilation practiced in that region would raise the level of evidence above what we now have for experimental birth defects. Time should not be wasted. Nigerian law now forbids mutilations of persons living or dead. In the 1970s and 1980s this had by no means suppressed the practice. The accelerating pace of "Westernization" in West Africa, however, will almost certainly succeed, within a decade or so, in doing what the law has so far failed to do: extinguish the production of experimental birth defects in West Africa.

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Part IV

Internal Diseases

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21

Internal Diseases Related to Previous Lives

INTRODUCTION

Compared with the abundance of cases having birthmarks and birth defects of visible parts of the body, the materials for this chapter are meager. I can think of several possible explanations for this difference.

First, the difference may derive from the much more extensive nerve supply to the skin compared with the internal viscera. Wounds affecting the skin usually provoke great pain whereas those to internal organs produce little or no pain. In Chapter 26 I suggest that the physical suffering of fatal wounds inflicted violently (as well as other concomitants of violent deaths) may concentrate a person's attention on the wounded part and contribute to the occurrence of birthmarks or birth defects in a child who will remember a life thus ended. This may explain why wounds to the skin seem to act more often than internal diseases as the stimuli for a physical abnormality on a later-born person.

In the future it should be possible to examine subjects having birthmarks corresponding to gunshot wounds of entry and exit (like Chanai Choomalaiwong and Cemil Fahrici) with techniques such as magnetic resonance imaging. I am eager to know whether such examinations would show a track of abnormal tissue corresponding to the pathway of the bullet in the concerned previous personality. If I am correct in believing that the role of the skin and the attention given to wounds exerts a paramount influence in the production of birthmarks (of the type

we are here considering), such imaging should show no internal abnormalities between the affected areas of skin having the birthmarks.

Second, the birth defects and most of the birthmarks that I have so far described in this monograph are easily noticed at a baby's birth, whereas most internal diseases develop slowly and only manifest in later childhood or adulthood. By the time a disease develops, many of the subjects will have forgotten the previous life and that life lies even farther back in time. Informants for the subject may fail to consider the possibility that the previous personality suffered from a similar illness. In addition, even if they think of this possibility, the two families concerned in the case may by this time have lost contact with each other, removing the chance of a late verification.

A third factor in play may be the comparatively inadequate medical care available in the regions where these cases occur most frequently. Informants in these areas are often even less knowledgeable about the details of illnesses that they or their family members may have, or have had, than are laymen in more developed countries.

Finally, I have to acknowledge a slow awakening of my own interest about possible correspondences in internal diseases between subjects and previous personalities. The birthmarks and birth defects were so obvious that they dominated my interest in these cases, perhaps for more years than they should.

Some Illnesses in Subjects Corresponding to Similar Illnesses or Pertinent Injuries in Previous Personalities

We have, nevertheless, a small number of cases in which a subject has suffered from an illness identical or similar to one from which the person whose life he or she remembered also suffered and often died from. In some instances I could only learn that the symptoms of subject and previous personality were similar and could not be sure that both of them had the same disease. In Table 21-1 I list 20 cases of this group.

I need to emphasize that with three exceptions I did not medically examine these subjects at the times of their illnesses; and with four other exceptions I obtained no physician's or other report confirming the nature of the previous personality's illness. I did, however, enquire about the health of other members of the subject's family, and I satisfied myself that the subject was the only member of the family to have the pertinent symptoms or have them as severely as the subject did. This kind of exclusion is particularly important in the several cases in which subject and previous personality belonged to the same family; in them a genetic factor might have accounted for or contributed to the occurrence of the same illness in two members of the family.

I have published in this work or elsewhere detailed reports of 10 of the cases listed in Table 21-1. Interested readers should consult the case reports for additional details about the illnesses listed and my inquiries concerning them—with the subjects, the subjects' families, and the previous personalities' families.

Table 21-1 **Subjects Having an Illness Corresponding to an Illness or Injury in Previous Personality**

Subject	*Previous Personality*	*Country*	*Previous Personality's Illness or Injury*	*Subject's Illness*	*Duration of Subject's Symptoms*	*Comments*
1. Sukla Gupta	Mana Chakravarty	India	Pimples of the nose	Pimples of the nose	Persisting at age 15	
2. Marta Lorenz	Sinhá Oliveira	Brazil	Laryngitis, probably tuberculous; pulmonary tuberculosis	Frequent bronchitis and laryngitis; vocal hoarseness	Persisting at age 53	
3. Bishen Chand Kapoor	Laxmi Narain	India	Ophthalmitis	Ophthalmitis	Ceased after age 13	
4. Maung Yin Maung	U Pe Tin	Burma	Fatally injured and burned in airplane accident	Vesicular dermatitis	Ceased by the age of 2 months	Document confirming PP's burns obtained.
5. Ma Chit Chit Than	Ma Khin San Tin	Burma	Dyspnea; cough	Tendency to dyspnea and cough	Persisting at age 12½	PP was S's sibling.
6. Tali Sowaid	Said Abul-Hisn	Lebanon	Gunshot wound through tongue	Impaired articulation, especially of "s" sounds	Persisting at age 8	Medical document for PP obtained.

S = Subject
PP = Previous Personality

Table 21-1 *(continued)*

Subject	*Previous Personality*	*Country*	*Previous Personality's Illness or Injury*	*Subject's Illness*	*Duration of Subject's Symptoms*	*Comments*
7. Pratima Saxena	Godavari	India	Died of pulmonary tuberculosis	Susceptible to respiratory infections with cough and fever	Persisting at age 23	PP was S's paternal grandmother.
8. Maung Hla Win	Maung Myint Lwin	Burma	Infectious disease with furunculosis of both thighs	Episodes of furunculosis of thighs two or three times a year	Persisting at age 6	
9. Norman Despers	Henry Despers, Sr.	USA (Tlingit)	Had been blind for 4 years before he died	Poor eyesight; needed glasses from age 14	Persisting at age 18	PP was S's paternal grandfather.
10. Alessandrina Samonà (II)	Alessandrina Samonà (I)	Italy	Hyperemia of left eye; seborrhea of right ear	Hyperemia of left eye; seborrhea of right ear	No information	PP was S's sibling. Their father was a physician who reported his examination of both children. Case not investigated by me.

11. Roger Willison	Rupert Conway	USA (Haida)	Exfoliative dermatitis	Severe dermatitis at birth; this cleared after 2 weeks, but S remained susceptible to "trouble with his skin"	Persisting at age 17½	PP was S's maternal grandfather; other members of family also had "skin disease" but in milder form. I have not met S. Medical document for PP obtained.
12. Hasan Küçük	Necmettin Aldıç	Turkey	Fatal gunshot wound in left eye	Severe hyperemia of left eye	Ceased after 3 months	Case investigated by Dr. Can Polat.
13. Maung Tin Aung Mo	U Ba	Burma	Pulmonary tuberculosis (probably; not definitely confirmed by x-ray or bacteriological examination)	Cough during infancy; suspected pulmonary tuberculosis with suggestive x-ray evidence	Ceased after 3 years	PP was a cousin of S's great-grandmother.
14. Ma Khin Ma Nge	Daw Aye Tin	Burma	Sensitive to cold; susceptible to respiratory infections	Sensitive to cold; susceptible to respiratory infections	Persisting at age 11	PP was S's maternal grandmother.

Table 21-1 *(continued)*

Subject	*Previous Personality*	*Country*	*Previous Personality's Illness or Injury*	*Subject's Illness*	*Duration of Subject's Symptoms*	*Comments*
15. Deepak Raj Katiyar	Arun Pratap Singh	India	Accidental fatal gunshot wound in neck	Chronic hoarse voice; susceptible to coughs, colds and sore throats	Persisting at age 8	
16. Tefide Tilki	Ragibe Keles	Turkey	Pregnant at term with "swollen legs"; died during labor	Legs swollen at birth	No information	The swelling of S's legs went down when the baby's legs were warmed. No other of the family's 16 children had swollen legs at birth.
17. Necati Keklik	Ali Şen	Turkey	Fatally struck on the head with a heavy stick	Top of head swollen; bloody discharge from eyes	Swelling of the head ceased at the age of about 1	No information about the duration of the discharge from the eyes.
18. Ajith Priyasantha	T. W. Janakaratne	Sri Lanka	Susceptible to tooth decay	Susceptible to tooth decay	Persisting at age 7	S and PP both had an abnormally wide space

						between the upper medial incisor teeth. Figure 21-1 shows the separated upper medial incisors and indications of decay in Ajith's teeth. S and PP were members of same extended family.
19. Sidath Wijeratne	Sani de Silva	Sri Lanka	Vomited blood for several days before he died	Vomited blood about once or twice a week; at the same time complained of chest pain	Ceased at age 5 or 6	PP's death certificate stated the cause of death to be "cardiac respiratory failure"; this may be incorrect.
20. Alan Gamble	Walter Wilson	USA (Tsimshian)	Shotgun wound of left wrist; subsequent gangrene and amputation of left forearm	Pain and swelling of left arm	Lasted during childhood	Medical document for PP obtained.

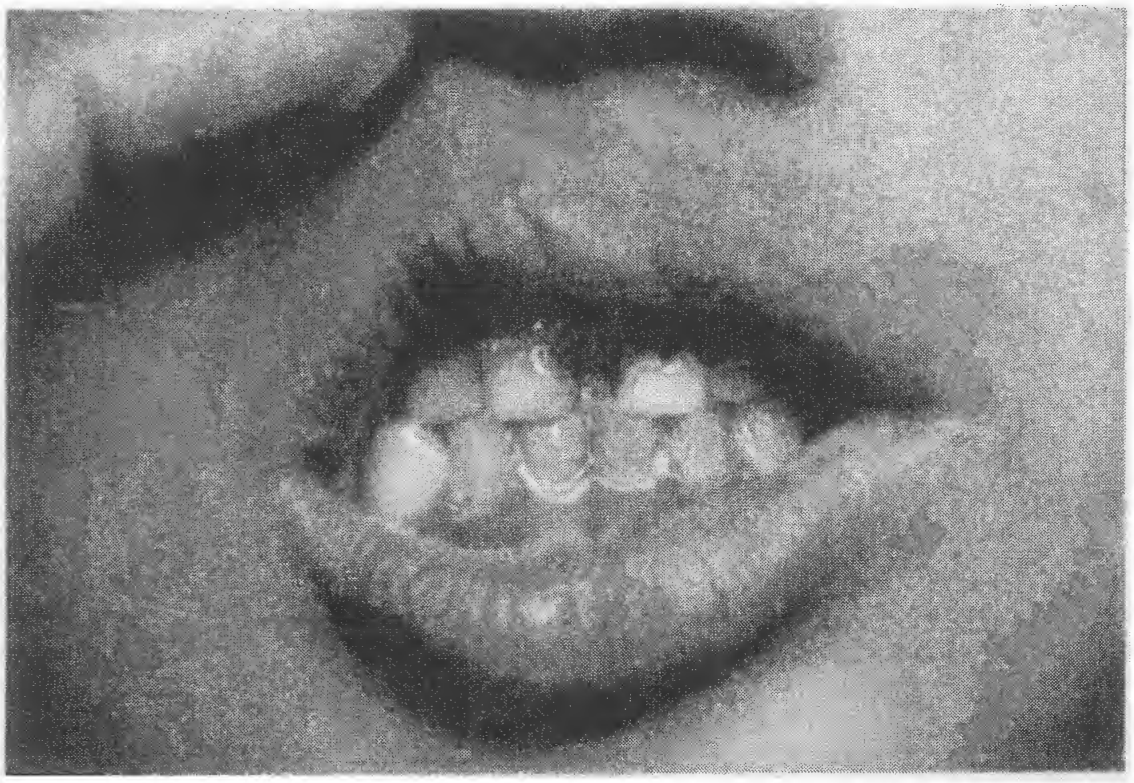

Figure 21-1 Ajith Priyasantha's teeth at the age of seven. The photograph shows the widely separated upper medial incisors and indications of decay in the teeth.

Later in this chapter I present five additional reports of cases in four of which the subject had an internal disease corresponding to an injury or similar disease experienced by the previous personality. Ma Khin Nyein suffered from a skin disease, but this chapter seems the most appropriate one for presenting her case. For these cases also the medical documentation is lamentably unsatisfactory, especially for the illnesses of four of the five previous personalities.

Before coming to these case reports I will mention some trails that I followed with little result, although succeeding investigators may find—if they can study larger numbers of pertinent cases—that they lead to more useful information.

Pain

Pain is an entirely subjective symptom, and persons complaining of it vary greatly both in their responses to it and in their verbal reports of it. Observers of a person in pain have difficulty appraising the gravity of any condition from the patient's report unaided by other symptoms and signs of illness. Accordingly, I have not listed in Table 21-1 any case in which pain was the only symptom of which a subject complained.

I have not found pain consistently reported by subjects at the sites of birthmarks and birth defects. On the one hand, many subjects have complained of pain at or beneath the sites of birthmarks corresponding to wounds at the same sites in

the previous personality. For example, Derek Pitnov (identified as the reincarnation of a man stabbed to death [in the abdomen] with a spear) suffered intermittently from abdominal pain; and Ma Thoung complained of pain at the site of a birth defect corresponding to the sword cut that beheaded the person whose life she remembered. On the other hand, many other subjects have not complained of pain at such sites. We obtained information about the occurrence of headaches in 15 of 23 subjects who remembered previous lives the deaths in which were caused by or immediately preceded by blows or wounds to the head. These 23 subjects all had birthmarks or birth defects of the head. (Subjects without birthmarks or birth defects of the head were not included in this analysis.) Among the 15 subjects about whom we obtained information, 7 had suffered from headaches and 8 had not. The number suffering from headaches may not have exceeded that in the general population of the countries of the cases. In the West "headache is one of the commonest symptoms" (Brain, 1933/1977, p. 296), although it may be less frequent in Asia and Africa, where most of the cases of this work occurred.

Causes of Death in Subjects

A small number of subjects of cases I have investigated have died. Two subjects who remembered the previous lives of persons shot through the heart died of heart disease. This warrants no conclusion, but it hints at the advisability of following as many as possible of the subjects of these cases to their eventual deaths. From sufficiently large numbers placed against the denominators for the causes of death in the general population, it should be possible to determine whether a person remembering death from a wound or illness in a particular organ is more likely than other properly matched persons to die of some disease of the same organ. I am suggesting that a wound or disease of a part of the body in one life may contribute to the occurrence of a site of vulnerability—a *locus minoris resistentiae*—in another life.

Unusual Physiology and Metabolism

I have fragmentary data about some physiological changes that may relate to a previous life of the subject. They have little value in themselves, but like some other observations in this chapter they suggest inquiries that future investigators may make.

Menstruation. Among seven Burmese cases of the sex-change type (male to female), the average age at menarche was 15.2 years. Indeed 5 of the 7 subjects did not begin to menstruate until they were more than 15 years old. According to Foll (1961), the average age of menarche in Burma is 13.2 years.

If delayed menarche were to be found in a large number of sex-change cases, we could not conclude from that alone that the sex of the previous life inhibited the onset of menstruation. Many subjects of sex-change cases firmly believe that they are members of the sex of the previous life they say they remember. In Chapter 2

I reviewed evidence showing that belief alone—that one is pregnant, for example—can markedly alter endocrine function and stop menstruation. In the same chapter I also mentioned the influence of suggestions during hypnosis on menstruation.

The case of Amitha Herath includes an unusual detail, one that is unique in the cases I have investigated. In Chapter 13 I described Amitha's case with emphasis on the mistaken testimony concerning a birthmark thought to correspond to the wound of a snakebite. In other features Amitha's case seemed to me typical and showing evidence of paranormal processes. The unusual detail was that Amitha, according to her mother (speaking in 1976), bled from her vagina at the age of 3 months, the bleeding continuing until she was a year old. Thereafter, she bled at monthly intervals like a menstruating female. In 1982 Amitha's grandmother remembered her having started to menstruate later, and she said Amitha began to menstruate between the ages of 3 and 4. The mother of Muthumenike (whose life Amitha remembered) said that she also had begun to menstruate early, at the age of 9. Furthermore, Muthumenike was due to begin menstruating on the day after that on which the snake bit her, and the toxic effects of the snakebite inhibited her menstruation. (As I mentioned in Chapter 13, Muthumenike died 3 days after being bitten.) The suggested implication of the information about Muthumenike's and Amitha's menstruations is that Muthumenike had what we might call a strong impulse to menstruate that was thwarted and that somehow stimulated precocious menstruation in Amitha.

Metabolism of Alcohol. In Chapter 2 I referred to observations showing the fallibility of measurements of alcohol in the blood as indicators of intoxication: At least some persons, if not many, can tolerate levels of blood alcohol that would incapacitate most other persons without showing any obvious impairment of mental clarity. Many of the previous personalities concerned in these cases were alcoholics to varying degrees, and in Table 14-5 I listed 14 of them who were intoxicated when they were fatally injured. In several case reports I have drawn attention to subjects who remembered the lives of alcoholics and who, as young children, asked for or even craved alcohol. Of 4 such subjects informants reported that they could consume alcohol without showing the usual effects that a similar amount of alcohol would have in a normal adult. I have not met any of these subjects myself; their cases were studied by my associates. Here in briefest form are the relevant facts of their cases.

Maung Thein Aung (of Burma) remembered the life of U Kyi, a notoriously heavy drinker who died of alcoholism. Maung Thein Aung told U Win Maung (who investigated this case) that as U Kyi he took any kind of alcohol, but "now," meaning himself at the age of 19, he drank only toddy (made from fermented palm juice). Maung Thein Aung's older brother said that Maung Thein Aung was a heavy drinker and added: "He could stay quite sober after sharing six bottles of hard liquor with three friends. He usually had to cart the drunken friends home."

Ochefu Jomo (of Nigeria) was identified, mainly because of a birthmark, as the reincarnation of a heavy drinker. He had a craving for alcohol and when still an infant was noted to be able to consume large quantities of alcohol without becoming intoxicated.

Maung Myint Tin (of Burma) remembered the life of an alcoholic. When he was barely 4 years old, he was observed to take half a cupful (more than 100 milliliters or 2 jiggers) of liquor without any apparent effect.

Edip Çelik (of Turkey) remembered the previous life of an alcoholic candy seller, who was shot to death. Dr. Can Polat investigated his case in 1983. At that time Edip was 21 years old. He told Dr. Polat that he had the habit of taking a glass of alcohol—presumably rakı—at one draught, like a person tolerant of alcohol.

CASE REPORTS

THE CASE OF MAUNG AUNG MYINT

Introduction

This case has several unusual features, which posed a problem for its most appropriate placement in this work. The subject, Maung Aung Myint, had two birthmarks: one corresponding to a fatal wound on the body of the person, Maung Mya Maung, whose life he remembered and the other corresponding to a hyperpigmented nevus on Maung Mya Maung. In addition, Maung Aung Myint suffered from hematuria and Maung Mya Maung had received treatment for "urinary disease." The sameness of the anatomical system affected in their illnesses determined the placement of the report of the case in this chapter.

Maung Mya Maung himself remembered a previous life (that of a young man called Maung Kyaw Khin), although it seems that Maung Aung Myint did not recall that seemingly anterior life in the possible series of incarnations. (See Figure 21-2.)

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Maung Aung Myint was born on October 22, 1967, in Moulmein-gyun, which is about 100 kilometers southwest of Rangoon, Burma. His mother happened to be on a visit there when he was born, but his parents, U Thoung Shwe and Daw Khin Shwe, lived in Rangoon. They had two other sons, one older and one younger than Maung Aung Myint. U Thoung Shwe was Daw Khin Shwe's second husband, and she had two sons by her first husband. Maung Aung Myint was a full-term baby.

When Maung Aung Myint was born, he was found to have two birthmarks, one on his right chest, inferior to his nipple (Figure 21-3), and one on his lower back just to the right of the midline (Figure 21-4). These marks corresponded respectively to a fatal wound and to a nevus that a cousin of Daw Khin Shwe's had had. The cousin, Maung Mya Maung, had been killed with a kind of spear that was thrust into his chest when Daw Khin Shwe was already pregnant with Maung Aung Myint. Maung Aung Myint's birthmarks were not, however, the first indication that his mother had concerning the possible rebirth of Maung Mya

Maung as her child. After Maung Mya Maung's death (and before Maung Aung Myint's birth), she had two dreams about him that I shall describe later.

Maung Aung Myint began speaking when he was about 18 months old and almost immediately expressed memories of a previous life. He began addressing his great-aunt, Daw Mya Tin, as "Mother." (She had been Maung Mya Maung's mother.) Thereafter, he addressed other members of the family by familiar names that would have been appropriate for Maung Mya Maung, but which were quite disrespectful for a young child talking to adults, especially to his own parents and a great-aunt. Maung Aung Myint stated various details about the life of Maung Mya Maung, including a rather full account of the quarrel that had ended in Maung Mya Maung's being fatally stabbed in the chest.

U Win Maung learned of this case when Maung Aung Myint was only 4½ years old. He met Daw Khin Shwe at her home in Rangoon on March 18, 1972, and recorded a long statement from her. Eight months later, in November 1972, I was in Burma, and at that time U Win Maung and I had another interview with Daw Khin Shwe. We also met several other members of the families concerned and two firsthand informants for the death of Maung Mya Maung.

Many years later, in the 1980s, I asked U Win Maung to try to meet Maung Aung Myint's family again and clarify some details of the case with them. He learned that Daw Khin Shwe had died and the rest of the family had moved away to an address unknown to the neighbors where they had lived in 1972.

Persons Interviewed during the Investigation

In Rangoon I interviewed:

Maung Aung Myint
Daw Khin Shwe, Maung Aung Myint's mother
U Thoung Shwe, Maung Aung Myint's father
Daw Mya Yin, Daw Khin Shwe's mother and Maung Mya Maung's maternal aunt
Maung Tin Win, Maung Aung Myint's older stepbrother
U Chit Lwin, friend of Maung Mya Maung

An important potential informant we should like to have interviewed had died before our investigation of the case. This was Daw Mya Tin, who was Maung Mya Maung's mother and a witness also of at least one of Maung Aung Myint's recognitions.

Relationships among the Persons Concerned in the Case

To make it easier to understand the relationships of the persons concerned in this case, I am furnishing a genealogy (Figure 21-2). I have drawn a dotted line between the names of Maung Kyaw Khin, Maung Mya Maung, and Maung Aung Myint, who are the persons whose three lives were said to be linked in a series of incarnations.

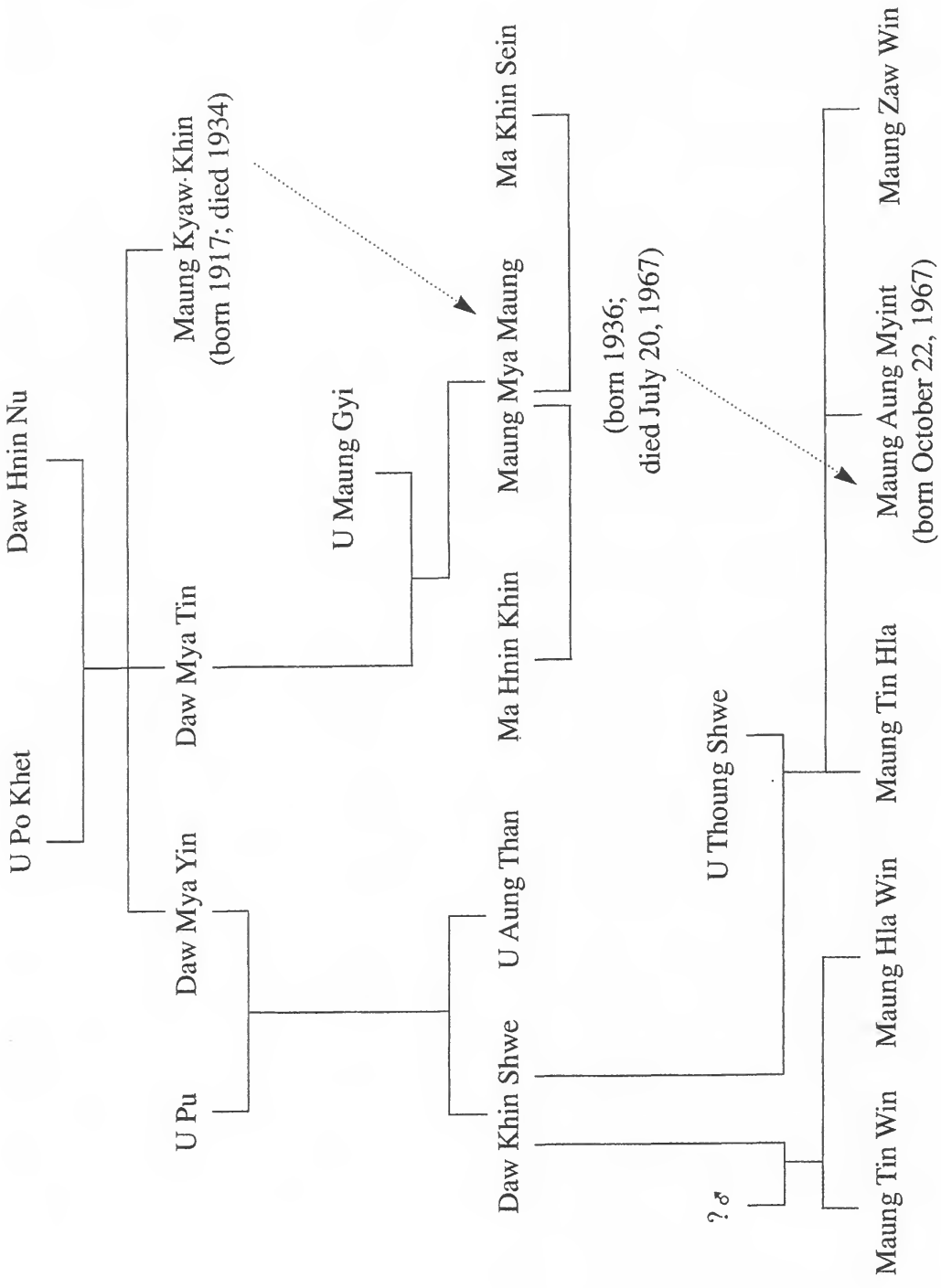

Figure 21-2 Genealogy of the Family of Maung Aung Myint and Maung Mya Maung

Maung Kyaw Khin was the younger brother of Maung Mya Maung's mother, and thus he was Maung Mya Maung's maternal uncle. He was also the younger brother of Daw Khin Shwe's mother, and so the great-uncle of Maung Aung Myint. Maung Mya Maung was a first cousin of Daw Khin Shwe.

For some years, including the time just before and after Maung Mya Maung's death, the families of Daw Mya Yin and Daw Mya Tin occupied the same house in Rangoon. Thus the persons concerned in the case were not just related; they were on intimate terms with each other.

The Life and Death of Maung Kyaw Khin

My information about Maung Kyaw Khin derives from our interview in 1972 with his older sister, Daw Mya Yin. She was born in 1907, Maung Kyaw Khin in 1917. Their parents were U Po Khet and Daw Hnin Nu. When he was about 17 years old in 1934, he fell ill with a high fever. At some time during this illness he ate some Burmese vermicelli, and this may have made him worse, because he became delirious afterward. He died after about 10 days of illness altogether. His death occurred at a place called Koon-chan-gone, which is about 50 kilometers south and slightly west of Rangoon.

The Life, Death, and Character of Maung Mya Maung

U Win Maung and I learned much more about Maung Mya Maung than we learned about Maung Kyaw Khin. The former had lived much closer in time to the birth of Maung Aung Myint, and, as I mentioned, he died when Daw Khin Shwe was already pregnant with Maung Aung Myint. Our principal informants about him were his maternal aunt (Daw Mya Yin) and his first cousin (Daw Khin Shwe); but Daw Khin Shwe's second husband, U Thoung Shwe (Maung Aung Myint's father), and U Chit Lwin, who had been a close friend of Maung Mya Maung, also furnished helpful information.

Maung Mya Maung was born in Koon-chan-gone in 1936. He was the son of U Maung Gyi and his wife, Daw Mya Tin. When Maung Mya Maung was about 2 years old, he asked a cousin to return clothes that had been given to him, saying they were his own. Asked who he was, he said that he was Maung Kyaw Khin (his mother's brother). He said that his parents (in that life) were U Po Khet and Daw Hnin Nu. He talked about fruit trees and vegetables that he had cultivated in Koon-chan-gone. When he was asked how he had died, he said that his death resulted from eating the wrong food when he was ill. He said that while his parents had been away he had taken a plateful of Daw Kyaw's Burmese vermicelli. (Daw Kyaw was Maung Kyaw Khin's aunt.)

Maung Mya Maung said that he had developed high fever and died. He said that he had died at Koon-chan-gone. He recalled that just before he died his father had scolded him, saying that he deserved to die for having eaten the wrong

food. Maung Mya Maung showed some antagonism toward U Po Khet for having made this remark.[1]

When Maung Mya Maung grew up, he moved to Rangoon, and he became employed there as a machinist in a rubber products factory. He had two wives (simultaneously), Ma Hnin Khin and Ma Khin Sein.

He seems to have had no children of his own, but he adopted one boy, Maung Sein Thoung. He lived in the same quarter as Daw Khin Shwe and U Thoung Shwe, just a few houses away from them.

Maung Mya Maung went to doctors and hospitals for the treatment of "urinary disease" that was not further specified to us. He also suffered from hemorrhoids. Eels are said by many Burmans to have medicinal properties, and Maung Mya Maung ate eels in the hope of obtaining relief from both his urinary disease and his hemorrhoids.

Maung Mya Maung also had a large flat hyperpigmented nevus on his lower back. Both U Thoung Shwe and Daw Khin Shwe remembered seeing this at times when Maung Mya Maung would bathe. His close friend, U Chit Lwin, also remembered that Maung Mya Maung had a birthmark at this location.

He smoked cheroots and was a moderate consumer of alcohol, sometimes an excessive one.

It will be helpful if I next describe what I learned about Maung Mya Maung's character, since this bears on his death and may be said to have contributed to it. He seems to have been a somewhat tactless and at times blunt sayer of whatever was on his mind. He was short-tempered. He was inclined to tease other persons, even those he loved. But his honesty and other good qualities endeared him to those who knew him well, and he was regarded as a community leader.

He was a devout Buddhist, and it happened that shortly before his death he had gone to the Shwedagone Pagoda in Rangoon, where he had worshiped and offered a donation for applying gold leaf to the pagoda (a meritorious act for Buddhists).

On the afternoon of his death, Maung Mya Maung and some friends were drinking at his house. One of the group, Maung Kyaw Lay, started teasing Maung Mya Maung, who replied querulously. They exchanged some venomous remarks. Maung Kyaw Lay then left Maung Mya Maung's house and returned to his own. Soon he returned with a sword and, from a distance, challenged Maung Mya Maung to fight him if he dared. Maung Mya Maung took up his own sword and, accompanied by a friend, U Chit Lwin, followed Maung Kyaw Lay. The latter retreated toward his house some distance down the road, and Maung Mya Maung could then see that Maung Kyaw Lay had assembled a crowd of armed

[1]Maung Mya Maung was correct in the details he stated about Maung Kyaw Khin's life that I could verify. There was one detail, however, the rebuke made by U Po Khet to the dying Maung Kyaw Khin, that I did not verify. I am also uncertain to what extent Maung Kyaw Khin's eating Burmese vermicelli contributed to his death, although his older sister said that he had become delirious after eating it. It therefore appears to have made his condition worse, even though it may not have been the primary cause of his illness.

supporters who vastly outnumbered him and his friend. He decided to attack first and succeeded in wounding one of Maung Kyaw Lay's nephews. Then U Chit Lwin himself was wounded and carried out of the fight by his brother, who had come up to assist. He therefore did not see how Maung Mya Maung was wounded, but heard later that one of Maung Kyaw Lay's nephews had pierced Maung Mya Maung's right chest with a spikelike weapon. Maung Mya Maung collapsed, was taken to the Rangoon General Hospital, but died on the way. According to U Thoung Shwe, who went down to the hospital the following day and learned about the autopsy on Maung Mya Maung's body, the spike-spear had penetrated the heart; but U Thoung Shwe did not himself see the wound on Maung Mya Maung's body.

However, 5 days after Maung Mya Maung's death, Daw Khin Shwe viewed her cousin's corpse. It had been sewed up again following the autopsy, and the funeral was delayed pending the arrival of relatives traveling from a distance. She saw that the wound on the body was on the right chest inferior to the nipple. Daw Mya Yin and Maung Tin Win also recalled seeing the wound on Maung Mya Maung's body, and they said that it had been at the same place.

Despite our having what we believe to be an exact date for Maung Mya Maung's death—July 20, 1967—a search for the report of the postmortem examination on his body by an official of the Rangoon General Hospital failed to trace it. Maung Mya Maung was about 31 years old when he died.

It remains to add under this heading that U Chit Lwin said that Maung Mya Maung was, at the time he was fatally wounded, "almost dead drunk." Earlier in our interview with him, U Chit Lwin had said that the group gathered at Maung Mya Maung's house before the quarrel began had been drinking "a little." This suggests that perhaps Maung Mya Maung fueled himself with additional alcohol after Maung Kyaw Lay left the house and before he returned, armed with his sword, to challenge Maung Mya Maung to a fight. We cannot be sure. Unfortunately, both U Thoung Shwe and Daw Khin Shwe were out of the house when the fight occurred, and they only returned an hour or more later when it was all over.

Two Announcing Dreams

I have already indicated that Daw Khin Shwe was pregnant when Maung Mya Maung was killed. I cannot be sure just how advanced her pregnancy was at the time. She herself said that she dreamed of him after his death, when she was 5 months pregnant, which cannot have been exactly right, if Maung Aung Myint was, as she also said, a full-term baby and born on October 22, 1967. Be that as it may, in the first of Daw Khin Shwe's dreams Maung Mya Maung was refusing an invitation from his younger wife to come and stay with her and, instead, insisting that he would be staying with Daw Khin Shwe.

A week before Maung Aung Myint's birth Daw Khin Shwe dreamed of Maung Mya Maung again. In this dream she was thinking of Maung Mya Maung

sadly and crying with grief for him. At the same time she was nursing a child. A "man in white"[2] appeared and asked her why she was crying, adding: "Look, he has arrived and is with you now." When Daw Khin Shwe looked down, she saw Maung Mya Maung (as his adult self) in her arms and covered with blood. She woke up, rather frightened.

The foregoing accounts of the dreams were noted by U Win Maung at his first meeting with Daw Khin Shwe. When we met her again together 8 months later, she added some additional information about the first dream. She recalled that it was of an unusually realistic quality so that when she woke up she felt that she really had been talking with Maung Mya Maung. Her reaction to the prospect of his becoming her baby, as the dream seemed to imply, was one of mingled joy and fright. (Maung Mya Maung had been "very fond of her.") After awakening she told her parents and those of Maung Mya Maung, who were then still living in the same house.

Daw Mya Yin told U Win Maung and me that she recalled hearing about a dream that Daw Khin Shwe had had, but she did not say which dream, or when she had first learned about it.

Statements and Recognitions Made by Maung Aung Myint

U Thoung Shwe disclaimed knowing much about what Maung Aung Myint said about the previous life on the grounds that he was out of the house at work during much of the day. Accordingly, nearly all my information about Maung Aung Myint's statements derives from the interviews that U Win Maung and I had with his mother, Daw Khin Shwe. (U Thoung Shwe had, however, observed a variety of Maung Aung Myint's unusual behavior; but my account of this belongs in a later section of this report.)

I have already mentioned that when Maung Aung Myint was about 18 months old and just learning to speak, he used forms of address for the adults of his family that were impertinently familiar when used by a young child. Indeed he appears to have opened his statements about the previous life in just this manner. One day at lunch he suddenly said to his great-aunt, Daw Mya Tin: "Mother, give me my Teteron shirt and my Siamese silk longyi. I want to go to the festival." Somewhat startled by this, Daw Mya Tin asked Maung Aung Myint: "Why do you call me 'Mother'?" and he replied: "Because you are my mother." Her next question followed logically: "Who are you?" and he replied: "Mya Maung." This brought Daw Mya Tin to tears, but Maung Aung Myint consoled her by saying: "Don't cry, Mother. Your son has returned." Then someone asked him: "Are you married?" and he replied: "Yes, I have two wives. The older wife's name is Ma Hnin Khin and the other's name is Ma Khin Sein." Then he recounted how he had died as Maung Mya Maung.

[2]I have elsewhere given information about the "men in white" who figure from time to time in the cases of Burma and Thailand (Stevenson, 1983).

At about the same age, Daw Mya Yin (Maung Aung Myint's maternal grandmother) questioned him about "who he was." He said: "I am Mya Maung." She asked him who his parents were, and he gave the names: Daw Mya Tin and U Maung Gyi. She tried to insist that his mother was Daw Khin Shwe, and he, just as vehemently, insisted that Daw Mya Tin was his mother.

The account Daw Khin Shwe gave of what Maung Aung Myint said concerning the quarrel with Maung Kyaw Lay that led to the fatal stabbing of Maung Mya Maung tallied well with the facts about the quarrel that I could learn. But his account omitted one detail and differed in another. Maung Aung Myint said nothing about the consumption of alcohol before the quarrel began. And he said that he had been speared by Maung Kyaw Lay himself rather than by one of Maung Kyaw Lay's nephews, as U Chit Lwin believed. But U Chit Lwin said that he, having been wounded, had been carried away from the fracas and did not actually see who had speared Maung Mya Maung. U Thoung Shwe said that Maung Kyaw Lay had said that it was he who had speared Maung Mya Maung. But U Chit Lwin thought that Maung Kyaw Lay might have taken responsibility on himself in order to protect his youthful nephew from it. There is therefore room for some doubt in the matter. There is no doubt, however, that Maung Kyaw Lay—whoever started the quarrel to begin with—had gone away, come back with a sword, and challenged Maung Mya Maung to come out and fight him. Thus he was clearly responsible, at one level of causation, for Maung Mya Maung's death no matter who thrust the spike-spear into Maung Mya Maung's chest. This is the way Maung Aung Myint viewed the matter, because his vengefulness, which I shall describe later, focused entirely on Maung Kyaw Lay and not on any of the latter's nephews.

Some of Maung Aung Myint's remarks related to the previous life will be better described in connection with the confident manner in which he behaved as if he was Maung Mya Maung, back in a small body, after a tiresome interruption. I shall, however, mention here a few more of the statements he made and some recognitions with which he was credited.

Once Maung Aung Myint's grandmother became sad when she saw one of Maung Mya Maung's friends pass by the house and was thereby reminded of his death. Maung Aung Myint tried to reassure her by telling her that he was Maung Mya Maung. She then said that if that was so, he should be able to say what Maung Mya Maung had done before his death. Maung Aung Myint then told her the details of Maung Mya Maung's visit for merit-making to the Shwedagone Pagoda.

Maung Aung Myint remembered a ruby ring and a wristwatch that Maung Mya Maung had owned, and he asked Ma Hnin Khin (Maung Mya Maung's older wife) to return these. Ma Hnin Khin understandably refused to part with the ring and watch, and Maung Aung Myint remained unappeased until his grandmother made a ring and gave it to him. When, however, someone gave him an imitation plastic toy watch, he threw it on the ground, stamped on it, and said: "My watch was a Roamer." (Maung Mya Maung had had a Roamer watch.)

With a similar attitude of inerrancy, Maung Aung Myint told his older half-brother, Maung Hla Win, that it was he (as Maung Mya Maung) who had given him a pair of canvas shoes that he was wearing. This was also true.

On another occasion one Maung Aung Than, a cousin of Maung Mya Maung, came for a visit wearing some sunglasses, which Maung Aung Myint instantly recognized as "his own." (The glasses had been given to Maung Aung Than after Maung Mya Maung's death.) Maung Aung Myint peremptorily ordered Maung Aung Than to "return" the glasses to him. This was done, but after a time Maung Aung Than quietly repossessed them. Then, when he returned later for another visit, he wore a different pair of sunglasses, which he tried to pass off as the first pair; but Maung Aung Myint was not deceived and said these were not "his" glasses.

U Chit Lwin said that Maung Aung Myint had recognized him and called him by his name on the first occasion when they saw each other. Maung Aung Myint also appeared to know where U Chit Lwin lived. One day when he was still a toddler, he was observed crossing the nearby railway tracks unattended. (A train that was entering or leaving the station had to stop for him.) On being asked where he was going, Maung Aung Myint said: "I am going to Chit Lwin's place." He had never been to U Chit Lwin's house.

Daw Khin Shwe gave U Win Maung details of another recognition by Maung Aung Myint, that of Maung Sein Thoung, Maung Mya Maung's adopted son. Maung Aung Myint saw Maung Sein Thoung coming to the house and called out to his father: "Look, Thoung Shwe, here comes Sein Thoung." Maung Aung Myint then bought some candies for Maung Sein Thoung, at which generosity U Thoung Shwe remonstrated with him, asking why, since he never bought candies for his own brothers, he bought some for Maung Sein Thoung. To this Maung Aung Myint replied: "Because Sein Thoung is my adopted son." Maung Sein Thoung then teased Maung Aung Myint and said: "No, you are wrong. You did not adopt me. I adopted you." Maung Aung Myint lost his temper and said: "Shut up. Must I slap you? Listen to me! I adopted you!" At the time of this scene Maung Aung Myint would have been less than 4½ years old and Maung Sein Thoung about 11 years old.

One other recognition that I shall mention has much less value as evidence than the preceding ones. Maung Aung Myint was once taken to the rubber products factory where Maung Mya Maung had worked. On the way, before they had reached the factory, he pointed it out to his grandmother as the place where he (as Maung Mya Maung) used to work. (Daw Khin Shwe appears to have been a secondhand witness for this item.) We cannot exclude the possibility that before the journey started, or along the way, someone had mentioned in Maung Aung Myint's presence where they were going.

Maung Aung Myint's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

Circumstances and Manner of Maung Aung Myint's Speaking about the Previous Life. Apart from the occasions I have mentioned when Maung Aung Myint recognized (or otherwise requested) something that had belonged to

Maung Mya Maung, there seemed no special stimuli of his remarks about the previous life. His father said that when he would be playing he would sometimes burst out spontaneously with a remark about the previous life; and when he was questioned about it he would sometimes reply and sometimes would not.

In whatever he said Maung Aung Myint showed a bumptious confidence that he was Maung Mya Maung carrying on his old relationships with people he had known and lived with for many years. For example, he usually addressed his mother familiarly as "Ma Shwe," which even demoted her from being "Daw Khin Shwe" and much less acknowledged her as his mother. (However, sometimes he called her "Mother.") He similarly called other relatives and friends of Maung Mya Maung by the names that Maung Mya Maung would have used for them. He never called his father "Pappa" or "Daddy," but simply "Thoung Shwe." When U Thoung Shwe asked him how they were related, he replied: "You are my brother-in-law." (U Thoung Shwe was the husband of Maung Mya Maung's cousin, but in Burma close relatives like cousins may be regarded as brothers or sisters.)

Maung Aung Myint sometimes shouted teasingly at a young woman who was a neighbor: "Hello, Wifie! Where are you going now?" This had been Maung Mya Maung's way of teasing her.

On the occasion that I mentioned earlier, when Maung Aung Myint was taken to the rubber products factory where Maung Mya Maung had worked, he was rather subdued while at the house of the factory foreman and sat quietly. On their departure from the foreman's house, someone suggested to Maung Aung Myint that he should say goodbye politely to "Babagyi," which would be a friendly, respectful way of saying "Grandfather." Instead, Maung Aung Myint said "Goodbye, master," which was what Maung Mya Maung had habitually said when he had taken leave of the foreman.

Daw Mya Yin remembered some other examples of Maung Aung Myint's habit of addressing Maung Mya Maung's old friends by their familiar names without honorifics. He addressed U Hla Shwe, one of Maung Mya Maung's co-workers at the rubber products factory, by the word *Sayalay*, which was how Maung Mya Maung had addressed him. Other friends of Maung Mya Maung, like U Chit Lwin and U Sein Tun, were addressed by Maung Aung Myint with equal familiarity.

It is important to note that Maung Aung Myint spoke respectfully toward the older persons of the community outside his own family and the circle of Maung Mya Maung's close friends. And he did not intend to be disrespectful to these latter persons. It just seemed entirely natural for him to address them with the familiar names and nicknames that Maung Mya Maung had used in talking to them.[3]

It was also consistent with his attitude toward these relationships for Maung Aung Myint to expect that other persons should call him "Maung Mya Maung,"

[3]Other subjects who, remembering previous lives as members of their own families, addressed its members in a manner appropriate for the previous personality include: Thiang San Kla, U Tint Aung, Pratima Saxena, Chaokhun Rajsuthajarn, and the twins, Ma Khin Ma Gyi and Ma Khin Ma Nge.

and sometimes (even in 1972) he would not respond when called "Maung Aung Myint." Asked about this, he said that his name was not Maung Aung Myint, but Maung Mya Maung.

Maung Aung Myint's Sense of Proprietorship toward Maung Mya Maung's Possessions. I have already given some examples of Maung Aung Myint's possessive attitude toward Maung Mya Maung's possessions, but I shall add one more as a further illustration of this trait. Maung Mya Maung had had a longyi that he used when bathing. After his death someone decided that it could no longer be worn as a longyi, but could still be used as a rag in household work. Maung Aung Myint recognized the longyi, or rather its residue, and raised objections to its being used as a rag.

Maung Aung Myint's Attitude toward Members of Maung Mya Maung's Family. It would exaggerate to say that Maung Aung Myint also had a sense of proprietorship toward members of Maung Mya Maung's family, but he did show a definite concern about them. Only a week before U Win Maung's first interview with Daw Khin Shwe (in March 1972) he was heard to say: "I wonder where my wives are now. I do remember them."

Maung Mya Maung's mother, Daw Mya Tin, died while on a visit to the place of her sister, Daw Mya Yin, who lived a few miles away in another part of Rangoon. Maung Aung Myint became incensed when he learned of this; and he said angrily to Daw Mya Yin and her husband, U Pu: "You took my mother away to kill her."

Maung Aung Myint's Demeanor of Toughness. Maung Aung Myint was short-tempered. He was generally a rough, tough child. He was the only boy of his family who swore when he was angry. His rages must sometimes have been alarming, because when thwarted he might burst out with something like: "I won't have it. I will kill you." He would take sticks and tuck these into his waist band as if he were carrying a sword, prepared for all enemies. He seemed almost fearless, whereas the other boys of the family were somewhat timid.

Maung Aung Myint's Vengefulness. Toward Maung Kyaw Lay, who had either killed Maung Mya Maung himself or led the gang that did kill him, Maung Aung Myint showed—at least up to 1972—the most unrelenting vengefulness. He would sometimes beat the floor violently with his small fists and say through clenched teeth: "I shall never forget you, Kyaw Lay. I must have revenge." Maung Kyaw Lay heard about these remarks and came to visit Maung Aung Myint with a plea that he be forgiven, claiming that Maung Mya Maung's death had been "an accident." On at least one attempted visit by Maung Kyaw Lay, Maung Aung Myint drove him away, saying that he did not wish to see him. He said that he wanted to grow big so that he could revenge himself on Maung Kyaw Lay.

Another person almost forestalled these plans. One day in January 1972, when Maung Aung Myint was playing outside his house, someone stabbed Maung Kyaw Lay on the street in broad daylight. Seeing this, Maung Aung Myint rushed into the house shouting to his mother: "Ma Shwe, Ma Shwe! Come out and look! Somebody stabbed Kyaw Lay to death. He deserved it." I have quoted the words

of Daw Khin Shwe in her account of this episode to U Win Maung. Maung Tin Win, Maung Aung Myint's older stepbrother, had also witnessed the incident, and he recalled Maung Aung Myint's saying: "Kyaw Lay has been stabbed. Kyaw Lay who killed me is dead." (In fact, Maung Kyaw Lay had not been killed and recovered from the stabbing.)

Maung Aung Myint's Fondness for Eels, Cheroots, and Alcohol. Maung Aung Myint was fond of eating cooked eels (which I mentioned Maung Mya Maung had eaten for medicinal purposes, as he believed). The other children of the family were not as fond of cooked eels as Maung Aung Myint was.

Maung Aung Myint liked to smoke cheroots. He asked for these and would smoke them expertly, as I saw myself. He asked for Maung Mya Maung's favorite brand of cheroot. If asked not to smoke, he would become angry and say that he always smoked cheroots, mentioning the name of a brand, "Diamond Crown."

Maung Aung Myint also liked to drink alcohol, and when his parents would occasionally offer drinks to friends and have one themselves, he was the only boy of the family to join them and ask to drink with them. At times he put water into bottles and then poured into a cup a drink for himself of some imaginary alcoholic beverage.

The Attitudes of Maung Aung Myint's Family toward His Statements and Behavior

In general, Maung Aung Myint's parents seemed to accept his statements and behavior as harmless expressions of residues of a previous life. However, they developed concern over Maung Aung Myint's rages toward Maung Kyaw Lay. They thought such attitudes might bring him into trouble when he grew older. They also had an uneasy feeling that Maung Kyaw Lay might not indefinitely tolerate Maung Aung Myint's talk of revenge; he might decide to kill Maung Aung Myint pre-emptively. Accordingly, Maung Aung Myint's parents began to feed him foods, such as eggs, that many Burmese people believe diminish memories of previous lives (Foll, 1959). In November 1972 it was too early to tell what success these measures would have, if any (Stevenson and Chadha, 1990).

Maung Aung Myint's Birthmarks

Maung Aung Myint had two birthmarks. Figure 21-3 shows the one on his right chest that corresponded to the fatal wound that Maung Mya Maung received. It was red, slightly elevated, and about 4 millimeters in diameter. It was located about 2 centimeters inferior to the right nipple. When Maung Aung Myint was born, the birthmark was a small open sore. On one occasion, Daw Khin Shwe described it as suppurating; on another, she said that a thin blood oozed from the birthmark. Daw Mya Yin also said that the birthmark was bleeding when Maung Aung Myint was born. When Maung Aung Myint was about a month and a half old, the birthmark healed up. This birthmark was in the milkline, and it may have been an auxiliary nipple.

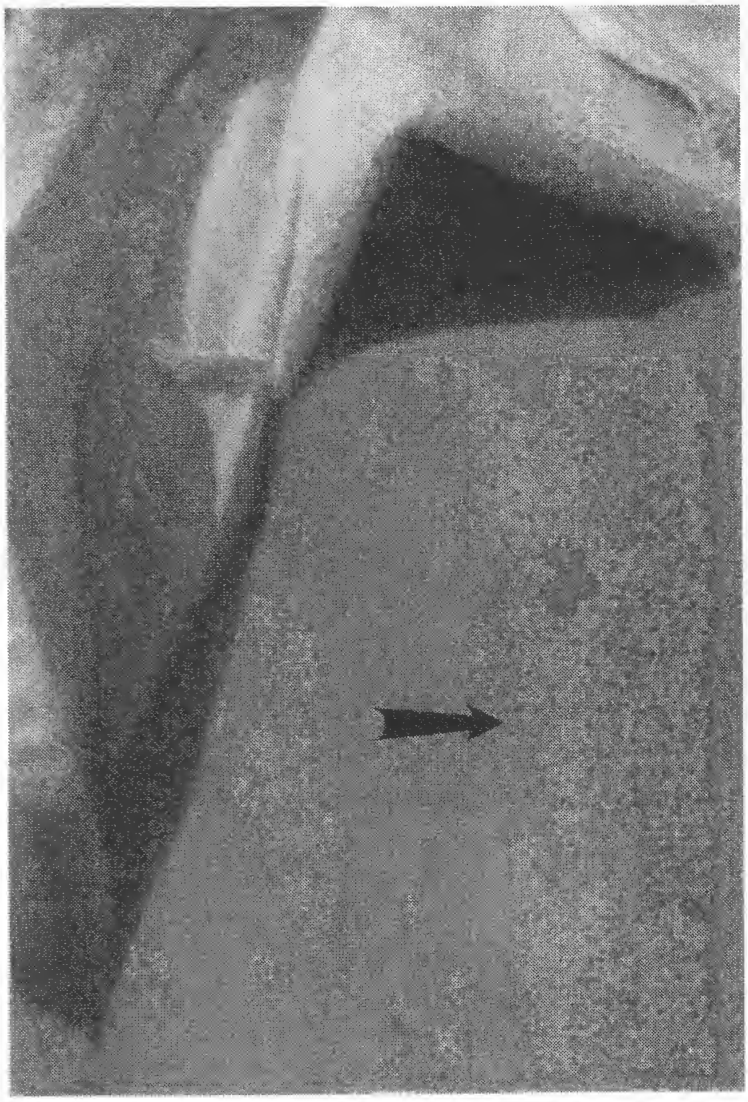

Figure 21-3 Birthmark about 2 centimeters inferior to the right nipple of Maung Aung Myint as it appeared in March 1972, when he was 4½ years old. The birthmark was a slightly elevated area of erythema about 4 millimeters in diameter. It may have been a supernumerary nipple.

Figure 21-4 shows the birthmark—a moderately large, flat hyperpigmented nevus—on Maung Aung Myint's lower back. It was ovoid in shape. I did not make a note of its dimensions, but judge it to have been about 3 centimeters long and 2 centimeters wide. Maung Mya Maung had had a similar nevus at the same place. Daw Khin Shwe said that no other member of the family had a similar nevus. I examined one of Maung Aung Myint's stepbrothers and one of his full brothers who happened to be handy. Neither of them had a nevus at the location of the one on Maung Aung Myint's lower back.

Maung Aung Myint's Urological Symptoms

Maung Aung Myint had suffered from periodic attacks of pain with "red urine." This disorder was first noted when he was 6 months old, and since then he had been treated at the Children's Hospital in Rangoon for it. In 1972 he was hav-

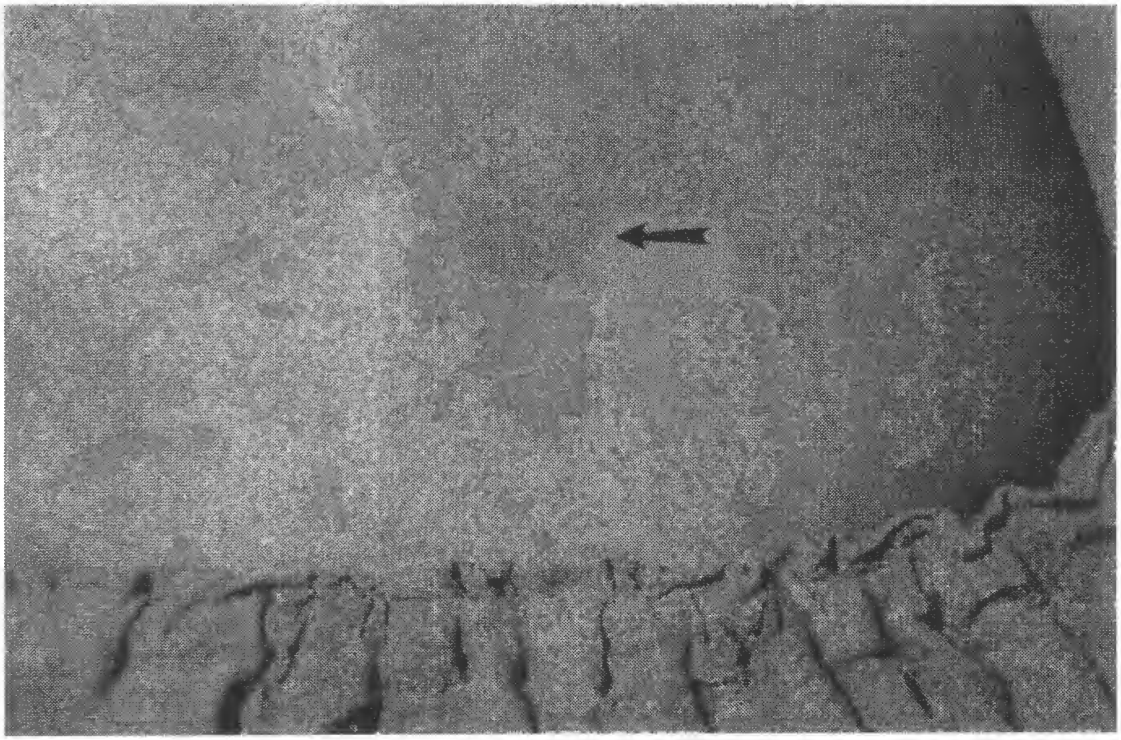

Figure 21-4 Birthmark on the right lower back of Maung Aung Myint. It consisted of a flat hyperpigmented macule, ovoid in shape and measuring about 2 centimeters by 3 centimeters.

ing attacks irregularly. They would occur as often as once, twice, or three times a month and then perhaps not again for another 3 months. His family showed us a record of Maung Aung Myint's visit to an outpatient clinic that recorded him as having been treated for "urinary obstruction." As I mentioned earlier, Maung Mya Maung had suffered from "urinary disease." In his own immediate family, Maung Aung Myint was the only member to have attacks of hematuria.[4]

Maung Aung Myint's Physique

Daw Khin Shwe was impressed by the similarity in physical appearance between Maung Mya Maung and Maung Aung Myint. She described them as both being "stocky" in build. This would be an accurate characterization of Maung Aung Myint's physique at the time U Win Maung first met him, when he was 4½ years old. Figure 23-1 shows his appearance then. I have not seen a photograph of Maung Mya Maung—taken at the same age or later.

[4]*Hematuria* is my interpretation of the informants' phrase "red urine." There are causes of red urine besides the presence of blood in it. The medical record that we examined, however, recorded an attribution of Maung Aung Myint's symptoms to "urinary obstruction," which suggests that he may have had renal calculi, a common cause of hematuria, for which, however, there may be many other causes (Sutton, 1990).

Comment

This case is most definitely one of what I call the same-family type. The people concerned all lived in a small area, many of them compacted into one house; and they were nearly all related. A critic needs little skill to discredit all of Maung Aung Myint's statements (as well as many of the recognitions attributed to him) by saying, quite correctly, that he could have obtained all the necessary information from the adults and older children around him. Maung Aung Myint's unusual behavior would be somewhat more difficult to explain; but this could be done by supposing that although there were aspects of Maung Mya Maung's somewhat tempestuous behavior that Daw Khin Shwe would have preferred not to recreate in her own home, she missed her cousin sorely and neutralized her grief for him by molding Maung Aung Myint's behavior until it provided a suitable facsimile of Maung Mya Maung's. Daw Khin Shwe's two dreams during her pregnancy had, it might be supposed, already indicated the way she would shape her expected baby's behavior. If Maung Aung Myint adopted his mother's belief that he was Maung Mya Maung reincarnated, this might account for those aspects of his behavior in which he resembled Maung Mya Maung. That would leave Maung Aung Myint's birthmarks and hematuria to be fitted into the normal explanation that I am trying to construct. The hyperpigmented nevus and the hematuria might both derive from some genetic factor that happened to reach expression in both Maung Mya Maung and Maung Aung Myint. There remains the birthmark on Maung Aung Myint's right chest below his nipple. It can be slotted into place as a supernumerary nipple, and there is nothing left to explain or explain away. Many readers may find these explanations satisfying taken one by one. The concatenation of the case's numerous features seems to me, however, to require fair consideration of the possibility that some paranormal process provides the best explanation for the occurrence of all these features in a single person, Maung Aung Myint.

Although I wish we had more precise diagnoses of the "urinary diseases" from which Maung Mya Maung and Maung Aung Myint suffered, the evidence we do have at least indicates that they both suffered from a disease of the same anatomical system.

THE CASE OF SELMA KILIÇ

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Selma Kılıç was born in 1959 in Adana, Turkey. (I could not obtain a more precise date for her birth.) Her parents were Yusuf Kılıç and his wife, Latife. Yusuf Kılıç was an unskilled worker employed by his nephew in his electrical supplies business. The Kılıçs were Alevis. Latife Kılıç gave birth to 15 children in all, but of these only nine survived infancy and were living in 1970, when I studied this

case. Selma's younger brother Erkan was the subject of a case that I investigated and have reported in detail. Latife Kılıç presented Selma's case to Reşat Bayer and me more or less incidentally while we were studying Erkan's case, and I did not at first give it as much attention as I now wish I had. However, over several years we gradually accumulated enough information to warrant my including a report of the case in this work.

Selma was born with a large red birthmark in the skin of the left side of her lower back (Figure 21-5).

When Selma began to walk, her mother noticed that she tended to keep her hands on her back and over the area of the birthmark. At first this made no sense to Latife Kılıç, but it seemed to find an explanation when Selma, at the age of about 7, was found to have kidney disease.

I did not learn what age Selma was when she first began to speak coherently, but she was between 2 and 2½ years old when she first showed signs of remembering a previous life. Her opening declaration occurred one day when she followed her mother as the latter left their upper story apartment and went downstairs to the street. There Selma said that she wanted to leave their house and find "my mother." Latife told Selma that she was her mother, and Selma replied: "No. You are not my mother." She insisted on being allowed to go to "my mother" and began to cry. Selma's older sister, who was with them, slapped her, and she cried even more. She had to be forcibly carried upstairs.

At mealtime, a little later, Selma renewed her demands to be allowed to find her mother. Yusuf Kılıç was present, and he told Selma that Latife was her mother. Selma again denied this, saying: "No. She is not my mother." Yusuf then suggested to Latife that she let Selma go where she wanted to go and follow her. Latife did this, and Selma led the way to a public water fountain near which a narrow lane joined a main street. Selma said: "There! I have found my mother!" She pointed down the lane and said her mother was in that direction. Latife was disturbed by this development, and she later told us that it gave her goose flesh. It was becoming dark, and she decided not to pursue the matter further that evening. So she picked Selma up and carried her protesting and crying back to their apartment. The night must have been a difficult one, because Selma cried all through it, insisting that she was going to "my mother."

The next day Latife asked her mother (Selma's grandmother) to take Selma back to the area of the fountain and follow her wherever she went from there. Selma's grandmother took her again to the area of the fountain, and from there Selma ran to a house, entered its compound, and ran toward a woman who was milking a cow. She embraced the woman and said: "Here is my mother." Selma's grandmother asked the woman whether she had lost a daughter, and the two women exchanged enough information so that the woman Selma identified as her mother was impressed by what she learned of Selma's statements. Up to this point Selma had in fact said little about a previous life, except that she wanted to go to "my mother." However, the woman Selma had found said her daughter had had kidney disease, and this seemed relevant to Selma's birthmark

in a way that impressed the woman, who began to cry. This woman was Emine Zaman, and her daughter Zehra had died of kidney disease in 1958.

Here I should mention that Latife was not a firsthand witness of the meeting between Selma and Emine Zaman, and Latife's mother, who had been, had died by the time Reşat Bayer and I began investigating the case in 1970. Emine Zaman, whom we were able to interview, seemed an unreliable informant, and I shall discuss her testimony later. Fortunately, we were able to meet Zehra's older sister, Kadriye, who seemed to have an excellent memory for the events of the case with which she was concerned.

When Selma first led the way to "my mother," Latife had no clue about which family she wanted to find. (Selma had not mentioned any names up to that point.) When the family had been identified, however, it turned out that there had been some acquaintance between members of the two families. The next development in the case occurred when Latife happened to meet Kadriye Zaman at a dress shop. She told Kadriye about Selma's having led the way to Emine's house. She also mentioned that Selma had been saying that her sister was called Kadriye. So Kadriye decided to meet Selma herself, and she went to the Kılıçs' apartment. Selma immediately recognized her and then described numerous details about the last months, illness, and death of Zehra Zaman. Although I did not learn just when this meeting took place, I think Selma was probably about 3 years old, and I place it in 1962.

After Kadriye's visit to Selma, there were some further meetings between the families, but these appear to have been infrequent. The case was dormant, we could say, until 1970, when, as I mentioned, Latife referred to the case while Reşat Bayer and I were studying Erkan's case.

Between 1970 and 1973 we had several interviews bearing on this case with Latife Kılıç, and we also interviewed informants for the Zaman family. In 1975, during a follow-up interview, primarily to learn about Erkan's later development, we also inquired about Selma's.

Persons Interviewed during the Investigation

In Adana we interviewed:

Selma Kılıç
Latife Kılıç, Selma's mother
Emine Çellik Zaman, Zehra Zaman's mother
Kadriye Zaman Gökoğlu, Zehra's older sister
Memduh Çellik, Emine Zaman's cousin and Zehra's "uncle"
Güzide Çellik, Memduh Çellik's wife and Zehra's "aunt" by marriage

We also obtained a small amount of information from Selma's father, Yusuf Kılıç, and her older brother Fehmi. Two persons who might have been valuable informants had died by 1970. These were Latife Kılıç's mother, who had witnessed Selma's first meeting with Emine Zaman; and Mustafa Zaman, Emine Zaman's husband and Zehra's father.

Emine Zaman could not remember that Selma had ever come to the Zaman house with her grandmother, whom she said she knew well. She did recall meeting Selma on the street with her mother and remembered that on that occasion Latife had pointed her out to Selma and said: "There is your 'mother.'" Selma had then gone to Emine and kissed her hand. Her daughter Kadriye's account of the occasion when Selma led the way to the Zaman house—which was, to be sure, secondhand testimony—accorded with that told to us by Latife. I think that Emine Zaman had forgotten the meeting with Selma when her grandmother accompanied her. Emine also could not remember at least one later visit that Selma had made to the Zaman home, but which her daughter Kadriye remembered. Emine was aware that her memory was failing. She excused herself, saying she was old and no longer remembered well. Reşat Bayer and I concluded, therefore, that Latife's version of the first meeting between the families was probably in the main correct, even though it was secondhand.

Although Memduh and Güzide Çellik had cared for Zehra in Istanbul, they were living in Adana when we interviewed them.

Relevant Facts of Geography and Possibilities for Normal Means of Communication between the Two Families

Both the families concerned in this case lived in Adana, the capital of the province of that name in south central Turkey, and both were Alevis, of Arab ancestry, but Turkish-speaking.

The houses of the two families were located about 300 meters apart.

Emine Zaman said that she had known Latife Kılıç's mother "well." At the next generation, however, the families were barely acquainted before the development of the case. On the evening when Latife followed Selma to the area of the public fountain by which the lane leading to the Zaman house joined the main street, she did not know to what family Selma was trying to lead her. On the other hand, she must have had at least a passing acquaintance with Zehra's sister Kadriye, to whom, when they met in the dress shop, she would not otherwise have mentioned Selma's "finding" of the Zaman house.

Selma's father was an unskilled worker, and her family lived in severely straitened circumstances. In contrast, the Zaman family (although they had passed through a period of hardship) seemed to be moderately well off, and in the early 1970s they were living in a comfortable house.

The Life, Death, and Character of Zehra Zaman

Zehra Zaman was born in Adana in about 1940. Her parents were Mustafa Zaman and his wife, Emine. Zehra had several older siblings, of whom the most important to our investigation was a sister, Kadriye, who was about 10 or 12 years older than Zehra.[5]

[5]We were given several widely—almost wildly—varying estimates of the age difference (*continued*)

When she was about 4 years old, Zehra became ill. One of her symptoms was a "swollen body," and in the light of later developments the swelling was almost certainly edematous. She recovered from this illness, or at any rate became asymptomatic. During the ensuing years, her parents separated, perhaps because Mustafa Zaman was an alcoholic. (He died, some time before 1970, but I do not know exactly when.) With the separation of the parents and the death of the father, the family fell into serious economic difficulties. In this distressing situation, Emine's cousin, Memduh Çellik, who owned a house in Istanbul, offered to take Zehra there to live with him. He had already taken at least one other child of the family to stay in Istanbul. It was understood that Zehra would be given room and board and would assist in the housework. She was about 12 or 13 years old when she went to Istanbul.

According to Memduh Çellik, Zehra was happy to be in Istanbul. During the ensuing years, her mother visited the Çelliks (and Zehra) once, and Zehra made one return visit to Adana. However, Kadriye told us that Zehra later said that she had missed her family in Adana, and she complained bitterly about mistreatment by her uncle. She blamed the onset (or perhaps recurrence) of her illness on this mistreatment. She mentioned that she had been poorly clothed and sometimes had to walk barefoot on the pavement in Istanbul. Kadriye said that Zehra had not complained of being beaten.

When Zehra was about 17 or 18 and still living with Memduh Çellik in Istanbul, she became gravely ill. Memduh Çellik took her to a doctor in Istanbul, who restricted her intake of water. She was diagnosed as having "nephritis." Her condition worsened, and they were advised that she was not going to recover. Memduh Çellik decided it would be better for Zehra to be with her family, and so he arranged for her to return alone (by airplane) to Adana. In Adana her family had her admitted to the Government Hospital. In Istanbul, Zehra, ignoring the medical advice about restricting her water intake, had been taking water covertly, and by the time she reached Adana her body was immensely swollen with edema. Her skin had actually broken down in some places from the distension produced by the retained water. She complained of pain in the region of her kidneys.

In the hospital, Zehra's condition continued to worsen, and she wanted to be taken home. The doctor in charge of her case at first refused to discharge her because of the extensive edema and breaking down of her skin. However, as she cried to go home, he relented and allowed her mother to take her home. (Afterward he became afraid that he had made a mistake and sent a taxi to bring Zehra back to the hospital; the family managed to divert the taxi driver by sending him off somewhere else.) Zehra died at her home about 10 days after returning

[5](*continued*) between Kadriye and Zehra. Kadriye's identity card, which we examined, gave her date of birth as February 1, 1927, but she said that the year given was wrong by one year and that she was born in 1928. If so, she was about 12 years older than Zehra.

The year I have given for Zehra's birth (1940) derives from a calculation backwards using her age at death (estimated to be about 18) and the date of her death, which *is* known accurately.

from Istanbul and the day following her discharge from the hospital. According to the death certificate, of which Reşat Bayer obtained a copy, Zehra Zaman died on March 6, 1958.

The death certificate did not state the cause of death. Güzide Çellik, Zehra's Istanbul "aunt," said that she had "nephritis," and Kadriye said that the doctor told her Zehra had "a kidney disease." We hoped to have this diagnosis confirmed by examining the records of Zehra's admission to the Government Hospital in Adana. I doubt whether we ever took more trouble to find a hospital record than we did in this case. Unfortunately, for the period of Zehra's illness the hospital records had been neglected and allowed to fall into chaotic disorder. No records of Zehra's admission were found. The doctor who, we were told, had been in charge of Zehra's case in Adana, Dr. Raşit Savcı, had moved to Ankara, but in April 1972, Reşat Bayer met him there and tried to stimulate his memories of Zehra's illness. Not surprisingly after 14 years, he could remember nothing of her case.

Despite these disappointments I feel justified in concluding that Zehra had, and died from, some form of glomerulonephritis. As I mentioned, two informants independently said (respectively) that she had "nephritis" and "a kidney disease"; and the description given of widespread swelling of the skin and attempts to restrict her intake of water all support this diagnosis.

A point of importance in connection with Selma's memories is that throughout her illness Zehra was never operated upon surgically.

Both Zehra's mother and her Istanbul "uncle" considered her to have been subnormal in intelligence—even to some extent mentally retarded. Unfortunately, we did not obtain further information concerning Zehra's mental state, either by inquiring about it from Kadriye or by learning how far Zehra had gone in school. When I asked Emine Zaman about any special interests that Zehra had shown, she said Zehra had none: "She took no interest in household matters and seemed just to want to lounge around and amuse herself."

Comment. There are grounds for thinking that Emine Zaman and her cousin Memduh Çellik may have felt guilty about their treatment of Zehra: the first for sending her to Istanbul and the second for his mistreatment of her while she was there. If this is a correct inference, they might have wished to devalue Zehra by representing her as a subnormal person. They may also have mistaken the lassitude accompanying a grave and ultimately fatal illness for laziness.

At any rate, Zehra's sister Kadriye remembered her differently. If we may judge by her enthusiastic endorsement of Selma's statements, she at least had pleasant memories of Zehra. They were sufficiently positive for her to have contemplated keeping Selma with her, a topic to which I shall return later.

Statements and a Recognition Made by Selma

I mentioned above that when Kadriye learned from Latife about Selma's meeting with her (and Zehra's) mother and how Selma had found the way to the house unaided, she resolved to meet Selma. So she went unannounced to the Kılıç

apartment. According to her later, Selma immediately recognized her and then—partly in response to questions from Kadriye but partly, I think, spontaneously—made at least 12 accurate statements about the last years of Zehra's life, her illness, and her death. I have listed these in Table 21-2. Departing from my usual custom in presenting such tables of statements and recognitions, I have placed Selma's recognition of Kadriye first in the table. It occurred as Kadriye arrived at the Kılıçs' apartment, and Selma's statements about Zehra's life followed immediately as Kadriye questioned Selma and listened to her.

I did not record a date for Kadriye's visit to Selma, but from other indications in my notes I believe she went to meet Selma within a few weeks (at most) of her meeting with Latife in the dress shop. If this is correct, then Selma was still under 3 years old at the time.

Kadriye's account to us of what Selma told her at their first meeting did not include some items that figured in the statements Selma made much later, in 1970, to Reşat Bayer and me. She did not mention that Selma said she (in the previous life) had been beaten by the Istanbul "uncle"; and she did not mention a surgical operation on Zehra's kidneys. (I discuss these and some other items in the next section.)

Selma's detailed knowledge of Zehra's life profoundly impressed Kadriye, who became immediately convinced that Selma was Zehra reborn. She emphasized that she had gone to the Kılıç apartment without any advance notice and that throughout her meeting with Selma no one had suggested any answers to Selma.

I believe that Latife herself may not have earlier heard from Selma all the details Selma told Kadriye when she first visited the Kılıçs. She was, however, a witness of what Selma told Kadriye. I did not obtain from Latife a detailed list of what Selma said in her presence, but my notes record that Latife first told us what she had learned normally about Zehra's being sent to Istanbul, how she had developed kidney disease, how she had been sent back to Adana, and how she had been admitted to a hospital in Adana and died 10 to 15 days later. Latife then added that Selma "narrated all the details of her illness [in the previous life], her return journey to Adana, etc." I do not know when Latife first heard Selma give these details, and it seems best to list Kadriye as the informant for them.

I have not included in the table Selma's reported recognition of Emine Zaman because, as I explained, Emine Zaman did not remember it as Latife Kılıç did, and Latife was a secondhand witness of it.

Selma's Statements in 1970. Selma was about 11 years old when we first met her in 1970. She claimed to have preserved distinct memories of the previous life. I cannot say to what extent her statements about memories at that age derived from residual primary imaged memories and to what extent from what she had been told (within her family) she had said when younger and what she had learned normally from her meetings with Zehra's sister Kadriye.

Selma's statements of 1970 included numerous accurate statements (taking Kadriye as the responsible verifier of them), and in Table 21-2 I have listed Selma,

Table 21-2 **Summary of a Recognition and Statements Made by Selma**

Item	*Informants*	*Verification*	*Comments*
1. Recognition of Kadriye Zaman Gökoğlu	Kadriye Zaman Gökoğlu, Zehra Zaman's older sister		This recognition took place at the apartment of the Kılıç family. Upon seeing Kadriye, Selma said: "Here is my sister" and "You are my sister Kadriye." Kadriye was certain that no one had aided Selma in this recognition.
2. She had a sister called Ikval.	Kadriye Gökoğlu	Kadriye Gökoğlu	Immediately after Selma had recognized her, Kadriye asked Selma whether (in the previous life) she had other brothers and sisters. Selma then correctly gave the names of three of Zehra's siblings. (See also the following two items.)
3. She had a brother called Lutvi.	Kadriye Gökoğlu Selma (1970)	Kadriye Gökoğlu	
4. She had a brother called Nihat.	Kadriye Gökoğlu Selma (1970)	Kadriye Gökoğlu	
5. Her mother was called Emine.	Kadriye Gökoğlu Selma (1970)	Kadriye Gökoğlu Emine Çellik Zaman, Zehra Zaman's mother	
6. Her mother did not take good care of her.	Kadriye Gökoğlu	See Comment	An alternative translation of this statement would be: "My mother was not at all interested in me." The reference was presumably to

			Zehra's being sent away from Adana to live with her "uncle" in Istanbul. Kadriye did not explicitly agree with Selma's statement, but did not say it was wrong either.
7. She was sent to Istanbul.	Kadriye Gökoğlu Selma (1970)	Kadriye Gökoğlu	
8. She came back to Adana in an airplane.	Kadriye Gökoğlu Selma (1970)	Kadriye Gökoğlu	
9. When she returned, Kadriye and one of her older brothers met her.	Kadriye Gökoğlu	Kadriye Gökoğlu	Although not included explicitly in the statement (or its verification), the statement seems to refer to meeting Zehra at the airport in Adana.
10. She was admitted to the hospital [in Adana].	Kadriye Gökoğlu Selma (1970)	Kadriye Gökoğlu	
11. She had kidney disease.	Kadriye Gökoğlu	Kadriye Gökoğlu	
12. She was taken home from the hospital.	Kadriye Gökoğlu	Kadriye Gökoğlu	
13. She died at home.	Kadriye Gökoğlu	Kadriye Gökoğlu	

with the year 1970 in parenthesis, for some of these. However, she also made seven statements that are certainly or probably inaccurate, and I think these derive from distortions in Selma's memories during the years between about 1962 and 1970. Her mistakes could not have derived from information she learned from Zehra's family, and this gives some support to the view that Selma had in fact preserved some original memories. If she had been telling us only what she had learned normally from Kadriye, I think she would not have introduced details that were clearly wrong. The mixture of correct and incorrect details may throw some light on the processes of remembering, distorting, and forgetting in the subjects of these cases, and for this reason I list the seven incorrect statements, with comments, in Table 21-3. I have also included some revisions and additions that Selma made during interviews in 1971 and 1973.

Comment. Two of Selma's erroneous statements of 1970 (Items 1 and 2 of Table 21-3) could be regarded as fusions of proper names, a common enough error in memories one has of one life. Two others (items 5 and 6) show another common type of error in memory: a compression of time and the dropping out of events during the compressed time period. Item 3 was wrong in that Zehra had no sister called Berkant; she may have had a friend by that name, but this is unverified. Item 4, Selma's statement about having been beaten on the back in Istanbul may have derived from an exaggeration of Zehra's mistreatment that she *did* remember combined with an explanation for the birthmark she had on her back. This interpretation is supported by Selma's own revision of her statement in 1971, when she said that Zehra had not been beaten, but had received only a few slaps. The idea of an operation on a kidney (item 7) could easily have been suggested to Selma by comments of her mother and other members of the family about Selma's prominent birthmark. They might have known enough anatomy to understand that the birthmark was in the general area of the left kidney, and Selma also drew attention to the area by walking with her hands on her back, suggesting that she was having pain in that region. If someone had given Selma the suggestion of an operation, she may have assimilated the idea into her other memories and genuinely come to believe that Zehra had been operated on. Selma may also have had some real memories of being on a stretcher in a hospital and of being given an injection (perhaps of a fairly strong sedative), which memories then developed into the idea of a surgical operation.

Selma's Statement about Events after Zehra's Death. Selma said that after dying in the previous life she felt as if she was thrown out of a window. She remembered seeing members of her family gathered around her body and weeping. They wept again when they buried her. She remembered nothing after that (meaning that she had no memories or conjectures about how she had come to the Kılıç family).

Comment. The description of seeming to be thrown out of a window may have been an attempt to explain a sensation of falling. The scenes of family members weeping around the body and at the cemetery could have been imagined, but Selma may have had real memories of these events.

Table 21-3 **Incorrect Statements Made by Selma in 1970**

Item	*Comments*
1. Her father was called Mustafa Çellik.	Zehra's father was Mustafa Zaman. Her mother's maiden name was Çellik, and her Istanbul "uncle" was Memduh Çellik. Since Mustafa Zaman had separated from the rest of the family before Zehra was sent to Istanbul, Memduh Çellik acted *in loco parentis* during the last years of Zehra's life. Selma seems to have conflated the names of two of Zehra's "father figures."
2. She had a sister called Lutviye.	Zehra's sisters were Kadriye and Ikval. One of her brothers was Lutvi, and Selma's erroneous name for a sister may have resulted from a fusion of parts of the names *Lutvi* and *Kadriye.*
3. She had a younger sister Berkant.	Kadriye could not place a person of this name in Zehra's family. There was definitely no daughter of the family with that name. One might conjecture that Berkant was one of Zehra's friends, but a person not known to members of her family.
4. While she was in Istanbul, she was beaten from time to time when she misbehaved. Her "uncle" had beaten her on her back.	One would not have expected Memduh Çellik and his wife, Güzide, to say that they had beaten Zehra; the more important negation of this statement comes from Kadriye. She acknowledged that Zehra had complained of being mistreated by her Istanbul "uncle" (Memduh Çellik), but she said that Zehra had not mentioned having been beaten. Latife recalled that Selma had spoken about being struck "often" (in Istanbul), but Latife had forgotten details of what Selma had described. In 1971 Selma modified her statement from what she had said in 1970. She said then that in the previous life she had only received some slaps and had not actually been beaten. I have not ruled out the possibility that Zehra was beaten by her Istanbul "uncle" and the fact concealed from us, even by Kadriye, who was, however, willing to tell us about Zehra's other complaints when she returned to Adana from Istanbul.
5. When she became ill in Istanbul, she was not taken to a doctor, but was immediately sent home to Adana.	Memduh Çellik said that he and his wife had taken Zehra not only to their own family doctor, but to specialists in Istanbul; they only sent Zehra back to Adana when they were told that she was not going to recover from her illness.
6. She stayed only one month in Istanbul.	Zehra had remained in Istanbul at least 3 years and possibly 4 or even 5.
7. She had an operation in the hospital.	Zehra was not operated upon either in Istanbul or in Adana. The idea of being operated upon may have been suggested to

Table 21-3 (*continued*)

Item	*Comments*
	Selma by members of her family who observed her birthmark and her habit of walking with her hands on her back. In further interviews in 1971 and 1973, Reşat Bayer and I tried to reach whatever primary images Selma may still have had and detach these from inferences that she or others had made. In 1971 she said she had been given an injection and had lost consciousness. She remembered being carried into an "operating room." In 1973 she was no longer sure that (in the previous life) she had had an operation, but she said she could still remember being on a stretcher and thought she had some memories of being taken to an operating room and given an injection. Could Zehra perhaps have mistaken an x-ray room for an operating theater? If so, this error and the normal knowledge that she had a birthmark in the region of one kidney may have combined in Selma's mind to form a false memory of having been operated upon in the previous life.

Selma's Attempt to Recognize Two Persons Known to Zehra. It happened that until Reşat Bayer and I began investigating this case in 1970 it had never come to the attention of Memduh Çellik and his wife, Güzide, who had been Zehra's Istanbul "uncle" and "aunt." They had never heard of Selma, let alone met her. Selma was then 11 years old, far beyond the age when most subjects have forgotten memories they had earlier of a previous life. Yet although she showed mistakes and importations in her memories, she also seemed to have preserved some original images. I always hope that I will be present at more occasions when a subject recognizes (under adequately controlled conditions) a person known to the previous personality. (I have observed such recognitions on a small number of occasions.)[6] Accordingly, Reşat Bayer and I (in 1970) persuaded Memduh and Güzide Çellik to come with us to the Kılıç home. We left them seated in a taxi while we went to Selma's house, brought her out, and asked her if she could say who the persons in the taxi were. She could not recognize them; she did not even make a guess at their identities. Selma later told her mother (after being informed who the visitors had been): "My uncle had become much heavier, and that is why I did not recognize him."

Selma's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

When Selma was young, she talked often about the previous life, and she continued doing so to a later age than most subjects. Possibly her own illness with kidney disease, which I shall describe later, may have maintained memories of the pre-

[6]I observed such recognitions during my investigations of the cases of Imad Elawar, Gnanatilleka Baddewithana, and Ma Choe Hnin Htet.

vious life in her consciousness or at any rate stimulated her to talk about the previous life more than would have happened if she had been physically well. However, I did not learn of any special circumstances, such as being acutely ill, that stimulated Selma to dwell on the previous life more at one time than at another.

I obtained discrepant accounts of the number of meetings between Selma and Zehra's family in the period following the first meeting between them. Kadriye mentioned that Selma had come twice to her parents' house and that her (Selma's) mother had then stopped her from making further visits. Emine Zaman said that Selma had *never* come to the house, but as I mentioned earlier she appeared to have forgotten much about earlier events.[7]

Other Relevant Behavior of Selma

Latife said that Selma showed an interest in sewing and cooking and that in play she took the role of a mother. These behaviors were not unusual for a girl of her family, and they did not correspond to any prominent traits in Zehra. On the contrary, Zehra's mother said that Zehra had had little or no interest in domestic activities.

The Attitudes of the Adults Concerned toward Selma's Memories

Latife Kılıç told us about Selma's statements and early behavior with interest and even enthusiasm. There was no doubt that she believed that Selma had real memories of Zehra's life. This was also the opinion of Kadriye, Zehra's older sister, who said she was fully convinced that Selma was Zehra reborn.

In contrast, Zehra's mother, Emine, remained unconvinced about the merits of the case. She said that Selma had told her nothing directly about the previous life; she had heard only what Selma's mother had said Selma had said. (Given her own acknowledged forgetfulness of earlier events, her stance of not crediting the case seemed reasonable.)

Memduh Çellik and his wife, Güzide, impressed me as being neutral in their attitude toward the case. However, the word *neutral* does not seem adequately descriptive of their almost total lack of interest in it. We had to persuade them to accompany us to Selma's house in order to see whether she would recognize them. After Selma failed to recognize them, they showed no wish to ask her any questions about her claimed memories.

Comment. The Çelliks' detachment from the case may have several explanations. In the first place, they had only just heard about it the day before we met them in 1970, and they may not have had time to learn and cogitate over all the available details.

[7]This discrepancy may be due to errors of understanding and of translation. If Selma first met Emine when she was in the compound of the house milking a cow and not actually *inside* the house, Emine would be correct for that occasion in saying that Selma had not come into the house. And possibly Selma had later met Kadriye also in the compound of the house without going into it, so that Emine would not have even known that Selma had visited on that second occasion.

Other motives may also have influenced their attitude. The Kılıçs were an exceedingly poor family; the Çelliks, and by this time the Zamans also, were at least moderately prosperous. Some suspicion of designs on their property by Selma and her family might have entered their minds. Fears of this kind have troubled some members of other families of previous personalities in cases having a marked difference in the social and economic statuses of the two families.

Finally, the Çelliks may have had some concern about revelations Selma might have made—for all they knew—about Zehra's mistreatment when she had been under their care in Istanbul. To have countenanced the case might have been tantamount to admitting the accuracy of anything adverse about them that Selma had said.

Selma's Birthmark and Renal Disease

Figure 21-5 shows the location of Selma's birthmark in the lower region of her left back. It was approximately at the level of the left kidney, but somewhat lateral to it. Figure 21-6 is a closer view of the birthmark. It was an irregularly shaped area of erythema (nevus flammeus) about 15 square centimeters in extent.

Latife Kılıç said that the midwife who delivered Selma drew her attention to the birthmark soon after Selma's birth. There was no discharge from the birthmark, but Latife described the area affected as being "soft." (This may have indicated some localized swelling in the area of the birthmark.) Yusuf Kılıç (Selma's father) remembered that he had noticed Selma's birthmark after she was brought home from the hospital. She remained in the hospital for 18 days after her birth; I did not learn why she had been kept there so long.

No other member of the family had a birthmark like Selma's in the position of hers or in any other part of the body.

In thinking about the matter later, Latife Kılıç decided that Selma's habit—begun when she was just learning to walk—of keeping her hands on her back may have been some indication of her having kidney disease. She seemed to keep her hands over the area of the birthmark. However, Latife received the first definite information that Selma had such a disease only when Selma was about 7 years old. At that time a doctor told her that Selma had kidney disease. (I do not know what symptoms justified this diagnosis.)

For the next few years Selma continued to be somewhat sickly, and during this period she complained of pain in the region of her kidneys. In November 1969 she was admitted to the Government Hospital in Adana, and we were able to study and copy relevant parts of her hospital records from that admission. The diagnoses at her discharge (a week later) were "gastroenteritis" and "acute glomerulonephritis." The laboratory examination of Selma's urine during this admission showed that it contained 4+ protein and "many erythrocytes."

In February 1970 Selma was again admitted to a hospital—not the Government Hospital—for two weeks. She was again found to have hematuria. When we met her a month later in March, she was in a remission, but not entirely

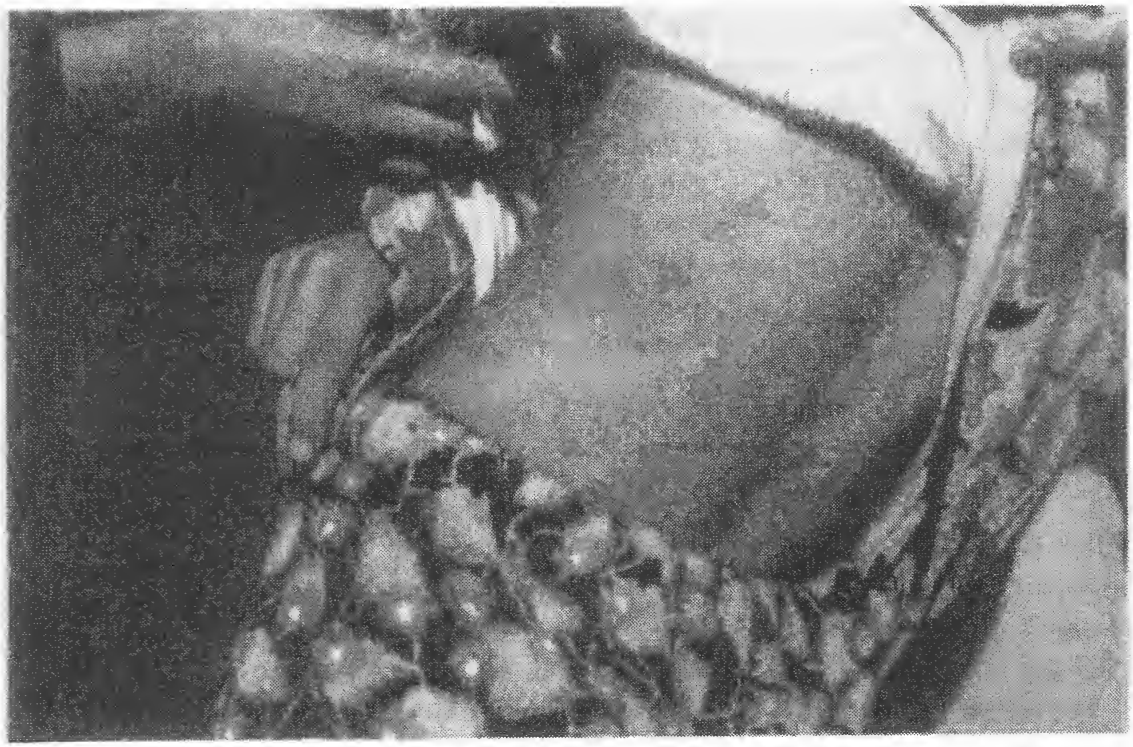

Figure 21-5 Birthmark on the left lower back of Selma Kılıç as it appeared in March 1970, when she was about 11 years old. The birthmark was a nevus flammeus of irregular shape covering an area of approximately 15 square centimeters.

Figure 21-6 Closer view of Selma Kılıç's birthmark. This photograph was also taken in March 1970.

well. In 1971, when we met the Kılıçs again, we learned that Selma had been readmitted to the Government Hospital not long after our meetings during the previous year. Latife Kılıç said that Selma's urine was grossly red.

Other Relevant Medical Information. Selma's older brother Fehmi had been diagnosed by a doctor (during his childhood or youth) as having kidney disease, mainly, it appears, on the basis of pain he had in his back. He was never found to have hematuria, and when the time came for his military service (usually begun at the age of about 18), he passed the medical examination for the army and served the usual 2 years. It seems unlikely that he had glomerulonephritis.

Comment

A weakness of this case is that Selma had said little about the previous life—beyond expressing the strong wish to go to "my mother"—before her meeting with Zehra's mother. On that occasion Selma's grandmother and Zehra's mother exchanged information about what Selma had been saying and to what extent her statements were correct for Zehra. We do not know for how long the two women talked or how much of what they said Selma might have heard, perhaps unconsciously assimilated, and later believed to be her own memories. I think it unlikely, however, that the conversation between the two women would account for all the details that Selma afterward told Kadriye. Moreover, Selma had already stated enough details about the previous life so that these, when transmitted by Selma's grandmother to Zehra's mother, had impressed the latter favorably.

If we favor reincarnation as the best explanation of the case, we will need to include both Selma's birthmark and her renal disease in our understanding of it. The birthmark on the skin was some distance from the kidney's physical boundaries; between them there would have been (in the body of Selma's later childhood) at least 3-4 centimeters of other tissues, such as muscle, fascia, and bone. If the same process generated both the kidney disease and the birthmark on the skin over the kidney, we are forced to postulate some kind of field force that extended well beyond the kidney itself.

Selma's Later Development

In February 1973 Selma was 13 years old. She was then only in the fifth grade at school. She had had to repeat one class. Selma's father, Yusuf, had died in 1972, and the family's already poor financial condition then became worse.

At this time Selma's health was fairly good. She had not been having hematuria, but from time to time she complained of pain in her back. Selma herself said that she only had such pain when she lifted something heavy. She had not needed to be admitted to the hospital since 1971.

Selma said that she remembered the previous life then just as clearly as she had earlier and had forgotten nothing.

Although nothing was said to this effect, it appears that our meetings with both families in 1970 may have brought them together again. Latife said that Selma was visiting Kadriye often and that Kadriye had expressed interest in keeping Selma with her.

I have not met Selma since 1973. However, in 1975 Reşat Bayer and I learned from Latife something about Selma's progress during the 2 years that had elapsed since our last meeting. Selma had gone to West Germany, where she was staying with an older sister who had emigrated there earlier. In Germany, she had had another exacerbation of her kidney disease and had recently been admitted to a hospital there; her condition had since improved.

Latife said that Selma still spoke about the previous life, but less than she had earlier. She tended to speak about it only to her mother or to other girls of her own age. (If Selma was then staying in Germany, Latife's information must have been secondhand or perhaps obtained during a visit back to Turkey that Selma had made.)

Latife noted that "the other family" had come to accept Selma's claims to be Zehra reborn. This remark must have referred to Emine Zaman, who had expressed skepticism about the case in 1970; her daughter Kadriye, on the contrary, had accepted it enthusiastically from the time of her first meeting with Selma.

THE CASE OF CELAL KAPAN

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Celal Kapan was born in about 1952 in the village of Nardüzü, Hatay Province, Turkey. (The year of his birth is questionable, and I shall devote a later section of this report to evidence and conjectures concerning it.) His parents were Ahmet Kapan and his wife, Derra. Celal had five sisters, but no brothers; I did not learn his order of birth in the family. Nor did I learn his father's occupation. He and his family were Alevis.

When Celal was born, his forehead was swollen, and he had a moderately prominent birthmark on his forehead. I described and illustrated the fading of this birthmark in Chapter 11. (See Figures 11-6 and 11-7.) There was a discharge of fluid from one of his ears, and possibly both.

About the time of Celal's birth (or later) the mother of a young man, Şaban Sağır, who had been killed some time before, had a dream in which her son appeared and said that he had been reborn in Nardüzü as the son of Derra Teküz.[8] The dreamer, Kâtibe Sağır, lived in the nearby village of Şarkonak, and she shortly visited the Kapans and saw their baby.

[8]Families of Arabic origin living in Hatay often changed their names during the generation preceding the development of this case. (Another example occurred in the case of Necati Çaylak.) The Kapans had been previously called Teküz and were still known by this name to some persons of the region where they lived. Except for the detail in this dream, I shall avoid confusion by referring to them by their later name of Kapan.

Celal started to speak coherently when he was about 2, and he began immediately to refer to a previous life. Confusion about what he was doing in the Kapan family was a prominent feature of his early expressions about the previous life. Among his first intelligible phrases were: "What am I doing here? I was working at the docks." (Şaban Sağır had been killed while working on a ship at the docks in İskenderun.) He also denied that his mother was his mother and said that he had another one. When he became able, he left the house and went by himself to the Sağır home. Later, his mother frequently recovered him from there, when she found him missing from home.

I have no note of how I first learned of this case, but, relying on my memory and the sequence of dates in my notes, I believe that Celal Kapan saw us at work on another case in his village and volunteered to tell us about his own case. This was on November 4, 1967. Reşat Bayer was with me, as he was for all the Turkish cases included in this work that I studied myself. We also had with us Selim Koç, an Arabic-speaking bank employee, who often helped us as an interpreter with informants who could not speak Turkish, for example, with the case of Semih Tutuşmuş and the present one.

At our first meeting with Celal, we made a tape recording of what he said he remembered about the previous life. (Later Reşat Bayer dictated a French translation of the recording to me.) When Celal had concluded, both Reşat Bayer and Selim Koç thought seriously that he had minimally embroidered his narration, and they even discussed whether he had made up the whole case from nothing. This proved to be an inaccurate judgment, because, although Celal introduced some distortions and errors into his account, we corroborated and verified all the main ingredients of what he told us.

The day after we talked with Celal, we met and interviewed his mother, Derra Kapan, at her home in Nardüzü. Two days later, we met and interviewed Şaban Sağır's parents, Ahmet and Kâtibe Sağır. Şaban's younger brother, Ahmet, contributed some further information.

In 1971 we took up the case again. We had a further interview with Celal and another with his mother. In addition, we interviewed his paternal uncle and his older sister. In this year also we began an ultimately fruitless effort to obtain a postmortem report showing the injuries from which Şaban Sağır had died.

Persons Interviewed during the Investigation

In Nardüzü village we interviewed:

Celal Kapan
Derra Kapan, Celal's mother
Bedra Ağlamis, Celal's older sister
Mithat Kapan, Celal's paternal uncle
Mehmet Sebzeçı, villager
Ali Tümkaya, headman (muhtar) of Şarkonak

In Şarkonak village we interviewed:

Süleyman Sağır, Şaban Sağır's father
Kâtibe Sağır, Şaban Sağır's mother
Ahmet Sağır, Şaban Sağır's younger brother

We did not interview Celal's father, Ahmet, and I have no note explaining this omission. He was alive in 1967, and he may have been at work at the times we were in Şarkonak, then and in 1971.

Celal spoke Turkish with Reşat Bayer. With all the other informants, however, we needed the help of an Arabic interpreter. Selim Koç helped us with one interview requiring an Arabic-speaking interpreter, but for others we had to use the assistance of our taxi drivers. One of these chauffeurs had been with us for many years and was familiar with our work and methods; the other was not. However, we were not without some control over the exchanges in Arabic, because Reşat Bayer had some knowledge of this language, and he often used Arabic script in making notes; but he was unable to speak it adequately.

The testimony of the different informants for the case seems to me to show a satisfactory degree of concordance in all features but two: the previous connections between the two families concerned and the dates. With regard to the prior acquaintance between the families, the discrepancy in the testimony is probably due to my failure to push our questioning on this point; I cannot blame the interpreters for this. As for the discrepancies about dates, vagueness about dates and ages is endemic among Asian villagers, and I do not think the discrepancies about these in the present case derive from faulty interpretations from one language to another.

Relevant Facts of Geography and Possibilities for Normal Means of Communication between the Two Families

Nardüzü and Şarkonak are two villages in the group of several villages called Karaağaç that are about 6 to 8 kilometers south of İskenderun, which is the principal port for the province of Hatay. I have no note of the actual distance between Nardüzü and Şarkonak, but it is probably less than 0.5 kilometer.

Süleyman and Kâtibe Sağır said that the two families were acquainted, but were not friends. Kâtibe said that she had learned about Celal's birth before she had a pertinent dream (that I shall describe later); but this implies no intimacy between the families, because news of a birth would easily spread to neighboring villages. Celal himself told us in 1971 that the two families were related and said that Kâtibe Sağır was his mother's "aunt." I have put quotation marks around the word *aunt*, because as late as 1971 I had not fully adapted to the Asian habit of using words of relationship, such as "brother," "uncle," and "aunt," more loosely than Western speakers usually do. To obviate misunderstanding I have usually drawn a genealogy to show the exact relationship—if there is one—between the persons being connected. I failed to do this in the present instance. Nor did I ask

Celal's mother about her previous acquaintance (or family relationship) with the Sağırs. However, she nowhere indicated that the two families had been close friends; but she did not say they had been strangers either. The two villages are almost contiguous, and two residents of Nardüzü, one of them Celal's paternal uncle, said that they had been working at the docks when Şaban died, one of them on the same ship as Şaban. They said they were witnesses of Şaban's death. In sum, the two families were definitely acquainted before the case developed, and they may have been related, perhaps distantly; they do not appear to have been intimate friends.

Everything that Celal said about Şaban's death would have been common knowledge in Nardüzü. Some more personal matters that Celal mentioned were almost certainly not known outside Şaban's family.

The villages of Karaağaç lie on a coastal plain south of İskenderun between mountains to the east and the Mediterranean Sea to the west.[9] The villagers were mainly cultivators, but some went to work in İskenderun, and I have said that two of our informants for this case, as well as Şaban Sağır, worked at the docks there. Although some of the villagers were more prosperous than others, there seemed to be no major gaps in socioeconomic status among them, and I believe the two families concerned in this case were about equal in this respect.

The Life and Death of Şaban Sağır

Şaban Sağır was born in 1933, probably in the village of Şarkonak, Karaağaç. His parents were Süleyman and Kâtibe Sağır. (They had other sons and daughters, but I do not know how many.) Şaban was a youth of 18 and employed as a laborer in loading and unloading the ships in İskenderun when he was killed in 1951. Celal's paternal uncle, Mithat Kapan, said that he himself was working on this same ship at the time of Şaban's death. According to him, a crane operator was lowering barrels of fuel into the hold of the ship. Şaban was asleep in the hold without the crane operator knowing that he was there, and he allowed a barrel to descend rapidly into the hold. It struck Şaban on the head, and he died instantly.

Mithat Kapan said that he saw Şaban's body after the accident. The larger of two wounds was on the forehead, and there was also a small one at the back of the head. Blood was running from the right ear. Mehmet Sebzeçı, another villager of Nardüzü, said that he also had been an eyewitness of Şaban's death. (I think we should take the statements of both these informants to mean that they saw Şaban's dead body after the accident, not that they saw the accident happen.) According to him, Şaban had been struck on the forehead by an iron bar. (An iron bar might have been part of the crane's grappling tackle.) Şaban's younger brother, Ahmet, offered some additional, but secondhand support for the foregoing testimony. He

[9]Other cases of which the families concerned—one or both—lived in this coastal plain south of İskenderun include: Semih Tutuşmuş, Metin Köybaşı, Mehmet Samioğlu, and Süleyman Çapar.

said that he had learned from other persons that an iron bar had struck Şaban on the back of the head and on his forehead.

When someone dies in Turkey, his identity card is given to the muhtar (headman) of his village or district (of a town or city). The muhtar enters the date of death and perhaps notes of other details that he may think pertinent. Ali Tümkaya, the muhtar of Şarkonak, had done this after Şaban's death, and he had also kept a scrap of paper on which he had written a few words. The identity card gave the year of Şaban's birth as 1933, and the date of his death as July 18, 1951. Ali Tümkaya had also written on the card the Turkish words: "Krom vapuru. Krom dolu kazan" (English: "A chromium [ore] ship. A bucket full of chromium.") Ali Tümkaya had written a further phrase on a scrap of paper he kept with the identity card. It read: "Cause of death: Struck by a bucket." If chromium ore was being loaded into the ship, the crane operator was probably moving it into the hold with a large scooping bucket, and this may have struck Şaban when it descended rapidly into the hold.

Comment. The muhtar's notes and the completed identity card are almost certainly accurate for the date of Şaban's death and for the indication that he died accidentally in a ship at the docks. As to what actually struck Şaban on the head, Ali Tümkaya's notes might be *less* accurate than the memory of Mithat Kapan, who said that a barrel of fuel had hit Şaban, or that of Mehmet Sebzeçı, who said that a bar of iron had hit him. They said they were on the ship at the time, whereas Ali Tümkaya would only have learned about the accident later. Fortunately, the nature of the object that struck and killed Şaban is not important to the case. The details of his wounds are, and we tried to learn more about them.

Efforts to Obtain Additional Verifications about the Wounds on Şaban's Head. In the case of a sudden death, such as that of Şaban, an inquest would have been held, and this would have included an obligatory postmortem examination of Şaban's body. A postmortem examination would usually be ordered even in cases, such as the present one, where there were no grounds for suspecting malice or carelessness as having contributed to the death. Reşat Bayer and I, pleased with some successes we had already had in obtaining access to postmortem reports, were initially confident that we would have another success in the present case. We applied to the secretary of the Procurator at the Tribunal in İskenderun and were assured that the matter would be simple. However, no record of an inquest was found. We were given to understand that records earlier than 1960 were supposed to have been burned. However, Reşat Bayer disbelieved this and returned to the search in 1972.[10] He was finally shown the records, but they were heaped in

[10]We adopted the following routine for obtaining a postmortem report in Turkey. We first visited the Procurator (approximately equivalent to a District Attorney in the United States) and explained to him what we were doing and why we needed the postmortem report and perhaps other details of a court trial, if there had been one. Nearly all the Procurators were helpful, and a few took exceptional pains to assist us. They usually assigned a clerk to look through the records; more rarely we had access to them ourselves and could help in the search.

It was our custom to tell the clerk making the search that we would give him a gift for (*continued*)

disorderly piles in an archival room of the Tribunal. Even though Reşat Bayer was sure that we had the correct date of Şaban's death, the task of searching through the chaotic mass of records seemed daunting. Nevertheless, he spent almost an entire day trying to find the record, but finally had to admit failure and give up.

The Probable Immediate Cause of Şaban's Death. Although it was disappointing not to obtain a postmortem report, I believe that our two informants who saw Şaban's body gave us an accurate description of his main wounds.

If we accept that Şaban had wounds at the front and back of his head and that blood ran out of one ear when he was struck by whatever object hit him, we can suppose that the object hit him on the forehead with force great enough to knock the back of his head against some other hard surface. (He could also have been knocked forward from behind.) This could have happened if Şaban had been asleep at the bottom of the hold or it could have happened if he had been sitting down or standing erect, but struck without warning from the front or back.

The blows delivered to his head were strong enough to produce a fracture of the base of the skull and possibly of other bones as well.[11] There must have been severe damage to the brain as well as hemorrhage. Şaban must have died almost instantly after being struck; no one mentioned that he was taken to a hospital.

An Announcing Dream

After Şaban's death, his mother, Kâtibe Sağır, mourned him greatly. She said that she often went to the cemetery where he was buried and wept.

Then she had a dream in which Şaban came to her and said: "Have you kept the gold necklace?" She replied: "Yes, I will keep it for you forever, and I am also keeping 400 Turkish pounds for you." The youth then replied: "Do not weep any more. I have been reborn in the village of Nardüzü, and my mother is Derra Teküz."

[10](*continued*) his efforts. Sometimes we gave the clerk a modest tip at the beginning of our search and promised a larger one if he found the record we wanted. This system increased incentives to make the search (when we left to do other work) and reduced the temptation for the clerk later to say that he had searched in vain when he had not searched at all. In the present instance, we gave the clerk a substantial gift at the outset and later asked ourselves to what extent he had tried to find the record, as he said he had done. It turned out that the records had not been burned, but put into a completely random order.

Yet the clerk may not have intended to deceive or mislead us. Sometimes records that are supposed to be destroyed are not, and I had one particularly pleasant success based on such a conjecture in India. The incident occurred in the town of Bhind, Madhya Pradesh, in 1971. A clerk in the hospital there told me that the record of a postmortem that I wanted (for the case of Manoj Kumar) had been destroyed, and he showed me a printed official order instructing employees to destroy records that had been held for 5 years. (The report we wanted related to a death in 1964.) Looking around the record room at the piles of dust-covered books of records, I was sure that nothing in that room had been destroyed since deep into the years of the British Raj. I insisted that the books for the relevant years be brought to us, and with the other members of our team I then went through the postmortem reports until we found the one we wanted.

[11]The previous personality in the case of Sunita Khandelwal died from a skull fracture after a head injury (due to a fall). Blood ran from her ear after the accident.

Derra (Teküz) Kapan gave us a substantially similar secondhand account of this dream, about which she learned when, on the basis of it, Kâtibe Sağır came to see her baby.

As to when in relation to other events Kâtibe Sağır had her dream, we received three widely varying estimates. I think there was probably a mistake in translation with regard to Kâtibe's date, and the one that I accept—without certainty, however—is Derra's. She said that Celal was about a year old when Kâtibe had her dream and came to see him.

Comment. Kâtibe's dream is unusual among announcing dreams in two respects, although not unique in either of these.

First, the dreamer was a member of the previous personality's family, not the subject's. Second, the previous personality appeared to the dreamer *after* the birth of the baby who later remembered his life.

Other cases have had announcing dreams with one or the other of these features; but I can remember only three others that had both features: those of Semir Taci, Mehmet Samioğlu, and Faris Yuyucuer.

The Best Estimate of the Interval between Şaban's Death and Celal's Birth

At the beginning of this report, I mentioned my doubts about the year that I gave—1952—for Celal's birth. These doubts arose because Celal's identity card gave his birthdate as December 15, 1954, whereas two informants suggested a much shorter interval between Şaban's death and Celal's birth than this would indicate. For example, Bedra Ağlamis, Celal's older sister (who was 13 at the time of Şaban's death), said that the interval was only 7 days. Mithat Kapan, Celal's paternal uncle, at first said that the interval had been 2 months, but after further reflection he said that he really could not remember the length of the interval. Şaban's younger brother, Ahmet, believed that Celal was born 3 years after Şaban's death; but he was a child during these years.

Mithat Kapan thought that Celal's identity card gave an accurate date for his birth, and this was one reason why he cancelled his earlier estimate of the interval between Şaban's death and Celal's birth. However, identity cards in Turkey (and elsewhere) are no more accurate than the persons furnishing the information and making the cards. Selim Koç advised us that the date on Celal's identity card could well be wrong.[12] On the other hand, the intervals mentioned by Bedra

[12]Inaccuracies in the identity cards of Turkey may arise from a variety of motives and other causes. Carelessness is one. A date of birth for a son may sometimes be falsely *back-dated*, so that he may be taken into the army for his compulsory military service at a younger age than usual; he would then be discharged earlier and could return to work on the family farm or in a family business. The date may be *advanced* if the child's father postpones registering the birth. In the present case, the suggestion was made that Ahmet Kapan may have been unable to afford the fee for registration until some time after Celal's birth. He would therefore have postponed the registration and the date of birth would have been recorded as later than it was. That we missed hearing Ahmet Kapan's own account of this matter is only one reason for regretting that we did not meet him.

Ağlamis and Mithat Kapan seemed much too short and did not accord with what appears to have been a prolonged period of mourning on the part of Kâtibe Sağır before she had her dream and then came to see the baby.[13] I have decided that Derra Kapan's estimate was as close as we can come in this matter when she said that Celal was about a year old at the time Kâtibe first came to see him. This would make the interval between Şaban's death and Celal's birth at least 18 months, and, adopting this figure, I think Celal was born in 1952 or perhaps 1953, but not as late as December 1954.

Statements and Recognitions Made by Celal

According to Derra Kapan, Celal, when first talking about the previous life, said that he had been working at the docks and was killed when struck by a bar of iron. She said that Celal found his present situation confusing and said: "What am I doing here? I was working at the docks."[14] He denied that his mother was his mother and said he had another mother.

Kâtibe Sağır said that when Celal went to Şarkonak, he asked to have the gold necklace and 400 Turkish pounds that had figured in her dream.

Derra Kapan and her daughter Bedra (Celal's older sister) credited him with some recognitions. Derra said that when Kâtibe Sağır first visited Celal while he was still an infant, he showed no sign of recognizing her. However, Kâtibe returned again about 2 years later, after Celal had begun to speak about the previous life, and he did recognize her then. At about the same time—when he was barely 3 years old—Celal found his way to the Sağır house in Şarkonak. Bedra said that he did this unaccompanied.

Comment. We did not learn details of how any of these recognitions occurred, and I attach little importance to them. If Celal found his way to Şaban's house accompanied but unaided, I should have been impressed. However, small children run around freely in Turkish villages, and a 3-year-old boy with knowledge of the family's name might have asked someone how to go to that family's house in a nearby village.

Celal's Statements in 1967 and 1971. Although Celal spoke with us at some length both in 1967 and in 1971, I think he made no distinction—probably at that age he could make none—between imaged memories he may still have had

[13]I mentioned earlier that when we ask informants to estimate the interval between a death and an apparently related birth, some of them give the interval between the death and the (assumed) date of conception of the baby in question. This might have happened with the informants furnishing this information in the present case.

[14]Words and phrases that are the first, or among the first, that the subject speaks sometimes refer to an event immediately before the previous personality's death or to the last words spoken before dying. Other examples occurred in the cases of Sukla Gupta, Zouheir Chaar, and Pratima Saxena.

For subjects of this group a block of time seems to be abolished, and they appear to resume in one life where they left off in the previous one. They remind me of a woman who had a stroke and lost consciousness while playing bridge. When she regained consciousness in a hospital 3 days later, her first words were: "What's trumps?"

and information he had learned normally. In 1967 he said that (in the previous life) he had been carrying a huge sack being unloaded from a ship when a bar of iron struck and killed him. In 1971 he gave a different account of the death in the previous life. He said then that he was lying down in the ship when a barrel of fuel that was being taken out of the ship fell and struck him on the forehead.

In 1967 Celal described a few memories of events immediately after Şaban's death, such as the transport of his body in an ambulance and a doctor pronouncing him dead. He also mentioned the washing of the dead body and its burial. In 1971 he said he remembered nothing of events between Şaban's death and his own birth.

In 1967 Celal said that he had begun to speak about the previous life when he was 2 months old. We naturally questioned this assertion, but he did not then withdraw it.

When we asked Celal (in 1967) whether he had, when younger, convinced Şaban's parents that he was their son reincarnated, he said that he had and that they fully accepted him as their son, which I think was true. Celal mentioned that he had recognized members of Şaban's family and had also pointed out a photograph of Şaban that his family had.

Celal did not claim to remember everything about the previous life, and in 1967 he admitted that he did not remember either how old he had been in the previous life at the time he was killed or the names of the previous parents. However, he offered to take us to them if we wanted to meet them.

Comment. As I mentioned earlier, some of Celal's statements led Reşat Bayer and Selim Koç to question his honesty and think he might be inventing the whole case. (Reşat Bayer later accepted the case as authentic; if he had not done so, he would never have expended as much time and effort as he did in the vain search for a relevant postmortem report. Also, I would not have included this report in a work restricted to cases that I and my associates believe are authentic.)

Several factors might explain innocently some of Celal's statements that impressed Reşat Bayer and Selim Koç unfavorably. In the first place he was an uneducated youth and probably less able than most subjects to separate whatever original imaged memories he may still have had in 1967 and 1971 from what he had learned normally. The second version of Şaban's death that he gave us in 1971 may have derived from further efforts on his part to recover more precise memories, but he did not say that he had been making such efforts (as some subjects have done); on the contrary, he said he was thinking less about the previous life in 1971 than he had been earlier. His 1971 account of Şaban's death corresponded closely to his uncle Mithat's account of how Şaban had died, and so it is possible—perhaps even likely—that Celal had discussed Şaban's death with his uncle during the years between our interviews and had assimilated his uncle's version into his own apparent memories.

Turkish subjects of these cases have rarely said that they remembered events between death in the previous life and their own birth. (Such memories are much more common among cases in Burma and Thailand.) However, the unusualness of Celal's claim to remember the transport of Şaban's body in an ambulance and other events up to the burial of the body does not warrant our rejecting it as incredible.

Finally, in appraising Celal's statements we should remember that Arabic was his mother tongue. The Alevi children were taught Turkish at school, but (at the period of this case) they usually spoke Arabic in their homes. Thus, although Celal was speaking Turkish with Reşat Bayer, he may not have been able to express himself as clearly as he wished.

Celal's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

I have already mentioned the only two features of unusual behavior on the part of Celal that we learned about. These were: his confusion about where he was (and how he came to find himself in the Kapan family when he thought that he had been working at the docks) and his tendency to run off by himself to visit the Sağır family. Celal's older sister, Bedra, said their mother "had often to go to the other family and bring Celal back home."

Comment. Celal's running away from his home to that of Şaban provides an opportunity for me to emphasize how puzzling I have found such behavior in cases like the present one. When the evidence shows that the previous family was more prosperous or perhaps more affectionate than the child's family, we can explain the behavior as simply due to a wish on the part of the child to be in better circumstances. However, in Celal's case (as in numerous others with this feature) the families have been at roughly equal levels with regard to economic circumstances, and there has been no evidence of disparity in the amounts of affection available in the two families. In these cases I have supposed that the quest for familiar people and surroundings impels the child to seek the previous family. The English word *nostalgia* comes close to fitting what these children experience, but the Spanish word *querencia*, which describes the fondness we all have for what we are accustomed to, seems better; it has no exact equivalent in English.

It would be interesting to learn from the study of a series of cases whether the subject's pressure to find and be with the previous family manifests more strongly when the previous personality had died without warning, as Şaban did. If reincarnation occurs, a slow death may have the advantage of preparing one for transition to a new family without shock.

Other Relevant Behavior of Celal

Celal had no phobia of the docks at İskenderun. He had applied for a job there, but had been turned down because (up to March 1971) he had not yet performed his 2 years of military service. I have explained that I think he was about 19 years old in 1971, although his identity card made him just over 16 years old.

Celal's Birthmark and Ear Disease

Derra Kapan said that when Celal was born his forehead was swollen and remained swollen for about 9 days. Also on the forehead he had a birthmark that

was not in the swollen area, but beside it. Figure 11-7 shows the appearance of this birthmark in 1971; and Figure 11-6 shows, in two sketches of the birthmark that I made in 1967 and 1971, the appreciable fading that had taken place between Celal's ages of 14 or 15 and 18 or 19.

No informant mentioned a birthmark on the back of Celal's head that would have corresponded to the small wound that Mithat Kapan said Şaban had there after he was struck and killed.

When Celal was born, he had a discharge from one of his ears. His mother did not mention which ear was thus affected. She said that Celal cried a great deal immediately after his birth. The family did not at first understand why he was crying, but after a few days they realized that he must have been suffering from some disease of the ear that was presumably painful.

Celal's uncle Mithat said that he saw Celal when he was "a newborn." He observed the birthmark on Celal's forehead. According to him, Celal had a discharge from both ears, not just one. He specified that blood was coming from the right ear while some yellowish material ran from the left ear.

At least one of Celal's ears continued to discharge (and was sometimes painful) up to the times of our meeting with him. Yusuf Atay, the principal of the primary school at Nardüzü, assisted us and was present during our interviews in 1971 with Celal and his uncle. He was not otherwise an informant for the case, but he contributed the information that one of Celal's ears (he did not say which one) had tended to discharge when Celal had been attending school.

The symptoms of discharges from the ears and some pain in the region suggests chronic otitis media with, in Celal's case, remissions and exacerbations.

Celal also suffered from severe headaches. He did not localize these pains exclusively in the region of the ears, although he had some discomfort there. He felt more pain at the front of his head (apparently in the region of the birthmark on his forehead) and some also, but less, at the back of his head.

Other Relevant Medical Information. Celal's mother, older sister, and uncle were unanimous in saying that no other member of the family had suffered either from discharging ears or headaches.

Celal's Later Development

In previous sections of this report I have already drawn on some information Celal gave us in 1971. To conclude the report I shall add some details that I have not already mentioned.

In 1971 Celal was—according to my reckoning—in his late teens. His personal life had not developed as well as he had hoped. He had married, but after a time his wife had left him, although she later returned. He had not yet served his period of obligatory military service. Nor had he found any satisfactory employment. In 1971 he had no steady work and seemed to be supporting himself with irregular odd jobs.

I interpreted his comment that he was thinking about the previous life less than formerly to indicate that his memories of it were fading. However, there had

been no falling off in his friendship with the Sağır family, and he said he was still going to visit them "often."

He still suffered greatly from headaches, and on the day of our meeting him he had spent part of the day in bed suffering from a severe headache. He had had no discharge from his ears for about a year. However, he was not confident this trouble was completely over, because there had been earlier periods when his ears had stopped discharging and then resumed.

THE CASE OF MA KHIN NYEIN

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Ma Khin Nyein was born in Inganet village, Thazi Township, Upper Burma, on March 8, 1957. Her parents were U Maung Tin and his wife, Daw Saw Shwe. She was their second child; subsequently they had five other children. U Maung Tin worked for a time as a cultivator, but later and during the period of the investigation of the case, he was a confectioner.

When Ma Khin Nyein was born, her skin was found to be almost completely involved in severe ichthyosis. She began speaking coherently between the ages of 3 and 4 and soon started to say that she had a monastery and "it was burned down." She repeated this or a similar statement often in a somewhat obsessive manner, so that her father scolded her and discouraged her from talking about the previous life.

Ma Khin Nyein was identified as the reincarnation of a youth of Inganet, Maung Kway Kyar, who had also suffered from ichthyosis and who was distantly related to her. He had spoken about a previous life that he vaguely remembered.

When Ma Khin Nyein was about 5, her parents moved from Inganet to the Shan States, where they settled in a town about 95 kilometers north of Taunggyi, the capital of the Southern Shan States. I think they made this move for economic reasons. They took all their other children with them, but left Ma Khin Nyein with her maternal grandmother, Daw Thoung. Daw Thoung never sent her to school, but taught her to some extent at home. Ma Khin Nyein was still living with Daw Thoung in Inganet when we first met her in 1980.

U Nu, who lives mainly in Taunggyi but has business connections in Pyawbwe and the surrounding area of Upper Burma, informed U Win Maung and me about this case, and he accompanied us for all the interviews but one that we had during its investigation. These were numerous, because we spent considerable time inquiring about the life of Maung Kway Kyar and the memories he was said to have had of a previous life. Maung Kway Kyar had died about 20 to 25 years before Ma Khin Nyein's birth, and to learn about his life meant finding, in different places, older persons who remembered something about him.

We began with interviews in Inganet village on March 11, 1980. We met Ma Khin Nyein and talked with Daw Thoung and two other informants, U Than

Maung and U Maung Khin. We then went to Hanza, a village farther north, and had to return to it a second time in order to meet the principal informant we were seeking. In December 1980, we returned to Inganet for another round of interviews including ones with new informants and new interviews with Daw Thoung and U Than Maung, whom we had interviewed the preceding March. In that same month we also interviewed another informant in Mandalay.

By this time we had obtained considerable information, but the testimony contained discrepancies that we could not resolve. The investigation of the case became arrested until U Nu arranged for Ma Khin Nyein's parents to come down to Taunggyi on a date when U Win Maung and I could be there. In the years following our last meeting with her, Ma Khin Nyein had rejoined her parents in the Shan States, and she came to Taunggyi with them. This meeting took place on February 26, 1984. Our interviews with Ma Khin Nyein's parents and a further one with Ma Khin Nyein herself clarified our understanding of the case, including that of the discrepancies in the earlier testimony.

Persons Interviewed during the Investigation

In Inganet we interviewed:

Ma Khin Nyein
Daw Thoung, Ma Khin Nyein's maternal grandmother
Daw Htike, Daw Thoung's sister and Ma Khin Nyein's great-aunt
U Maung Khin, Ma Khin Nyein's paternal uncle
U Than Maung, villager and distant relative of Daw Thoung
U Nwe, villager
U San Hla, villager
Daw Saw Myine, villager and probably a distant "aunt" of Ma Khin Nyein

In Hanza we interviewed:

U Po Thinn, Maung Kway Kyar's paternal uncle
Daw Aye Gyi, U Po Thinn's second wife

In Mandalay we interviewed:

Ven. U Wizaneya, a native of Inganet and friend of Maung Kway Kyar

In Taunggyi we interviewed:

U Maung Tin, Ma Khin Nyein's father
Daw Saw Shwe, Ma Khin Nyein's mother

Relevant Facts of Geography

Inganet is a village of (in 1980) fewer than 350 inhabitants. It is about 11 kilometers south of the town of Thazi, which is principally an important railway junction.

A railway line that runs east and west between Taunggyi and Meiktila makes a junction at Thazi with the mainline railway between Rangoon and Mandalay. Taunggyi, which is on the western side of the Southern Shan States, is a little more than 100 kilometers east of Thazi.

Hanza, a village where we met two informants, is about 20 kilometers north of Thazi. Although it is on the main railway line, it can also be approached by Jeep to a place within 3 kilometers of the village, from where one walks into the village.

The Life and Death of Maung Kway Kyar

The persons who seemed best informed about Maung Kway Kyar were his paternal uncle, U Po Thinn, and the Ven. U Wizaneya, who had been a good friend. U Po Thinn said he could not remember when Maung Kway Kyar had died, but the Ven. U Wizaneya said that he himself was 60 years old (in December 1980) and that he and Maung Kway Kyar were of about the same age. He thought Maung Kway Kyar had died at the age of about 12 in about 1932. Some informants of Inganet placed Maung Kway Kyar's life later. One of them said that he had died of "fever."

Maung Kway Kyar lived and died in Inganet. Informants in Inganet thought that Daw Thoung was a second cousin of Maung Kway Kyar's father; but from U Po Thinn's information, they were first cousins, so that Maung Kway Kyar and Ma Khin Nyein's mother, Daw Saw Shwe, were second cousins. Maung Kway Kyar suffered from a form of congenital ichthyosis, and older informants who knew him and Ma Khin Nyein said that their skin diseases were identical.

U Po Thinn remembered that Maung Kway Kyar told him that in a previous life he had been burned to death. The Ven. U Wizaneya said that Maung Kway Kyar had never spoken to him about memories of a previous life. However, he recalled hearing from Maung Kway Kyar's mother that the person whose life he remembered had burned down a monastery. We asked him whether she had said that Maung Kway Kyar had told her this himself. The Ven. U Wizaneya did not remember this, but could only state that Maung Kway Kyar "was said to have said" that in a previous life he had burned down a monastery.

An informant in Inganet, U Than Maung, also said that Maung Kway Kyar had spoken about having burned down a monastery at a place called Pauktaw in a previous life. At least we thought he told us this in March 1980, but when we returned to the point in December of the same year, he made a different statement and suggested that we had noted down something said by a member of the crowd (standing around our village "office," where we were holding our interviews). U Than Maung said, at our later meeting, that he only remembered Maung Kway Kyar as having attributed his skin disease to "misdeeds in a previous life," without specifying what these misdeeds had been.

In pursuing the question of what Maung Kway Kyar had said about a previous life, it seemed pertinent to ask whether any of our informants knew of any

monastery in the area that had burned down—whether accidentally or from a fire set by an arsonist. U San Hla recalled hearing that the monastery at a place called Pauktaw had burned down, but this happened "before my time." He was born in about 1905, and he thought the present monastery at Pauktaw was about 100 years old. He did not know the circumstances of the fire that had destroyed the monastery at Pauktaw in, perhaps, the 1880s. We considered going to Pauktaw, but the villagers of Inganet (itself an extremely isolated place) did not know how to direct us to find it. They said it was between 10 and 15 kilometers from Inganet, and their ignorance of how to go there from Inganet would be surprising to anyone who did not understand that a bullock-cart was the fastest mode of transportation in Inganet.

The sum of what we learned reliably about Maung Kway Kyar was that he had been a youth of Inganet who lived approximately from 1920 to 1932 or perhaps later; he had suffered from a type of congenital ichthyosis similar to that of Ma Khin Nyein; and he had spoken about a previous life that involved a fire: Either the previous personality had been burned to death or he had himself set fire to a monastery. He had referred to misdeeds as the cause of the ichthyosis from which he suffered.

Comment. Here I should mention a source of ambiguity in the Burmese language. Without further clarification, it does not distinguish burning that is passively experienced, as when one is burned, and burning that one does oneself, as when one starts a fire. I think this ambiguity accounted for discrepancies not only in statements concerning what Maung Kway Kyar was said to have said, but also in the statements attributed to Ma Khin Nyein, to which I now come.

Statements Made by Ma Khin Nyein

Ma Khin Nyein's Early Statements. Both of Ma Khin Nyein's parents said that as a child of 3 or 4 she had referred to having a monastery and that it got burned down.

U Nwe, a villager of Inganet, said that he himself had heard Ma Khin Nyein say that her skin condition was due to her having burned down a monastery in a previous life. Daw Thoung at first made a similar statement. However, when we pressed her to say exactly what Ma Khin Nyein had said, she acknowledged that Ma Khin Nyein had spoken of burning without specifying whether in the previous life she had burned something or had been burned herself. (It was at this stage of our interviews in Inganet that we realized how the informants [and ourselves also] had probably been misled by the ambiguous word for burning in the Burmese language.) Another informant in Inganet, Daw Saw Myine, remembered Ma Khin Nyein saying that she had been a monk in a previous life and that she was burned. She did not remember that Ma Khin Nyein said how this had happened.

Ma Khin Nyein's Statements in 1980 and 1984. In 1980 Ma Khin Nyein told us that she remembered being a man in a previous life. She thought that in that life she had suffered from a skin disease similar to the one of this life and that the skin disease of the man whose life she remembered derived from having been

burned in a life before his. She said that she had been trying to remember details of the previous life through meditation, but could not tell how the man of the immediate past life had died.

When we met her again in 1984, she said that at our earlier meetings we had been strangers and she had been "nervous." Consequently she had abbreviated her statement and not told us everything she remembered. She then gave us a fuller account of her memories of two previous lives as follows.

In the first (that is, more remote) previous life she had been a monk in a monastery northwest of Inganet. The monastery had burned down, and the monk had died soon after from burns. She said the monk had spent most of his time meditating and had been meditating when the monastery burned. Ma Khin Nyein had still a memory of this place, and she thought she could show us where it had been, although she did not remember its name. She also did not remember the name of the monk who was burned to death, but she thought he had been 45 years old.

She had some memories of life as a discarnate personality and of following a cart track to the village of Inganet. There she was born as a boy who suffered from a skin disease similar to hers. She did not recall the duration of the life as a discarnate personality after the monk's death.

This boy of Inganet died at the age of about 20 and was "almost immediately" reborn as herself. She could not remember the name of this youth.

Of the life as a child and youth in Inganet she recalled feeling neglected and that his family did not care for him. He studied at the local monastery in Inganet and was fond of meditating. He died from sunstroke. Ma Khin Nyein attributed her own skin disease to an obsessive preoccupation the boy (the immediately previous personality) had had with his skin.

Comment. Although Ma Khin Nyein did not state Maung Kway Kyar's name, her statements apply to him and no one else. (She and Maung Kway Kyar were the only two persons in Inganet known—even to the oldtimers—to have suffered from ichthyosis.) However, if our dating of the life of Maung Kway Kyar is even moderately accurate, a much longer interval than "immediately" occurred between his death and Ma Khin Nyein's birth. In this connection I should remind my readers that persons who claim to remember experiences between death and birth frequently have a poor conception of the passage of terrestrial time as judged by living persons.

Although U Nwe told us that he had heard Ma Khin Nyein attribute her skin condition to having burned down a monastery in a previous existence, it seems to me probable that he only heard her refer to "burning" and "a monastery" and that he put these references together in his own mind as an admission by her that she had burned down a monastery in a previous life. It now seems to me improbable that either Maung Kway Kyar or Ma Khin Nyein ever meant to say that they had burned down a monastery in a previous life. Yet something like a myth concerning this had arisen and been perpetuated in Inganet.[15]

[15]In addition to the ambiguity of the Burmese word for burning, the belief of Burmese (*continued*)

Ma Khin Nyein's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

Daw Saw Shwe said that Ma Khin Nyein had early expressed a strong interest in religion. She said that she wanted to be a novice (in a monastery) and wear the robes that monks and novices wear. She often asked her parents to give her robes, especially when she learned that boys of the area were being initiated as novices. I have already mentioned Ma Khin Nyein's interest in meditation and practice of it.

Unless her wish to become a monk could be considered a masculine trait, Ma Khin Nyein showed no tendencies toward masculine behavior. Her parents both agreed about this, and so did her maternal grandmother, Daw Thoung (in a separate interview).

Ma Khin Nyein's Skin Disorder

Figures 21-7 through 21-10 show different parts of Ma Khin Nyein's skin as they appeared in March 1980. We did not ask her to remove any clothes, but all the parts of her body that were visible were involved in the ichthyosis.

Dermatologists recognize several types of ichthyosis. I believe Ma Khin Nyein suffered from a variety of the type called ichthyosiform erythroderma (Burton, 1985; Solomon and Esterly, 1973). Ma Khin Nyein did not have either spasticity or mental retardation, which are sometimes associated with this condition.

Daw Saw Shwe said that when Ma Khin Nyein was born her skin was rough and coarse. It became darker afterward. The full disease developed 2 or 3 days after her birth. Daw Thoung, Ma Khin Nyein's maternal grandmother, said that she saw Ma Khin Nyein "soon after she was born" and that she had the skin disease then.

As I mentioned earlier, no other member of the family, or indeed of Inganet village, except Maung Kway Kyar, was known—even by oldtimers—to have had a similar disease. U Than Maung extended this exclusion also to neighboring villages.

Other Relevant Medical Information. U Maung Tin and Daw Saw Shwe were not related to each other. I have already stated that Maung Kway Kyar and Daw Saw Shwe were cousins, probably second cousins. Because ichthyosiform erythroderma is inherited as an autosomal recessive trait, a genetic factor may have contributed to Ma Khin Nyein's condition.

[15](*continued*) Buddhists in "retributive karma" may have facilitated the faulty inferences that I think some informants made about what they heard Maung Kway Kyar and Ma Khin Nyein say. A skin disease with an appearance of blisters would seem to be a fitting requital for bringing on the deaths of other persons from burns, and I must admit that I favored this interpretation of the case myself at one stage in its investigation.

Figure 21-7 Ma Khin Nyein as she appeared in March 1980, when she was 23 years old. Most of her face was involved in an extensive ichthyosis.

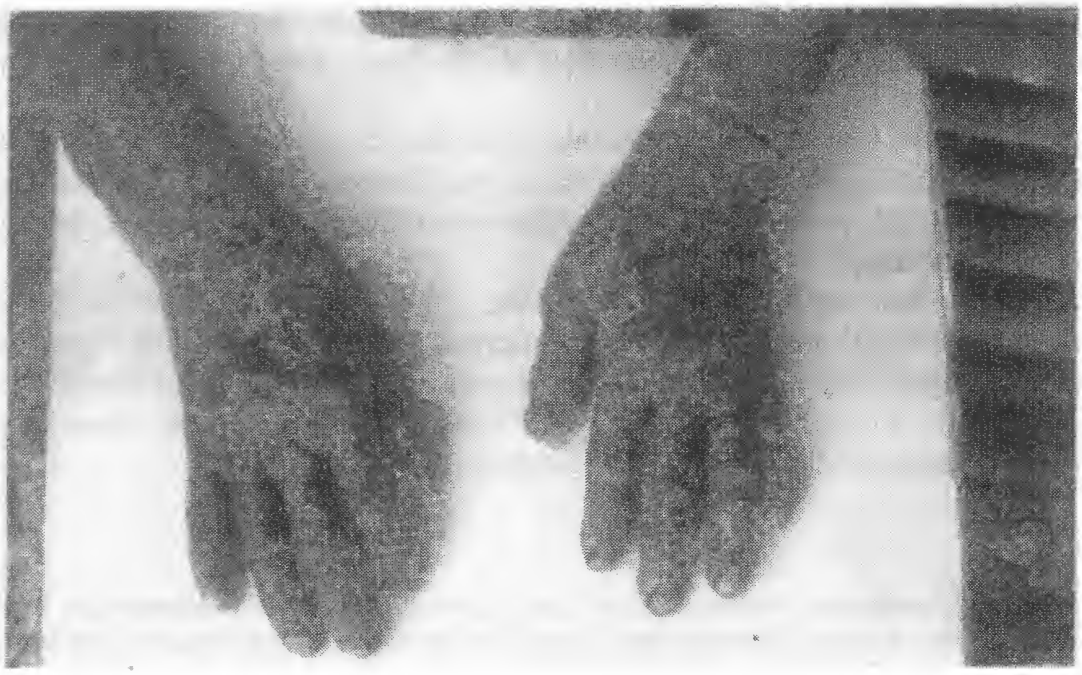

Figure 21-8 Dorsal surfaces of Ma Khin Nyein's forearms (distal parts) and hands as they appeared in March 1980.

Figure 21-9 Palmar surfaces of Ma Khin Nyein's hands as they appeared in March 1980.

Figure 21-10 Ma Khin Nyein's feet as they appeared in March 1980.

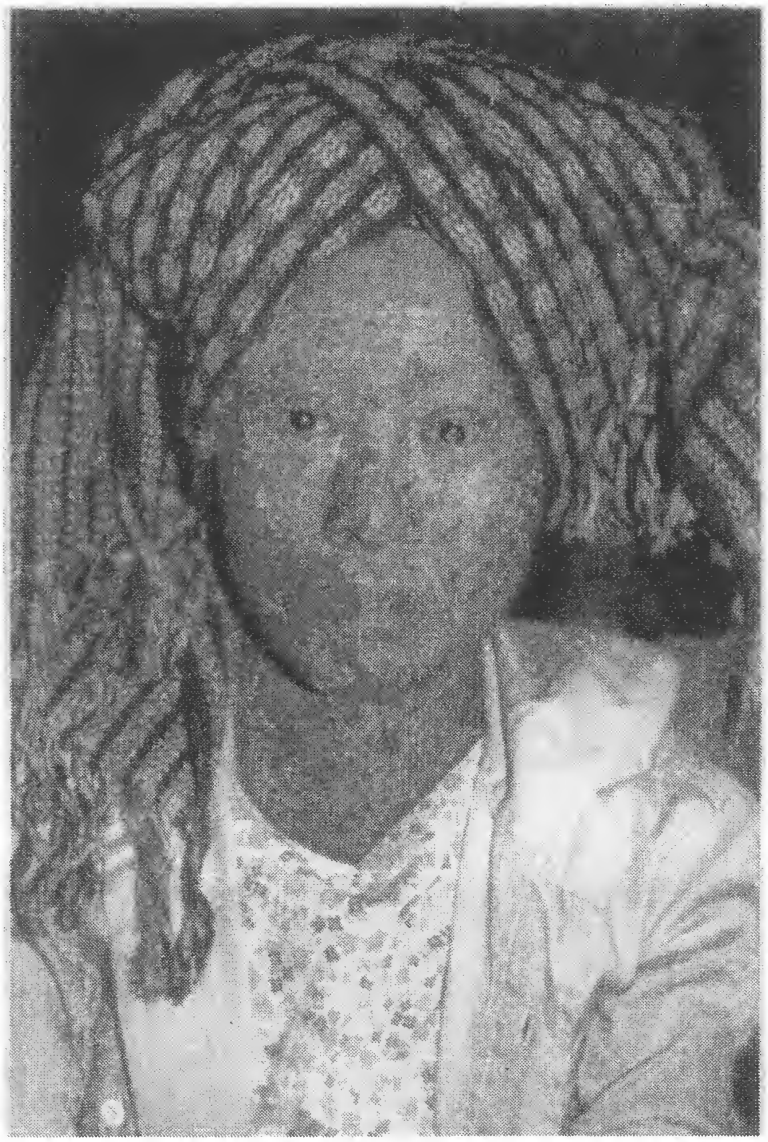

Figure 21-11 Ma Khin Nyein as she appeared in February 1984, 4 years after the photograph in Figure 21-7 was taken. There had been considerable improvement in the condition of the skin.

The Improvement in Ma Khin Nyein's Condition between 1980 and 1984

I said above that in 1984 Ma Khin Nyein was more affable than she had been in 1980. Her skin condition also showed a definite improvement compared with its state in 1980. (See Figure 21-11.) A comparison of Figure 21-7 with Figure 21-11 shows that there had been a noticeable clearing of the facial skin, even though much of it still remained affected.

Ma Khin Nyein attributed her improvement to the cooler climate in the hills of the Shan States compared with the hot (in summer) plain of central Upper Burma. She also felt happier, presumably to be again with her parents.

She had continued meditating, and, remembering—as she believed—that Maung Kway Kyar (whose actual name she did not give) had been obsessed with his skin condition, she was making an effort to direct her meditation away from her skin. She felt that she had succeeded to a large extent in forgetting about the skin disease.

She said that, given a choice, she would prefer the life of a man, because men had more freedom.

Comment

This is one of a small number of cases in which the subject has claimed to remember more than one previous life.[16] It is also one of the few in which a birthmark, birth defect, or disease has occurred in more than one life following that in which the presumed causative event occurred.

Our collection of cases includes several others in which a birthmark was said to derive from burns in a previous life. In two of these cases only a small area of the body was affected.[17] The case that is probably closest to the present one is another Burmese one, that of Maung Yin Maung, who remembered the life of an airplane pilot, U Pe Tin, whose airplane crashed and caught fire. When Maung Yin Maung was born, the skin of his body was unusually red and entirely covered with many small vesicles. From some of these a fluid oozed. After a month the vesicles healed. His skin then shed flakes and became entirely normal. It was so at the age of 12, when I first met Maung Yin Maung. Observers of his case related the redness and the vesicles of his skin when he was born to the burns that U Pe Tin had received when his airplane caught fire.

In Chapter 2 I cited the reports by A. A. Mason (1952, 1955, 1960) and Wink (1961) of the successful treatment of congenital ichthyosis with psychotherapy. In that chapter I gave attention to the localized effects of suggestions for improvement directed at a particular region of the body. Other clinicians have also reported the successful treatment of ichthyosis with hypnosis without the experiment of directing attention to a particular region of the body (Bethune and Kidd, 1961; Kidd, 1966; Schneck, 1954, 1966). These reports all show the profound effects that the patient's mental state may have on a severe congenital disease of the skin, and I attribute some of the improvement in Ma Khin Nyein's condition between 1980 and 1984 to the happy change in the circumstances of her life; her continuing practice of meditation may have helped her also. Ma Khin Nyein herself thought that the cooler climate of Taunggyi (compared with that of Inganet) had been beneficial. If so, her sensitivity to temperature differed from the patient Schneck (1954) treated, because his condition became worse, not better, in cold weather.

[16]Other subjects who claimed to remember more than one previous life include Swarnlata Mishra, Daw Khin, and Pratomwan Inthanu. I have also investigated a small number of cases in which a subject has remembered the previous life of a person who remembered a previous life (although the subject did not remember the more anterior life). Subjects of this group include Bishen Chand Kapoor, Timothy Curran, and Maung Aung Myint.

[17]Other cases with birthmarks or other abnormalities of the skin corresponding to burns in the previous life include those of Patricia Fairley, Maung Than Htay, and Ma Khin Hsann Oo.

THE CASE OF MAUNG KHIN OHN

Introduction

This case came to my attention when a correspondent in England sent me a copy of a long statement about it that the subject's older brother, Dr. Hla Maung, had written. The following report is almost entirely based on this written report. Despite repeated efforts to do so, I have not been able to meet either Dr. Hla Maung or Maung Khin Ohn himself. I have, however, had a long interview with his mother and another, shorter one with his other older brother. Dr. Hla Maung was only about 6 years older than his brother, but he appeared to remember clearly the central events of the case. His (and Maung Khin Ohn's) mother, Daw Myint Myint, corroborated all essential details of his statement; and this has given me confidence to report the case.

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Maung Khin Ohn was born in Mandalay, Upper Burma, on November 24, 1956. His parents were Dr. Maung Khin and Daw Myint Myint, and he was the third son and third child in a family of six. Dr. Maung Khin was an Army medical officer.

Maung Khin Ohn was born with two birthmarks on the front of his chest, near the sternum. (Dr. Hla Maung located them there; Daw Myint Myint remembered one birthmark [not two] and located it more "on the stomach than at the sternum," that is, inferior to where Dr. Hla Maung had thought it had been.) No one in his family had had an announcing dream of which they were aware, and no one attached any importance to the birthmarks at the time when they were first noticed.

Soon after Maung Khin Ohn's birth a distant relative, under circumstances that I shall describe below, identified him as the reincarnation of her father, Mingaladon Lu Maik. Maung Khin Ohn showed some behavior that was unusual in his family and characteristic of Mingaladon Lu Maik, but he never made any statements about the presumed previous life.

Dr. Hla Maung's account of the case was dated July 24, 1981, and a copy reached me in August of the same year. I immediately asked U Win Maung to trace the family from the address on Dr. Hla Maung's statement. The address was inexact, but after much difficulty U Win Maung did find the family, only to learn that Dr. Hla Maung had emigrated from Burma and Maung Khin Ohn was in the merchant marine and often out of the country. Nevertheless, he obtained the addresses of U Aung Htin, another older brother of Maung Khin Ohn, who lived in Mandalay, where we interviewed him. He also obtained an address for Daw Myint Myint, the mother of Maung Khin Ohn and his two older brothers. She lived in Rangoon, where we interviewed her in 1984.

Despite repeated efforts on the part of U Win Maung to locate Maung Khin Ohn when he was ashore in Rangoon (where he sometimes stayed), he did not

succeed. Maung Khin Ohn seems not to have kept closely in touch with his family, even when he was in Burma. I also never succeeded in meeting Dr. Hla Maung, who, after his mother's death in 1988, quarreled with other members of the family and wished to have nothing further to do with them or to enter into any discussion about their affairs, including the case of his brother about whose apparent rebirth he had earlier written at length and with patent endorsement.

Two potentially valuable witnesses had died before the investigation of the case. These were Dr. Maung Khin, Maung Khin Ohn's father, and Daw Shwe Nge, Mingaladon Lu Maik's daughter.

The Life, Death, and Character of Mingaladon Lu Maik

We did not learn a date for the birth of Mingaladon Lu Maik, but from other evidence I estimate that he was born in about 1917. I know nothing about his parents or indeed even his proper name. Mingaladon, where he lived, is a suburb of Rangoon, and the words *Lu Maik* mean "ruffian," so that his nickname meant "the ruffian from Mingaladon." Mingaladon Lu Maik was known so exclusively by his nickname that by the 1980s both Dr. Hla Maung and his mother, Daw Myint Myint, had forgotten his real name. He was a cousin of Daw Myint Myint's mother.

The following facts about him were remembered. He was short-tempered and frequently involved in fights, hence the nickname "ruffian." During one brawl, the man with whom he was fighting struck Mingaladon Lu Maik in the chest with the starting crank of a truck, and a permanent mark remained on his chest afterward.

Mingaladon Lu Maik drank alcohol excessively, and, going to bed drunk and full of liquid, he regularly urinated in bed at night. He was fond of music and played the mandolin. He married and had at least one child, Daw Shwe Nge.[18]

Mingaladon Lu Maik's uncongenial behavior made him a kind of outcast in the family, and Dr. Maung Khin seems to have been the only member of the family who was friendly toward him and who maintained contact with him. To make matters worse, Daw Shwe Nge, when she grew up, married a Chinese man of "low caste," who was completely unacceptable to other members of the family. This resulted in her being effectively banished and not even allowed to visit the family. For about 10 years nothing was heard from her. She lived at this period in Prome, which is 240 kilometers north and slightly west of Rangoon.

Mingaladon Lu Maik died in about 1955. My informants did not know the date of his death exactly, but said that he had died about a year before Maung Khin Ohn's birth, the date of which they did know. They also did not know the cause of his death.

[18]In 1984 Daw Myint Myint remembered Daw Shwe Nge as being the niece, not the daughter of Mingaladon Lu Maik, but she said that she had forgotten details (although she obviously remembered many) of the case. Moreover, Daw Shwe Nge's behavior toward Maung Khin Ohn, which I describe below, makes no sense unless she was the daughter, or at least the adopted daughter, of Mingaladon Lu Maik.

Events Around the Time of Maung Khin Ohn's Birth

When Maung Khin Ohn was about 2 months old, Daw Shwe Nge traveled from Prome to Mandalay and unexpectedly arrived and knocked at the door of Dr. Maung Khin's house. He was not at home, and Daw Myint Myint, who was, would not allow Daw Shwe Nge—still regarded as a pariah—to come in. Daw Shwe Nge insisted that they had inside a newborn son and demanded to see him. She said that her father (Mingaladon Lu Maik) had appeared to her in a dream and had said that he was now at Dr. Maung Khin's house and that she (Daw Shwe Nge) should visit him there. These assertions did not influence Daw Myint Myint, and a great commotion ensued as Daw Shwe Nge continued to demand entry and a view of the baby. During this altercation, Daw Shwe Nge mentioned that the baby had a birthmark on its chest. This startled Daw Myint Myint, because she thought that no one besides her husband and herself knew about the baby's birthmark.

While the women were disputing about the admission of Daw Shwe Nge to the house, Dr. Maung Khin returned home, and after listening to her story, he agreed that Daw Shwe Nge could come in and stay at the house for not more than 2 days. Her outcast Chinese husband, who had accompanied Daw Shwe Nge from Prome, was not allowed in the house.

As soon as Daw Shwe Nge saw the baby Maung Khin Ohn, she knelt in front of him and paid respects to him as younger Burmese persons do to their parents (and other elders). During the 2 days Daw Shwe Nge was allowed to remain in the house, she was tireless in looking after the baby. She changed his diapers and clothes, she bathed him, and she sat with him even when he was sleeping. Daw Shwe Nge explained to the family that the baby's birthmark corresponded to the wound left when a man with whom her father had been fighting struck him on the chest with the starting crank of a truck. Although Daw Myint Myint knew that her cousin had been frequently involved in fights, she had no knowledge of any wound on his chest.

During her initial encounter with Daw Myint Myint, as she was trying to gain admittance to see the baby Maung Khin Ohn, Daw Shwe Nge made the unusual prediction that he would urinate in bed at night for many years.

After this first visit, Daw Shwe Nge returned to Maung Khin Ohn's family once a year, on his birthday. She always brought him a basket full of fruit that her father had liked. She paid no attention to the other children of the family, but they appreciated her visits, because Maung Khin Ohn, as a young child, could not possibly eat all the fruit that she brought, and so they enjoyed it. As Maung Khin Ohn grew up, he ate more of the fruit himself, greatly relishing it. She continued to visit Maung Khin Ohn until her husband died, but I did not learn how old Maung Khin Ohn then was. Daw Shwe Nge herself died in about 1980.

Maung Khin Ohn's Failure to Speak about the Previous Life

Daw Myint Myint could remember no statements that Maung Khin Ohn had made referring to a previous life. Dr. Hla Maung mentioned no statements made

by Maung Khin Ohn, and I think if he had made any Dr. Hla Maung would have included them in his fairly detailed report of the case.

Daw Myint Myint said that Daw Shwe Nge, during her visits to Maung Khin Ohn, would remind him of the life of Mingaladon Lu Maik, evidently hoping to stimulate his memories and elicit statements from him about the previous life; but he failed to respond to her cues.

Maung Khin Ohn's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

In several respects Maung Khin Ohn showed behavior similar to that reported of Mingaladon Lu Maik. He was bad-tempered and fought frequently with his brothers. He had no interest in scholarly work, and although he matriculated, he refused to attend college. (All his five siblings graduated from college.) Instead, he worked first as a schoolteacher and later went to sea as a seaman.

Maung Khin Ohn was a gifted musician. He began playing the guitar at the age of 14, and in the early 1970s was a member of a successful professional band. He taught during the day and played the guitar with his group at night. In 1974 the band members quarreled, and the band broke up. No other member of the family showed a similar musical aptitude, and none could play the guitar.

No informant said that Maung Khin Ohn asked for alcohol when he was a young child. When he became a seaman, however, he began to drink, and his mother, Daw Myint Myint, described him in 1984 as "a hard drinker." His older brother U Aung Htin said that he was "a heavy drinker." Neither of Maung Khin Ohn's parents took alcohol. My notes do not record whether any of their other children did so; but I do not think any of them matched Maung Khin Ohn's intake of alcohol, if they drank at all.

The most remarkable correspondence between Maung Khin Ohn and Mingaladon Lu Maik—and the reason for my placing this case in this chapter—occurred in the nocturnal enuresis that both of them showed and that Daw Shwe Nge had predicted Maung Khin Ohn would have. Maung Khin Ohn's urine soaked his bedclothes and brought much additional work to his mother. The stench of his urine annoyed his older brothers so much that they would not sleep near him. He was placed in a separate room that smelled badly. No other member of the family suffered from enuresis. My informants differed as to the age when Maung Khin Ohn finally stopped urinating in the bedclothes at night. Dr. Hla Maung said he stopped at 12, U Aung Htin said he stopped when he was 15, and Daw Myint Myint said he was 16.

Comment

The identification of Maung Khin Ohn with Mingaladon Lu Maik had no statements by the subject to support it. Instead, it rests on the announcing dream of Daw Shwe Nge, Maung Khin Ohn's birthmark on the chest, some behavioral

correspondences, such as bad temper, alcoholism (or at least excessive consumption of alcohol), an aptitude for music, and the physiological disability of nocturnal enuresis.

The case is not alone, however, in the feature that adults identified the subject with a previous personality in the absence of any statements by the subject. In Table 14-3 I have given a list of subjects who made only one or two statements or none at all about the previous life they were said to have lived.

We have seen in some cases, such as those of Necati Çaylak and Kenedi Alkan, that parents can—by leading or prompting questions—induce subjects to make statements about a previous life that they almost certainly would not have made without such parental guidance. The present case presents the opposite picture: that of a child who despite deliberate prompting by an adult failed to make statements about the previous life he was thought to have lived.

Mingaladon Lu Maik does not seem to have lived a life—filled as it was with fights and alcoholism—that he would have remembered with pleasure. I believe that regrets over past misadventures and excesses may have contributed to Maung Khin Ohn's reluctance to speak about the previous life of which he seemed, nevertheless, to have behavioral and physiological memories.[19] The same motive might account for the information that reached us, according to which Maung Khin Ohn disliked the inquiries being made into his case; and although he was truly often at sea during the 1980s, it is possible that he deliberately evaded us when he was ashore and we happened to be in Rangoon and trying to meet him.

Subjects who remember the lives of alcoholics frequently request or demand, when they are young children, alcohol for themselves; and I have described several cases with this feature in the present work and elsewhere. Maung Khin Ohn did not belong to this group in that he did not ask for alcohol as a young child. He only began to drink alcohol in his late teens when he became a seaman. This fact relates to his enuresis. Mingaladon Lu Maik's enuresis occurred late in life when he went to bed stuporously drunk; in contrast, Maung Khin Ohn's enuresis occurred during his childhood, and it stopped before he began drinking alcohol. This is why I have characterized his enuresis as a physiological memory.

Two other features of the case deserve mention in these comments. First, Maung Khin Ohn's birthmark corresponded to a wound on Mingaladon Lu Maik's chest that was not fatal. This is a somewhat unusual circumstance, but I have already described other cases of birthmarks or birth defects corresponding to nonfatal wounds, such as those of Savitri Devi Pathak, Julaluddin Shah, and Lekh Pal Jatav.

Second, the case belongs to a small group suggesting that friendship may sometimes be thicker than blood. If the case is best interpreted as an instance of

[19]Other subjects who remembered previous lives that included events of which the previous personality might have felt guilty or ashamed, and who showed reluctance to speak about these lives, include Suleyman Andary and Ma Myint Thein.

reincarnation, Mingaladon Lu Maik did not reincarnate within his own immediate family—although I do not know what the possibilities for that were—but in that of Dr. Maung Khin, who was the only member of the extended family who showed friendship for him. A parallel case is that of Maung Htoo of Sipin village. Maung Htoo's father befriended the man whose life Maung Htoo remembered after his family deserted him because of his leprosy.

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Part V

Abnormalities of Pigmentation

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22

Abnormalities of Pigmentation that May Derive from Previous Lives

INTRODUCTION

The wide variations in the skin color of human beings derive from the different amounts of several pigments which, according to their proportions, determine the visible color of a person's skin. The most important components are: yellow pigments, which are specially prominent in the Mongolian race; the ordinarily red hemoglobin of the blood coursing through the vessels of the skin; and the black pigment melanin, which becomes deposited in granules in the epidermis (Davenport, 1926; Fitzpatrick, Fitzgerald, and Wick, 1991).

In this chapter I shall be considering almost exclusively changes in the amount of melanin in the skin and hair. In the reports of some cases I describe noteworthy pigmentation of the irides.

Following this introduction, I begin the chapter by reviewing some recorded instances of sudden changes in the pigment of the hair and skin that have followed closely on extreme fright or other emotional perturbation. This leads to the cita-

tion of the cases of three albino children following maternal impressions in their mother. This in turn permits me to raise the question of whether mental images enhanced by strong emotions may sometimes interfere so greatly with metabolic processes that they produce a degree of albinism similar to that resulting from a genetic disease. This would be what geneticists call a phenocopy—an appearance (phenotype) closely imitating one transmitted genetically, but produced instead by environmental influences (Gelehrter and Collins, 1990; Ho et al., 1983; Lewontin, 1974; Oyama, 1981). In the cases here considered the environmental factor would be a strong psychic influence from a discarnate personality.

In the next section I describe and present cases in which subjects have had complexions of unusual pigmentation—lighter or darker—that corresponded to similar pigmentation in the persons whose lives they remembered. I have already described this feature in some of the case reports earlier in this work, and I give a summary of these in Table 22-1. In addition, I include in this chapter brief reports of four such cases not previously described.

In the final and largest section of the chapter, I describe a group of cases that I have found particularly baffling. These are the cases of extreme blonds who are, in brief, albinos. Blaise Pascal wrote that we would all be cowards if only we were brave enough, and thoughts of this kind both tempted me to omit these cases altogether from this work and enabled me, finally, to decide to include them. In my discussion of these cases following the case reports I draw attention to the complexity of the features they present and my own inability to find any entirely satisfactory explanation for them.

The last section of the chapter includes one case from Nigeria, but all the other albino cases that my colleagues and I have investigated occurred in northern India or Burma. Accordingly, when I refer to "normal pigmentation" in describing subjects and other persons concerned in these cases, I mean the brown or brownish skin color typical of the inhabitants of these regions. The Burmese, who are sometimes described as an Indo-Chinese people, have, in general, a lighter pigmentation than the northern Indians. Thais (another Indo-Chinese group) tend to have fairer skins than the Burmese; and Tamils and other inhabitants of south India, are usually darker than northern Indians. My colleagues and I have necessarily had to depend on informants' descriptions of the pigmentation of the previous personalities in the cases; we could, however, examine the subjects, and whenever feasible we compared them with their parents and siblings.

SOME EFFECTS OF MENTAL STATES ON THE PIGMENT OF HAIR AND SKIN

Sudden Turning White of Hair

Numerous cases with sufficient evidence have been published of persons whose hair turned gray or totally white within a few weeks of their undergoing

some extreme stress, usually accompanied by great fear. One example is that of George Joseph Smith, sometimes known as the killer of the "brides-in-the-bath case." Smith's trial for murder began on June 22, 1915, and he was convicted and sentenced to death by hanging on July 1. A photograph taken of him during his trial showed his hair to be a dark brown. By the time of his execution on August 13 (about 6 weeks after his conviction), his hair had turned white (La Bern, 1967). Marjoribanks (1929), in his biography of Edward Marshall Hall, who defended Smith, described Smith's hair at the time of his execution as "almost white." Even with the modification of "almost," however, the color of Smith's hair obviously changed profoundly within a few weeks.

Ephraim (1959) reported the case of a man, 63 years old, whom he had an opportunity to observe before and after an accident in which he fell down some stairs, broke a wrist, and struck the back of his head on the steps; the patient did not lose consciousness and returned to work the following day. The day after the accident the patient's "hair was dark brown...grayish at the temples and with some white sprinkling on the top" (Ephraim, 1959, p. 231). Within 6 weeks the patient's hair had become completely white, except for a small area around the occiput.

Cases like the two just cited in which the hair turned white over a period of several weeks, interesting as they are, do not provide, for me at least, the same interest as those rarer cases in which the whitening of the hair was reported to have occurred within a few hours or less. Turner (1714/1731) described—at secondhand—two cases of men who had been arrested and convicted of grievous offenses—one in Spain, the other in Germany. They were sentenced to be beheaded on the following morning. During the night their hair turned gray; one was barely recognizable as the man sentenced the day before. In each case the monarch who had sentenced the offenders, moved by pity for them, pardoned the men. (Jelinek [1973] reviewed these and other cases that were reported before the 20th century, as well as some more recent instances.)

Parry (1861) described a case that he had himself observed. It was that of a sepoy of the Indian Army who had joined the rebels during the Mutiny of 1857 (preferably identified by Indians as their war of national liberation). Parry wrote that the man

> was brought before the authorities for examination, and I [a surgeon] being present, had an opportunity of watching from the commencement the fact that I am about to record. Divested of his uniform, and stripped completely naked, he was surrounded by the soldiers, and then first apparently became alive to the danger of his position; he trembled violently, intense horror and despair were depicted on his countenance, and although he answered the questions put to him, he seemed almost stupefied with fear. While actually under observation, within the space of half an hour, his hair became gray on every portion of his head, it having been, when first seen by us, the glossy black of the Bengalee, aged about 54. The attention of the bystanders was first attracted by the sergeant, whose prisoner he was, exclaiming, "he is turning gray," and I,

> with several other prisoners, watched its progress. Gradually, but decidedly, the change went on, and a uniform grayish colour was completed within the time named. (p.332)

Numerous similar cases have been reported, and I will next give summaries of several.

A Belgian woman was arrested in August 1914 (soon after the outbreak of World War I) and accused of spying for the Germans. She was sentenced to be executed by a firing squad the following morning. When she heard the sentence, she fainted. Her hair was then brown. The next morning when she was led out to be executed her hair was white. The military judge who sentenced the woman was present at her execution, and his son (a physician) reported the case from the testimony of the father (Bernard, 1925).

A man employed as a senior draftsman in the design of transport ships during World War I made a bad mistake which might have caused loss of life. He blamed himself for the mistake, and his superiors also blamed him. He was threatened with criminal prosecution. He did not sleep for a week, ate little, and lost weight. He was then called as a witness in an official investigation of the mistake. The night before this occasion he noticed nothing unusual about his hair when he shaved. His hair was dark brown. The next morning he went from the hotel where he was staying to his office, where fellow workers exclaimed: "What is the matter with your hair? It is snow white." There was no alopecia. The change in the color of the hair was limited to the scalp (Klauder, 1930).

The husband of a woman went to work in the morning, at which time her hair was its usual brown color. At about 2:00 p.m. she received news that her child had been run down by a truck and was in the hospital. Her husband returned home at 5:30 p.m. and found that her hair was "snow white" (Ornsteen, 1930).

A 26-year-old German day laborer missed by a hairsbreadth being run over by a railway train. The next morning he had two areas of white hair—one on the crown of the head, the other over the right ear—that stood out from the rest of his hair, which had some sprinkling of gray hairs in it. The day after the near accident an acquaintance of the patient drew his attention to the new areas of white hair. His wife later testified to the suddenness of the decolorization. The affected hair remained unchanged for the following 8 years, to the time of the report of the case (Schmidt, 1899).

At the time of the first aerial bombardment of Vienna during World War II (September 10, 1944) a bomb fell directly on an air-raid shelter, killing all but one of 27 persons in the shelter. The sole survivor, a 50-year-old man, was pulled from the wreckage 2½ hours later. His fellow-workers could not recognize him because his hair had become snow white. Previously his hair had been brown with some graying. During the following 3½ years, some pigmented hair grew back, and his hair became gray, instead of white. The report of this case mentioned no loss of hair during the rapid whitening (Menninger-Lerchenthal, 1948).

A German typesetter who was an excessive consumer of alcohol was admitted to a hospital with delirium tremens. He remained in a delirious state with great

agitation and fearfulness and was closely observed for 4 days. His hair was "blond." On the morning of the 5th day after his admission, the attending doctors as well as the other patients on his ward noticed that most of the hair on the patient's head and beard had become gray overnight (Landois, 1866).

Hoffman (1957) described four cases communicated to him by other physicians. In each case the sudden graying or whitening of the hair occurred after a severe shock or unusual stress. In two instances the change in hair color was described as occurring "overnight"; for the other two cases, the adjective *suddenly* was used. In the most interesting of Hoffman's cases a man learned that part of a factory he owned was on fire. On hearing this shocking news he grasped the hair of one side of his head with a hand. The hair of that side of the head turned "gray-white overnight." Hair on the other side of the head remained unaltered.

Ephraim (1959), who reviewed the extensive literature of this subject, believed that many more cases occur than are reported in the medical literature. In support of this opinion I will next mention three cases described outside the medical literature. The first two were recorded in the reminiscences of a schoolteacher in South Uist, Scotland, in the late 19th century (Rea, 1964). The recorder personally knew the subjects himself, although his accounts of their cases were not published until many years later. A young man of South Uist greatly liked "trout tickling"—a kind of barehanded style of fishing in pools of water at night. While engaged in this activity one night, he fell into a deep bog and sank up to his shoulders before his feet touched the sandy bottom. He was found the next day—his hair turned white. The second case in South Uist was that of a priest who, after making a house call with a horse and trap to an island, missed his way while crossing a dangerous ford and was carried away by the tide; he was able to reach a small islet where he remained until rescued the following evening. His hair also turned "snow white," but Rea did not state how quickly the change occurred in this second case. The third of these cases occurred during the British retreat from Burma, when the Japanese Army invaded that country early in 1942. British officers decided to blow up an important bridge across the Sittang River, but the proper timing of this involved leaving behind some troops who had not reached and crossed the bridge. One officer had to make the decision to leave behind some "Gurkhas he had known from the day of their recruitment twenty years before. His hair went white in a single night" (Allen, 1984, p. 198).

Comment. Some physiological sensitivity must enter into these cases, because many persons have undergone stresses just as great as those in the cases I cited without their hair turning white. Also, hair may turn white suddenly in the absence of any identifiable stress (Klingmüller, 1958).

Dermatologists have no explanation fully satisfying for the phenomenon of hair turning white suddenly. It appears that the change occurs throughout the entire length of a hair, as Brown-Séquard (1869) proved on himself more than a hundred years ago. He plucked out the first white hairs he noticed in his beard, but then almost immediately—sometimes within 2 days, sometimes overnight—found in the same area other white hairs that had not been white before and had not had

time in the interval to grow out to the length they then had. The hairs had suddenly become white throughout their entire length.

It has been suggested that air bubbles somehow enter the hair and make it appear white by reflecting light differently than does the pigment in the absence of such air bubbles. This explanation, although widely favored and supported by actual observations of air bubbles in some cases, such as those of Landois (1866) and Jones (1902), is not entirely satisfactory, at least for all cases. It may be better suited to those cases in which hair turns white and then after a time regains its former color. It does not adequately account for hair that turns white suddenly and thereafter remains white. In cases of this group some radical interference with the process of melanin formation must occur.

A second explanation for the suddenness of hair turning white suggests that the cases are really ones of alopecia areata, the subjects of which already have some white hair. Under the effects of a psychological stress, the brown hair falls out differentially, leaving the already white hairs behind. It thus appears that all the hair of the head has *turned* white, whereas the already existing white hairs have simply been left behind and suggest an appearance of a change in pigmentation that has not in fact occurred. Cases have been reported that exactly fit this description (Guin, Kumar, and Petersen, 1981; Helm and Milgrom, 1970; Klingmüller, 1958); and no one can deny that in cases in which hair is noted to fall out more or less simultaneously with the graying of the hair this explanation may apply.

Nevertheless, a full understanding of all features of cases of rapid whitening of the hair requires further explanations. First, we cannot readily subsume all the cases as instances of alopecia areata. Although hair loss has been observed in some cases, it has not been noted in many others. Klauder (1930) specifically mentioned that no alopecia occurred in his case. Ephraim's patient noted some hair loss, but it was not proportionate to the extent of whitening that occurred in the hair and skin (Ephraim, 1959). Most of the cases that I have cited were published in medical journals, and we should expect that the authors of the reports would have mentioned hair loss if it had occurred. Some of them, like Hoff (1954), whose case I describe in the following section, did mention hair loss, but others did not.

It also seems unlikely that qualified observers would have failed to notice and report the existence of some white hairs before the sudden change in color. Some authors have indeed noted that the patient had a few or more gray hairs before the change; but others have testified that the hair before the change was a normal brown or black color.

Even if existing pigmented hair does not itself turn white, but is simply replaced by white hairs, the problem remains of why pigment production at the roots of the hairs abruptly ceases. We need to separate the question of the *suddenness* of the whitening from that of the *permanence* in the white color of the hair. Even if we were to discount all the accounts of hair turning white within a few hours (which I am far from willing to do), we should still need to explain the

newly growing pigmentless hair that completely replaces the fallen hair that had pigment. (As I mentioned, in some instances of sudden whitening of hair the original color later returns, but in the majority of cases the hair remains white for the remainder of the period of observation.) Let this process take several weeks or months, it still requires explanation when we contrast it with the usual graying of hair, which extends over many years in most persons. I believe the cases I have cited justify our concluding that in certain persons a psychological (or physical) stress can seriously disrupt the production or maintenance of melanin in hair.

Sudden Turning White of the Skin

Ephraim (1959) pointed out that in some instances of hair turning white, pigment has also been lost from the skin from which the hair arose. This occurred in the case of hair whitening that he observed. Ephraim's case was not unique.

Gerlach (1916) reported the case of a German soldier who, after participating in an assault on the Russian front during World War I, experienced a psychological collapse and found that much of his thick black hair fell out, his remaining hair turned largely white, and extensive areas of his skin became depigmented. The process of depigmentation developed over about 4 weeks in this case.

MacLeod (1937) published the case of a man the hair of whose scalp and eyebrows turned white 7 weeks after a vehicular accident:

> His hair, originally dark brown, was becoming grey at the time of the accident, but the contrast on both the scalp and eyebrows between the unaffected grey hair and the leucotrichia was definite and striking. He was unable to tell whether the whitening of the hair had occurred first at the proximal end or the tip, as he said it all happened so quickly. (p. 437)

This patient also developed extensive irregular patches of leukoderma as his hair was turning white. Although the accident demolished the car that the patient was driving, he was not badly injured physically. He was, however, seriously affected psychologically and afterward became easily fatigued and irritable; he also became anxious when driving a car. MacLeod had no doubt that this patient's severe depigmentation of hair and skin had been caused by the trauma of the accident.

Hesse (1909) reported a case of vitiligo (leukoderma) that developed within a few hours of a severe shock. The patient was a 22-year-old private in the German Army. His hair was brown. At the time of the change in the color of part of his hair and skin, he was working as a stable attendant:

> One night he had to go into the stable because some cows were restless. It was completely dark. When he opened the stable door, a St. Bernard dog suddenly sprang up at him and threw him backwards so that he fell onto the ground on his back. The dog did not bite him. He was frightened to the point of feeling "cold running down my back." He did not lose consciousness. He

> returned to bed, but found he could not sleep and felt unwell. Around 4:00 a.m. he vomited. He then tried to carry out his usual work assignment, but had to stop at 7:00 a.m. because he felt too weak. When his comrades saw him, they laughed and said he had smeared his face with shaving soap. He then looked in the mirror and saw distinct flecks of white on the right side of his face and that the hair of the medial side of his right eyebrow and the lateral side of his moustache had become white [Figure 22-1]. On his head there were also some tufts of white hairs. Three days later he was able to resume regular work, but continued to feel weak. (p. 1753; my translation)

Hesse furnished a few additional pertinent details. The patient had no history of psychological disorder before his fright. Afterward, however, he remained anxious, easily frightened, and subject to dizziness and headaches, although his mental functions were not impaired. The patient—after his fright and the development of the vitiligo—had some impairment of sensitivity (in the region of the right trigeminal nerve) to sharp (compared with blunt) stimuli applied to the skin; but his sensitivity to heat and cold was unimpaired.

Hesse also stated that there had been no history of pigmentary anomalies in the patient's family.

Hoff (1954) reported another case of sudden loss of pigment from hair and skin. In this case a 40-year-old German miner, previously in good general health, was involved in the rescue of another miner who had been trapped in the mine where they worked. The patient later denied that this incident had troubled him greatly and pointed out that he had been involved in much more difficult mining accidents before. Within an hour of the incident, however, he suddenly felt unwell, had a shivering spell, and then became dizzy and lost consciousness. He regained consciousness after about 20-30 minutes, but continued to shiver and to complain of feeling unwell. A doctor found that he had a slight fever and diagnosed "grippe" (influenza). He advised bedrest for 3 days. That night the patient developed a marked thirst and began to drink a lot of liquids. In the middle of the night he woke his wife up and asked her for some more liquid. She brought him some fruit juice, but, when she turned on the light and looked at her husband, she was so shocked by her husband's appearance that she let the glass fall. He asked her what the trouble was, and she said: "You are completely white." The patient put his hand up to his hair and large amounts of it came away. The remaining thinner hair was snow white. The patient's hair had previously been a "dark blond" color. (Figure 22-2 shows this patient's appearance before and after the change.) The patient had lost not only the pigment of his hair. His skin too had become white, and the irides of his eyes had changed from a definite brown to a gray-blue color.

This patient's illness had other features. His libido declined, and he became impotent; his testes diminished in size, and his urine showed no trace of gonadotropin. The constellation of signs and symptoms led Hoff to suppose that the patient had developed an encephalitis that had particularly affected the function of the hypothalamus. He was inclined to discount the psychological effect of the

Figure 22-1 German soldier showing overnight loss of pigment in the hair and skin over part of the distribution of the right trigeminal nerve. (From Hesse, 1909.) (Courtesy of Georg Thieme Verlag, Stuttgart, Germany, publisher of *Deutsche medizinische Wochenschrift.*)

Figure 22-2 Appearances of a 40-year-old German miner before (left) and after (right) an acute illness that included overnight complete loss of pigment from hair and skin. (From Hoff, 1954.) (Courtesy of Georg Thieme Verlag, Stuttgart, Germany, publisher of *Deutsche medizinische Wochenschrift*.)

episode with the entrapped miner that had occurred just before the patient's symptoms began. (In fact, the patient said that he had noticed a headache—unusual for him—a couple of hours before the episode of the entrapped miner, and this might have been an early symptom of the encephalitis, if that is the correct diagnosis.)

Comment. The cases of sudden whitening of the skin after psychological stress and physical illness seem to me even more important than those of sudden whitening of the hair. We could not apply to them the explanation (for sudden whitening of hair) that a falling out of dark hair leaving white hairs intact gives an illusion of sudden whitening of the skin. Instead, we must suppose a rapid destruction of the pigment in the skin. Hoff (1954) dwelt on this point in his report. He asserted that the case provides evidence of some suddenly activated destruction of the pigment melanin, which converts it into some colorless substance. He did not claim to know how this could happen, but pleaded with his readers to believe that it had. In his closing paragraph Hoff described how his patient repeatedly met doctors who told him that it was "impossible" for him to have lost the pigment of his hair and skin in a few hours. Hoff obviously dissented from such skepticism.

I agree with Hoff that sudden vitiligo, such as occurred in his case and in the other four cases I have cited, involves a chemical transformation of melanin to some colorless substance. Readers should remember this possibility as they consider what processes might account for the cases of phenotypical albinism that I describe later in this chapter.

Albinism Following Maternal Impressions

The foregoing cases suggest that a process initiated by a physical or psychological stress may deplete an area of the skin of the melanin it would ordinarily have. If my readers accept this possibility, they are ready to consider a case reported by R. O. Mason (1891) in which a mother's impressions seem to have influenced whether her babies would be albinos or normally pigmented. Mason's report deserves quotation at length. He first explained that he derived his information about the case from the firsthand observer of it, Dr. M. K. Bowers, a physician of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. Bowers gave Mason permission to prepare a report of the case for publication. For much of his report Mason used his own words to describe the case, but quoted material in the following passages derived directly from letters he received from Dr. Bowers. Mason wrote:

> Two years ago, when our correspondence [his and Dr. Bowers's] commenced, the family referred to consisted of father, mother, and three albino children. The father of the children is a very dark-skinned man with black eyes and jet-black hair; the mother is not quite so dark, but has dark hair and dark blue eyes. The grandparents all have dark complexions and dark hair, and the family, as far back as its history can be traced, is entirely free from freaks or abnormalities of any kind.
>
> Two years previous to the birth of the first albino the mother gave birth to a perfectly normal, healthy child having dark eyes and very black hair. This child died just previous to her next pregnancy.
>
> With the second pregnancy everything went on as usual until near the beginning of the second month, when one day she unexpectedly received a small box by express from a friend in Philadelphia. She was quite ignorant of the contents of the box, which, however, was at once opened in her presence and was found to contain a large, handsome, perfect albino rat. As soon as she saw it she became nervous and declared that the sudden impression made upon her would show itself upon her child.
>
> The rat, however, was tame, and was at once domiciled in the house. It became a general pet in the family, the pregnant woman herself also becoming very fond of it, often playing with it and holding it in her hands. A short time before her confinement the rat was accidentally killed, an incident which caused her considerable annoyance and sorrow.

A few days later the doctor was called to the confinement, which resulted in the birth of a fine boy baby, but a perfect albino. The mother, when informed of the fact, did not seem at all surprised, but said at once, "I knew it, I told you so. It was the rat—oh, that rat!" However, the boy grew beautifully and became a great pet both at home and abroad, "the mother herself becoming *wonderfully* attached to him."

The mother soon became pregnant again, and informing the doctor of the fact, she remarked that she had made up her mind to have a pair of albinos. Her expectations were realized, and in due time she was delivered of a fine girl baby, also a perfect albino.

Upon the occurrence of her next pregnancy she remarked that this ought to be a black-haired baby, but she feared she would be disappointed. Her fears proved well-founded, and her pregnancy resulted in another perfect albino girl.

So, dating from the white rat episode, we have three perfect albino children, concerning whom the doctor [Bowers] writes: "The children are remarkable for their health, never having been sick, general activity, and unusual intelligence. They are much better specimens of the albino type than any found in museums or circus shows. They have snow-white hair, eyebrows, and lashes, the hair being remarkably fine and soft. The eyes are extremely sensitive to light, and when exposed to the sunlight or a bright artificial light they keep them closed; but in a subdued light or on a cloudy day, they are wide-awake and have very acute vision, being able to see the smallest objects, even when the room is quite dark. The sclerotic is of a dull white, a distinct bright pink (almost red) line binding its juncture with the cornea. The pupil is of a slightly darker shade of pink. The eyes are constantly in motion, never resting more than a moment upon any one object. The two older children are extremely bright and active, and the new-comer, now four days old, promises to rival her distinguished brother and sister. She is an unusually fine baby."

Such was the state of affairs in the albino family in May, two years ago.

During the second week of April last I received another letter from Dr. Bowers, from which I gather the following interesting facts. The albino children were all living and in excellent health; furthermore, on Sunday morning, April 5th, the doctor was again called to attend the mother in her confinement, when she gave birth to a perfect and vigorous twelve-pound boy, with black hair and dark-blue eyes, as utterly unlike the albinos as it was possible to imagine. The three former children are, if possible, more pronounced albinos than they were two years ago, and the family, as at present constituted, presents a most singular and interesting group.

The doctor then goes on to say: "This last dark-haired, normal child appears to be a striking example of willpower exerted by the mother. She had

been under my care continually, and I know that it has been her one chief desire to have such a child. She was exceedingly anxious to become pregnant, and when she was convinced that such was the case she sent for me, and during our conversation made this remark: 'Now, doctor, keep your eye on me, for I am sure it is all right, and this time it will be a black-head!' She at once sent her albino children away to her mother's house, to remain during her pregnancy, and her husband tells me that her one constant song and desire was for the dark-haired baby. She talked of it constantly, she even talked of it in her sleep." When called to attend her she at once said to the doctor, "Now I am ready for my dark baby."

The doctor remarked that the desire on the part of his patient for a dark-haired child was not merely the whim of an ignorant or illiterate person; on the contrary, she was well educated, generally intelligent, and an unusually brilliant woman. Her parents were educated people—her father at present holding a prominent position in one of the offices of the State Government—and that her desire was accompanied by a very strong faith and intelligent effort for its fulfilment.

The case is simply one, and a strong one, bearing on the question of the possible effect of maternal impressions upon the foetus *in utero*.

The case sums up as follows: Parents both dark—one *very* dark, to whom is born, as might naturally be expected, a dark-complexioned child.

Early in the second pregnancy of the mother she is surprised and made nervous by the sudden and unexpected appearance in her family of a large, handsome, albino rat. She affirms that it will have an effect upon her unborn child.

Albino number one is born. She becomes exceedingly fond of it; its peculiar face is ever before her. She is not averse to another similar child, but desires it.

Albino number two is born. The next pregnancy she hopes may terminate by the birth of a dark-haired child; but she is surrounded by the same influences, and the same models are before her. She fears disappointment, and she experiences it.

A third albino child is born. Upon the occurrence of her next pregnancy she is thoroughly aroused, and is influenced by a peculiarly strong wish for a dark-haired child. She affirms that it will be so. She exerts her will to promote her wish. She removes from her sight the models which she does not wish should influence her. She directs her mind constantly to the ideal of a dark-haired child. She dreams of her dark-haired child and speaks of it in her sleep—an important fact as indicating unusual susceptibility to impressions. She feels that she will not be disappointed, and she is not. A perfect dark-haired child is born. (R. O. Mason, 1891, pp. 42-43)

Comment

Most readers familiar with genetics would discount the claimed influence of the mother of the three albino children reported in the case just cited. They would suppose that the children's parents were heterozygous for a recessive type of albinism and produced three homozygous children affected by albinism. (The number of their albino children—three out of five—is greater than would be expected, on average, which would be one in four or, perhaps, two in five; but we can let that go, because chance might have entered here.) This would leave unaccounted for the mother's correct statements about the pigmentation of her last four children—made in advance of their births—and for them we would need to allow that she had some clairvoyant perception of their fetuses.

The evidence that mental processes may initiate new genetic lines is very meager. In Chapter 3 I described two cases of brachydactyly that were said to have derived originally from a cursing that affected a pregnant woman and then descended genetically, through 10 generations in one case and through six in the other, until the reports about these cases were published in the 19th century. I also cited in Chapter 3 the report by Horne (1838) of a pregnant woman who was frightened by the sight of a man with two thumbs and gave birth to a daughter with polydactyly. The daughter, in turn, gave birth to nine children of whom four had polydactyly.

The paucity of evidence suggesting that mental processes may produce a transmissible mutation of a gene does not exclude the possibility that such processes may affect the actions of genes (or the enzymes they control) within a single body. We should avoid a tendency that exists in some quarters to think of genes as autonomous governors of the processes that they can facilitate. Genes exert their influences only in a cellular environment congenial to their activity. There are several biochemical stages between tyrosine (a precursor amino acid) and the melanin granules (melanosomes) made from tyrosine whose number gives visible darkness to human skin and hair (Fitzpatrick, Fitzgerald, and Wick, 1991; Robins, 1991; Witkop, 1985). In the most extreme form of albinism the enzyme tyrosinase is missing, and so no conversion of tyrosine to the next metabolite (3-4 dihydroxyphenylalanine) occurs. (This is tyrosinase-negative albinism.) In milder forms of albinism tyrosinase is present, but insufficient to form the usual and necessary amount of melanin. (This is tyrosinase-positive albinism.)

Environmental factors may interfere with the action of tyrosinase. Children with the protein-deficiency disease known as kwashiorkor often suffer from acquired albinism. This type of albinism seems to be due to a deficiency in essential amino acids together with suppression of essential enzymes, including those involved in the production of melanin, such as tyrosinase (Witkop, 1971). I suggest that the biochemical accompaniments of mental images also may act adversely on the melanin-generating processes and lead to phenotypical albinism or phenocopies of gene-dependent albinos.

LOCAL AND MODERATE DEGREES OF PIGMENTARY CHANGES APPARENTLY RELATED TO PREVIOUS LIVES

In the first volume of this work, devoted to birthmarks, I frequently noted that a subject's birthmark corresponding to a wound or other mark on a previous personality showed unusual pigmentation. More often than not the birthmark was hyperpigmented, but in 26 cases it showed hypopigmentation compared with the surrounding skin. (These cases are identified in the list in Appendix C.) We could describe such areas as instances of partial or topical albinism.

I have also drawn attention in several case reports to a correspondence in darkness (or lightness) of skin color between a subject and a previous personality in cases in which the subject's complexion differed appropriately from that of other members of his or her family. I list 10 subjects of this group in Table 22-1. (I have included in this table three cases investigated by my associates; all the others I investigated myself.)

I next present, in abbreviated form, four additional cases in which informants reported significant similarities of pigmentation between subject and previous personality. These cases bring the total of this group to 14 cases.

CASE REPORTS

THE CASE OF ALLI KATHAT

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

In the village of Chaursia, Tehsil Beawar, District Ajmer, Rajasthan, India, a man called Jora died after a brief illness at the end of 1955 or early in 1956. Among the people of Chaursia, Jora had a distinctive appearance. His complexion was much lighter than that of the other villagers; his hair was a light brown and his irides were blue. Jora was about 65 years old when he died. Like most (perhaps all) of the inhabitants of Chaursia, he was a Moslem.

About a week after Jora's death, a distant relative called Gullu dreamed that Jora came to him and said: "I will be reborn as your son." Nine months later, in October 1956, Gullu's wife, Mani, gave birth (in Chaursia) to a son who was named Alli. (I cannot explain the unusual spelling of his name.) He was her fourth and last child. Alli resembled Jora closely. His irides were blue, his hair light brown, and his complexion fair (Figures 22-3 and 22-4). There were facial resemblances also between Jora and Alli, especially in the shape of the nose. Their gaits were similar. In behavior also they resembled each other. Both were honest, quick-tempered, and jocular; and both had a habit of blinking their eyelids rapidly when they were angry.

Table 22-1 **Cases in Which Subject's Complexion Differed from that of Other Members of His or Her Family and Corresponded to that of the Previous Personality**

Subject	*Previous Personality*	*Country*	*Complexion Observed*	*Detailed Report of Case*	*Comments*
1. Wijeratne	Ratran Hami	Sri Lanka	Both S and PP were relatively dark in complexion	Stevenson (1966/1974); see also Chapter 17	Same-family case.
2. Kumkum Verma	Sundari	India	PP said to have had fair complexion; S distinctly fairer than other members of her family	Stevenson (1975b)	
3. Maung Than Htun Win	Presumably a Karen; not identified	Burma	S was darker than other members of his family; Karens are generally darker than Burmans	Chapter 19	Unsolved case.
4. Ma Thoung	Ma Mya Sein	Burma	PP said to have had dark complexion; S darker than her siblings	Chapter 14	
5. Sivanthie Hettiaratchi	A. P. Robert (known as Robert)	Sri Lanka	Sivanthie was fairer than Sheromie; Robert had been fairer than Johnny	Chapter 25	Twin case (see Figure 25-3).
Sheromie Hettiaratchi	A. K. Nanadasa, (known as Johnny)				
6. Reena Kulshreshtha	Gompti Devi	India	S was darker than her parents; PP had had a dark complexion	Mills (1989)	Case investigated by Dr. Antonia Mills.

7. Ma San San Nyunt Ma Nyunt Nyunt San	Daw Sapai Daw Aye Phyu	Burma	Ma San San Nyunt was fairer than her twin sister, Ma Nyunt Nyunt San; Daw Sapai had been fairer than Daw Aye Phyu	Chapter 25	Twin case. Figure 24-16, which shows the twins' faces, does not adequately bring out the differences in their complexions.
8. Maung Aung Ko Thein Maung Aung Cho Thein	Sunder Ram (Indian) Daw Hla May (Chinese)	Burma	Maung Aung Ko Thein was darker than his twin brother, Maung Aung Cho Thein	Chapter 25	Twins, probably dizygotic; Indians, in general, have darker complexions than Chinese (see Figure 25-18).
9. Maung Hla Tin (Indian)	Chinese man	Burma	Maung Hla Tin had a lighter complexion than his six brothers and sisters	Not published in detail	Chinese persons have lighter complexions than Indians. Case investigated by U Win Maung. Complexions of S and PP not independently verified; information all secondhand.
10. Vinod Singh Parmod Singh	Soran Raghu	India	Raghu was darker than Soran, his friend. Parmod was darker than Vinod	Not published in detail	Twins, definitely dizygotic; case investigated principally by Dr. Satwant Pasricha.

S = Subject
PP = Previous Personality

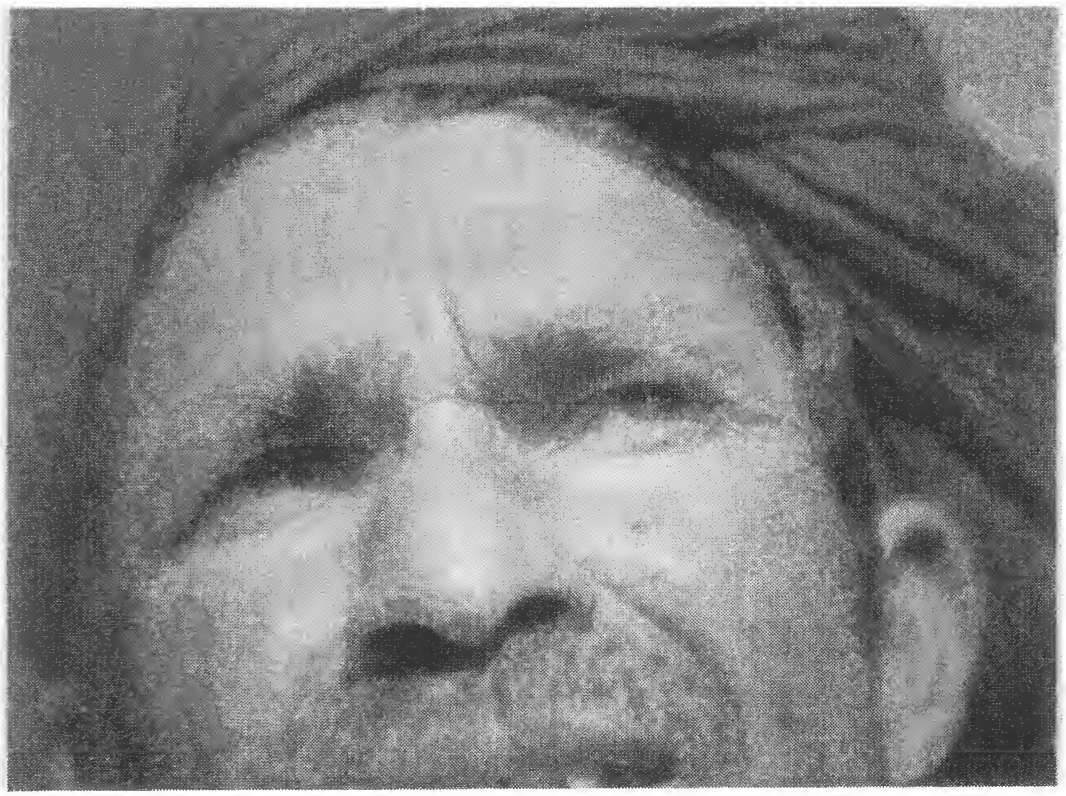

Figure 22-3 Alli Kathat as he appeared in February 1986, when he was 29½ years old. The photograph does not show that his complexion was fair, his hair a light brown, and his irides blue.

After Alli became able to speak, between the ages of 1 and 2, he said that he was Jora, and he gave the names of Jora's wife (Najab), son (Khangara), and a grandson (Subhania). (Jora also had a daughter, Bajji, whom Alli seems not to have mentioned spontaneously, although he later recognized her and called her by a familiar form of address.) Alli showed affection toward Jora's family, although he was shy toward Najab, Jora's wife (as a Moslem husband would be toward his wife). He referred to money Jora had possessed and was somewhat vexed that Jora's family did not let him have it. Alli also referred to a second, lesser wife he (as Jora) had had.

I learned of this case from Dr. Kirti Rawat of Beawar in 1986. Later in that year he and Dr. Nicholas McClean-Rice went to Chaursia, where they interviewed Alli Kathat, his older brother Noora, his mother, Mani, Jora's son, Khangara, and another older villager who had known Jora. In another village they also interviewed Jora's daughter, Bajji. (Gullu Kathat had died in 1957, when Alli was 9 months old.)

In the following year, Dr. Satwant Pasricha and I (accompanied by Dr. Rawat) went to Chaursia on February 14, 1987. Alli was out of the village on the day we were there, but we met and interviewed his mother, Mani. In addition,

Figure 22-4 Alli with Jora's son, Khangara. This photograph was also taken in February 1986. Khangara had the dark brown complexion typical of Rajasthanis.

with the help of "old-timers" of the village we constructed what I believe to be a reasonably satisfactory genealogy. It turned out that Jora's and Gullu's great-grandfathers were related, although our principal informant could not specify their exact relationship. Mani suggested that Jora and Gullu had been first cousins, but I think this is wrong. No one questioned, however, that Jora and Gullu had had some sort of cousinly relationship.

Bajji's complexion was fair and her irides were blue (Figure 22-5). Informants said that no other member of the village—apart from Jora and Alli—had had blue irides.

Alli Kathat's Appearance

Figure 22-3 reproduces the best close-up photograph we have of Alli's face. It shows his appearance in February 1986, when he was 29½ years old. His hair was a light brown, his irides were blue, and his complexion much fairer than that of other villagers. Figure 22-4 shows Alli with Khangara, Jora's son (who in 1986 said that he was 82 years old). Khangara was said to be fair, but compared with Alli he was dark. The photographs printed here do not show these details as the color prints do.

Figure 22-5 Jora's daughter, Bajji. The photograph does not show that her complexion was fairer than that of her brother Khangara, and her irides were blue. This photograph was also taken in February 1986.

Alli did not have the ocular symptoms of albinism. Dr. McClean-Rice said that he did not notice any nystagmus in Alli's eyes. He might have had some sensitivity to sun glare, but he had no marked photophobia.

Comment

The relationship between Jora and Alli, even though distant, makes it possible that their physical resemblance had a genetic component. Gullu's dream raised expectations that Jora would be reborn in Gullu's family. The members of both families concerned might have guided Alli, perhaps unconsciously, to identify himself with Jora. The case is thus on a footing with those (described in Chapters 9 and 10) in which one member of a family had a nevus corresponding to a nevus on a deceased grandparent, great-aunt, or uncle and was also said to have memo-

ries of that person's life. Normal explanations have considerable force in same-family cases of this type.

The present case, however, has several features that weigh against a normal explanation. First, all the members of Gullu's family, including his first three children, had normal pigmentation. We could regard Gullu's dream about Jora as a prediction that his wife would give birth to a person of fair complexion, as Jora was known to have been. (In the dream, however, Jora did not say that he would be reborn with a fair complexion.) Second, all the persons concerned in the case were Moslems. They were aware that reincarnation is not part of orthodox Islam, and it seems unlikely that any of them would have done anything to foster Alli's identification with Jora. Two of the informants, Alli's older brother, Noora, and Jora's daughter, Bajji, said that the evidence in the case had convinced them that reincarnation can occur. Third, Alli had some distinctive behavioral traits—short temper and blinking his eyes when angry—that Jora also had; and I do not believe that anyone trained Alli to adopt these behaviors.

THE CASE OF U KALAR

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

U Kalar was born in (about) 1942 in the village of Soo-dut-gyi, Taungdwingyi, Upper Burma. His parents were U Maung Sein and Daw Saw Nyunt. He was the fifth of their seven children. I believe, but am not certain, that U Maung Sein was a farmer. U Kalar's parents noticed at his birth that he had what they considered Indian facial features and an unusually dark complexion (for a Burman). Daw Saw Nyunt had also had a dream, which I shall describe later, in which a deceased Indian soldier had appeared to her. For these reasons she and her husband called the new baby "Kalar," which is a word in Burmese used to refer to Indians.[1]

U Kalar said that he was born with two birthmarks, one on the right side of his abdomen and one on his right leg. (We have no corroboration of this statement.)

When U Kalar was about 4 or 5 years old, he spoke about a previous life, saying that he had been killed in Soo-dut-gyi village. He also showed some unusual dietary preferences.

Daw Hnin Aye learned of this case and investigated it in November 1984. I have never met U Kalar, and this report derives almost entirely from Daw Hnin Aye's notes.

By 1984 U Maung Sein had died, but Daw Saw Nyunt was alive—at the age of 79—and she was able to corroborate at least part of what U Kalar said that he

[1]The word *kalar* is obviously cognate with the Hindi word *kala*, which means black or dark. The root occurs also in the alias of Ma Thein Nwe, the previous personality in the case of Ma Khin Mar Htoo (Chapter 17). She was nicknamed "Kalamagyi," which means "the big dark girl."

had remembered when he was a young child; Daw Saw Nyunt also furnished some secondhand verifications of U Kalar's statements about how he had been killed in the previous life.

Statements Made by U Kalar

Statements Made by U Kalar as a Young Child. Daw Saw Nyunt said that when Maung Kalar (as he then was) was between 4 and 5 years old, he stated that he had been killed at Soo-dut-gyi village (his birthplace). He and a comrade each had a gun (presumably a rifle). The villagers killed them because they wanted their guns.

Maung Kalar showed his mother the place where, in the previous life, he had been killed. U Maung Sein told Daw Saw Nyunt that the place the boy indicated was where he himself had picked up the corpse of a killed Indian soldier and carted it away.

U Kalar's Statements in 1984. U Kalar was about 42 years old in 1984, but he said that he remembered much of the last days of the previous life with great clarity. In the following statement I have transposed Daw Hnin Aye's notes into the first person, and edited them slightly. U Kalar told her:

> I was an Indian soldier with the British Army. After the Japanese declared war, the British retreated from Rangoon into northern Burma, I remember retreating along the Rangoon-Magwe Road. When we reached Taungdwingyi, I and another soldier strayed off [that is, they left their platoon] searching for [alcoholic] drinks. We went as far as Moe-guang village [12 kilometers from Taungdwingyi]. We met some villagers from Soo-dut-gyi [which is the next village from Moe-guang village]. These villagers said that drinks were available in their village, so we followed them to Soo-dut-gyi. They took us into a house and gave us some drinks. We were beginning to get drunk when the villagers suddenly attacked us with their swords. I tried to run away and got out of the house. I looked back and saw that my comrade's head had been cut clean off, and he was dead. I ran as fast as I could with the villagers following at my heels. They caught up with me, and one villager pierced me in the abdomen on the right side with a spear. The others cut my right leg with axes. I was then unable to run, so they beat me with sticks and left me to die. They took away our guns (even though we had no ammunition). It was sunset and becoming dark. U Maung Sein came along with his cart, and he put our bodies onto his cart. Then he went beyond the village to the north, where he reached a kind of cliff. There he dumped our bodies out of the cart and went home.
>
> I followed my father home, back into the village. I was then a discarnate. I was reborn in Soo-dut-gyi village. I was a discarnate for 7 days.
>
> I remembered my previous life even as an infant. I think I died in February or March 1942. In 1946 Allied Forces returned to Burma, and troops

could be seen in Soo-dut-gyi village again. When I saw the Allied soldiers, I remembered that I had been an Indian soldier in the British Army and had handled guns myself.

I was a Moslem in my previous life.

I was particular about the food I ate [as a child]. I would not eat pork or chicken.

When I was about 4 or 5 years old, I met at the monastery school a child whom I recognized as the comrade who had been with me when I was killed in the previous life. He also had been reborn in Soo-dut-gyi village. This man, now called U Kyaw Nyein, also recognized me, and we became good friends at once and have remained friends.

Everything that happened is still vivid in my memory.

Comment. U Kalar's date (February-March 1942) for the British retreat between Taungdwingyi and Magwe is about right. General Slim moved his corps headquarters from Taungdwingyi to Magwe on April 8, 1942 (Slim, 1961). U Kalar's date for the return of the British, however, was off by one year, because the Japanese surrendered in Burma in May 1945 (see Appendix B). British troops would have been seen again in the area of Taungdwingyi, and perhaps in Soo-dut-gyi village, during the late spring of 1945.

An Announcing Dream

U Maung Sein told his wife (Daw Saw Nyunt) about how he had picked up the bodies of the two murdered Indian soldiers and taken them out of the village for disposal. Some time after their deaths—Daw Saw Nyunt did not say how long—she dreamed that one of the dead Indian men came into their house. In her dream she asked him why he had come there. He answered that he had come back to live with them. She became pregnant with U Kalar within a month of having this dream.

U Kalar's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

Daw Saw Nyunt remembered that U Kalar as a child was "choosy with his food even when young. He would never eat pork or chicken." U Kalar himself remembered that he did not eat pork or chicken. (Daw Hnin Aye's notes do not say whether he later overcame this reluctance.)

U Kalar told Daw Hnin Aye that he hated war and was "afraid of everything." All he wanted to do was live a quiet life as a farmer and die in peace.

Comment. U Kalar's distaste for pork could be explained as a behavioral memory from the life of a Moslem. This does not account for his distaste for chicken, which I do not understand.

Appearance and Birthmarks of U Kalar

Daw Hnin Aye described U Kalar as being thin, dark-complexioned, and having "Indian features." In the spring of 1992, U E Maung (a friend of U Win Maung), at my request, met U Kalar at Soo-dut-gyi and photographed him standing beside his older brother. The photograph (not reproduced here) shows that U Kalar had a much darker complexion than his brother. The photograph did not show facial details well, and I could not judge whether U Kalar had Indian facial features.

As I mentioned, U Kalar told Daw Hnin Aye that he had a birthmark on the right side of the abdomen and another on his right leg. He said these corresponded to wounds received by the Indian soldier as the villagers were killing him. U E Maung photographed these marks.

U E Maung also photographed U Kyaw Nyein, who, according to U Kalar, was the reincarnation of the other Indian soldier killed by the villagers of Soo-dut-gyi. U Kyaw Nyein told U E Maung that he had had no memories of a previous life. The photograph shows that, like U Kalar, U Kyaw Nyein had a much darker pigmentation than the average Burmese person.

Comment

Apart from the feature of comparatively dark pigmentation—which is why I placed this report in this chapter—this case has several features for which there have been parallels in other cases. One of these is the subject's birth in the family of a man who, after a fashion, buried the previous personality's body. (The case of Yusuf Köse will be remembered in this connection.) The subject also remembered following his father home as a discarnate personality; this feature occurred in the cases of U Tinn Sein, Maung Myint Aung, and Bongkuch Promsin. Other subjects have remembered becoming attached—as discarnate personalities—to their mothers and following them home.

U Kalar claimed that he had had memories of the previous life during early infancy, but he apparently did not speak about them until he saw the British troops who returned to Burma in the spring of 1945. U Kalar was still young then. If we assume that he was born late in 1942 or early in 1943, he would have been only a few months more than 2 years old when the British returned.

THE CASE OF ARCHANA SHASTRI

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Archana Shastri was born in Srinagar, Jammu and Kashmir, India, on November 7, 1964. Her parents were Netra Pal Shastri and his wife, Bhagwati Devi. Archana was the fifth and youngest of their children. They were Brahmins. Netra Pal Shastri was a schoolteacher.

Archana was noted at the time of her birth to be much fairer in complexion than other members of the family, and her irides were described by one informant as being blue when she was an infant. (They subsequently became light brown [Figure 22-6].) A friend of the family, Lakshmi Verma, had predicted during Bhagwati Devi's pregnancy with Archana that she would have a fair child.

Archana began speaking coherently at the age of about 1½, and when she was about 2½ she began referring to a previous life. Her first reference seems to have occurred during a heavy rainstorm when she became frightened and expressed—in a childish way—the fear that a cloud would fall on her and she would die. Told that clouds did not fall, she insisted that they do and she knew it. That evening she told her older sister, Kalpana, that she had been staying in a hotel on holiday. She mentioned three daughters, whose names she gave, and a son. She spoke vividly about how water had been everywhere and trees had become uprooted. She had tried to run away, but was surrounded by water and carried away.

Archana seems never to have stated a name—either given or family—for the previous personality. At the time she began talking about the previous life, however, she was also observed to be going through the Moslem form of prayer—namaz—complete with preliminary ablutions and words spoken in Urdu. Her first practice of namaz occurred when her father became ill, and she began praying for the return of his health.

Her family thought her description of a hotel swept away during a heavy rainstorm corresponded to a disaster of this kind that had occurred at a resort called Pahalgaon, which is some 95 kilometers from Srinagar. A hotel there, as well as a tourist office and some other buildings, had been carried away during an unusually heavy rain with consequent flooding. This had happened on July 20, 1963. A catastrophe of this magnitude was naturally well known to the people of Srinagar, and the Shastris were aware that two Moslem families had been among the victims of the flood. With one of these families they had a slight acquaintance, and they thought that Archana might be talking about a member of that family, Tahira Khanam, who had perished with her husband and four children at Pahalgaon. Before they had a chance to discuss Archana's statement with this family, Archana herself ran away from her family's house in search of the (previous) house, where she thought she ought to be. She was followed and brought home by one of her older brothers.

Not long after this, the two families were brought together through the intermediary of the landlord of one of Bhagwati Devi's friends, who knew Tahira's family. She arranged for Tahira's mother to meet Archana and take her for a visit to their home. Archana seems to have fully satisfied Tahira's family that she was Tahira reborn, although, as Moslems, they were reluctant to state this openly. They showed their endorsement of the case, however, by going to meet Archana every time she went to visit the friend who had originally helped to bring the families together. Archana's family learned that Tahira had been a pious person who practiced namaz five times a day.

Archana's practice of namaz was particularly impressive to her family. Initially, it had also been somewhat annoying, because her preliminary washing before her prayers involved the spilling of much water until this was stopped. She

continued saying namaz until she was about 3 years old, and she continued talking about the previous life until she was between 5 and 6. Her parents did not suppress her, but one of her brothers teased her for being a Moslem, and this seems to have inhibited her.

Archana had a marked phobia of lightning and thunder, which seems to have reminded her of the flood in which Tahira had perished. She still suffered from this phobia in 1977, when she was 13 years old.

Dr. L. P. Mehrotra learned of this case in July 1974, when he was in Srinagar to investigate another case. With Manjula Kamal he interviewed some of the informants for the case and developed sufficient information to make me wish to study it further. This became possible in October 1974, when Dr. Satwant Pasricha and I went to Srinagar. We were able to talk with Archana, all four of her siblings, and both her parents. We were less fortunate in efforts to meet Tahira's family and had only one extremely brief meeting with her brother.

Passing over other details, I turn now to the feature of the case which leads me to place this brief account in the present chapter.

The Appearance of Tahira Khanam

Tahira's father, Khawja Sufaiddin, was a senior government officer, and it was mainly in that connection that Netra Pal Shastri had met him a few times; they had some small social relationships, but these seem never to have included their womenfolk; and Bhagwati Devi said that she had never met Khawja Sufaiddin. Netra Pal remembered Khawja Sufaiddin as having been a tall man with blue irides.

Dr. Pasricha and I met Gulam Jilani, who was Khawja Sufaiddin's son and Tahira's brother. His irides were light brown. We asked him what color his sister's irides had been, and he said they had been "bluish." Circumstances did not permit us a long visit with him or the opportunity of meeting other members of the family.

The Appearance of Archana and Other Members of Her Family

We had an adequate opportunity to examine Archana and the other members of her family, as well as to learn about their ancestry.

We examined the eyes of both of Archana's parents and all four of her siblings. Although two of her siblings (her sister, Kalpana, and her brother Manuraj) had irides that were somewhat light-colored, Archana's irides were much lighter than theirs. The other members of the family had irides that were darker and best described as brown-black. These distinctions are unfortunately not well brought out in the photographs that I reproduce here (Figures 22-6 to 22-9). I took two of them on one day and two on another day, when the lighting was different. I think, nevertheless, that readers will agree that Archana's irides were much less deeply pigmented than those of her siblings.

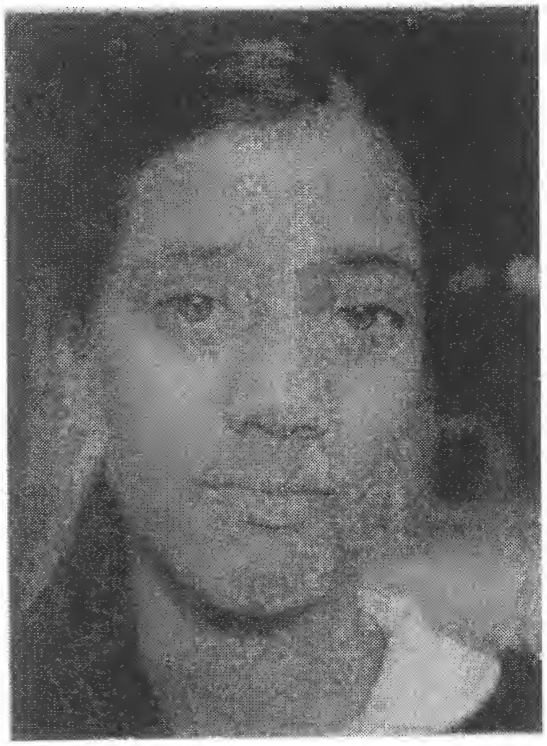

Figure 22-6 Archana Shastri as she appeared in October 1977, when she was just under 13 years old.

Figure 22-7 Kalpana Shastri, Archana's older sister, as she appeared in October 1977. Kalpana's irides were somewhat light-colored but darker than those of Archana.

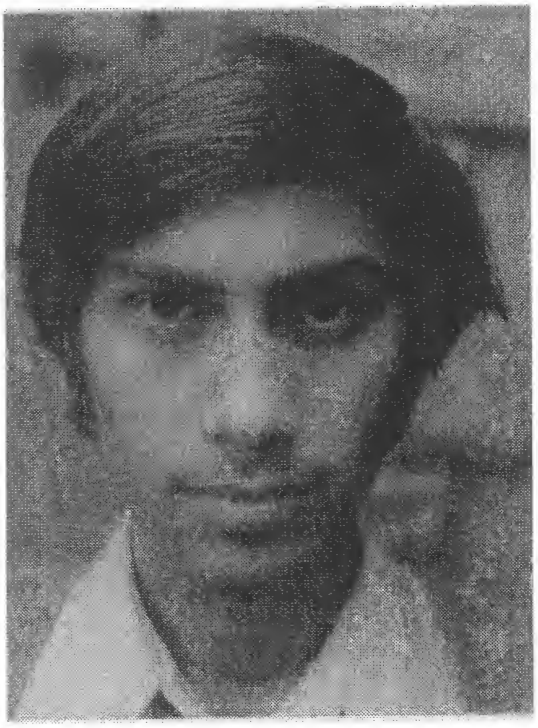

Figure 22-8 Bharat Bhusan Shastri, one of Archana's older brothers, as he appeared in October 1977.

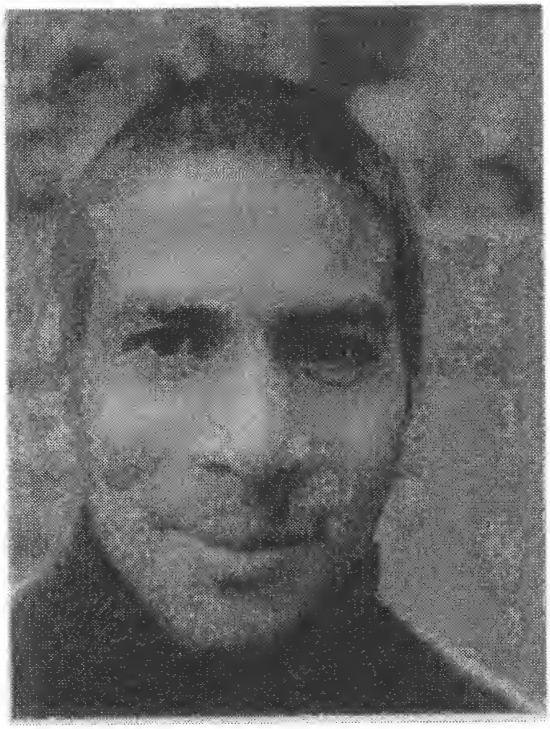

Figure 22-9 Manuraj Shastri, another of Archana's older brothers, as he appeared in October 1977.

Archana's irides had been even lighter when she was a young child. One of her brothers, Yogendra Kumar, told us that her irides had been "blue," but another brother, Bharat Bhusan, said that they had been "not exactly blue, but light green-brown."

Although the photographs do not show the different complexions well, Archana's complexion was fairer than that of her parents and siblings.

Other Relevant Medical Information

Regarding their ancestry, both Netra Pal and Bhagwati Devi said that in their families there had never been, so far as they knew, any other persons having light-colored irides like Archana's; nor did they know of any marriages in their families with Europeans.

THE CASE OF MA WIN MYINT

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Ma Win Myint was born in Rangoon, Burma, on March 15, 1959. Her parents were U San Maung and his wife, Daw Shwe Nge. Ma Win Myint had four sisters, one older and three younger than she. U San Maung worked for a time in the civil service of the Burmese government and later in business.

Ma Win Myint never spoke about a previous life. However, Daw Shwe Nge had an announcing dream before Ma Win Myint's birth, and this, together with some unusual behavior that Ma Win Myint showed and some unusual physical features that she had, convinced Daw Shwe Nge that Ma Win Myint was the reincarnation of an Englishman, Paul Taylor, whom Daw Shwe Nge had known well. He had died in London, England, about a year before Ma Win Myint was born.

My information for the case derives almost entirely from what Ma Win Myint's mother, Daw Shwe Nge, told me. Daw Shwe Nge first mentioned her daughter's case to me in 1981. Subsequently, she wrote an account of it for me and then answered questions about details in correspondence. We often met during my visits to Burma and sometimes discussed the case during our meetings. I have also met several other members of the family, including U San Maung. In 1986 I was able to talk with him about the case. (Like his wife, he had known Paul Taylor well.) Also in 1986 I met Ma Win Myint and was able to observe her facial features, hair, and complexion.

The Life, Death, and Character of Paul Taylor

Paul Taylor was born in London, England, on November 24, 1898. Both his parents were English. He came to Burma as a young child of about 6, when his father received an important appointment in the Burmese civil service.

He trained as an electrical engineer and worked as an engineer until the outbreak of World War II. He married an Indo-European woman, and it is relevant to note that she had a dark complexion. They had three children. During World War II, he and his family were evacuated to India at the time of the Japanese invasion of Burma. After the war, they returned to Burma and remained there after Burma became independent from Great Britain. Paul Taylor accepted an appointment of some importance in a ministry of the Burmese government in Rangoon.

He spoke fluently an unaccented Burmese (although he could not read it), and he had a strong attraction for Burma and the Burmese people. His wife wished them to leave Burma and settle in England, but he resisted this suggestion. His wife's "pestering" requests that they move to England, where she herself had never been, seem to have marred Paul Taylor's relationship with her in the later years of their marriage.

In 1954 Daw Shwe Nge was appointed to a clerical position under Paul Taylor, and they became good friends almost immediately. Daw Shwe Nge knew English well, and she helped Taylor by translating certain official documents from Burmese into English. In addition, she was able to converse easily with him because of her fluent English. Nearly all the other employees of his office were unable to speak English, and he spoke Burmese with them. Daw Shwe Nge's husband, U San Maung, was also employed for a time under Paul Taylor.

By the 1950s, few British people remained in Burma, and Paul Taylor must sometimes have felt isolated despite his fondness for Burma. It appears, however, that his liking for Daw Shwe Nge went further than the pleasure he had in talking English with someone else. Daw Shwe Nge said that "every day" Paul Taylor would come to her desk and talk in English with her during the midday workbreak. The other office women would listen to their conversation without understanding it.

In 1957 Paul Taylor began to complain of pain in his throat. His condition becoming worse, he consulted a physician, and a biopsy showed that he had a cancer of the tongue. (He had been a tobacco pipe smoker, and pipe smoking has been identified as an etiological factor in this disease.) He then decided—probably on medical advice—to return to England for treatment.

He left Burma with great reluctance. He told Daw Shwe Nge that he would return to Burma after being cured, as he then optimistically believed he would be. Daw Shwe Nge remembered his saying: "I surely will never go back to England forever. I will stay in Burma forever." He made similar statements on numerous occasions before leaving for England. These utterances reflected more than a longing to return to Burma; they seemed to communicate a determination to do so.

Paul Taylor's irritation at his wife flared into open anger during the last weeks of his stay in Burma. His wife—without his knowledge or consent—sold their house and automobile; although he was still hoping for a negative report from the biopsy examination, she had decided that they were going to England, where she wanted to live but he did not. On learning of what his wife had done, Paul Taylor cursed his "dark-skinned Indian woman."

On the day before Paul Taylor left for England, he came to see Daw Shwe Nge, and in a prolonged and tender farewell he told her: "I will come back to Burma! I will write to you when I get there, and I will be well and come back. Don't worry!"

In England, however, it proved impossible to cure Paul Taylor's cancer, and he died in a London hospital on February 16, 1958. I obtained a copy of his death certificate, which gave "carcinoma of the tongue" as the cause of death.

I learned little about Paul Taylor's personality that I have not mentioned above. However, Daw Shwe Nge told me that she considered him to have been an unusually hardworking person. He drank alcohol, but apparently not to excess.

Paul Taylor's Appearance. Paul Taylor had blue irides, an unusually red complexion, freckles, and blond hair. He had a sharp nose. In addition, he was color-blind. Sometimes he would ask Daw Shwe Nge to tell him the color of an object, and he also told her himself that he was color-blind.

An Announcing Dream

Some time after Paul Taylor's death, Daw Shwe Nge had a dream about him that was unusually clear and vivid. Daw Shwe Nge wrote the following account of the dream:

> I dreamed that Paul Taylor's corpse was laid out on a white marble bier with roses [on it]. We (myself and the girls from the office) [Paul Taylor's government office in Rangoon] were crying near it.
>
> I saw U San Maung [her husband] get onto the bier and lie down next to Paul Taylor's corpse. He lay down facing the corpse. Then I saw Paul Taylor's corpse get up and come to me. He said: "Don't cry, don't cry. I am alive now. Desai [U San Maung's nickname] has warmed me with his breast, so I am alive now. Don't you worry. I've brought back all my possessions with me, too." I woke up a bit frightened, because it was a vivid dream.

At the time Daw Shwe Nge had this dream, she was about 1 month pregnant with Ma Win Myint; however, she did not interpret the dream as forecasting the reincarnation of Paul Taylor as her baby.

Comment. This dream is not typical of announcing dreams in Burma. The first part contained the unrealistic scene of office girls, Daw Shwe Nge, and U San Maung attending Paul Taylor's funeral in London; but this then blended into a straightforward announcement by the deceased Paul Taylor that he had returned.

Ma Win Myint's Appearance and Symptoms

When Ma Win Myint was born, she had (for a Burmese) an unusually reddish complexion, and this led her mother to give her in Burmese a nickname that means "Miss British soldier." Later, Ma Win Myint was noticed to have freckles

on her nose. (Freckles are rare among Burmese people.) Ma Win Myint also had a patch of white hair above the right ear. Apart from this single patch of white hair, her hair was black, and her irides were dark brown. Her nose was pointed compared with the noses of most Burmese people and other members of her family.

Ma Win Myint was a sickly baby, and for several months after her birth she suffered from diarrhea.

When Ma Win Myint was able to walk and talk, she seemed to have a large neck. It was so distinctively large that her older sister teasingly gave her another nickname which meant in English "girl with a big neck." Ma Win Myint used to complain to her mother about her older sister's unkindness in calling her by this nickname. The noticeable thickness of her neck persisted to the age of about 13 or 14.

The patch of white hair above Ma Win Myint's right ear became replaced as she grew older with the normal black hair that Ma Win Myint had on the remainder of her head. However, the freckles on her nose and the pointed shape of her nose persisted longer.

When I met Ma Win Myint in February 1986, she was almost 27 years old. I observed that her irides were dark brown; her complexion was fair, but not reddish or ruddy. Her nose was somewhat more pointed than that of the average Burman. She still had a few strands of white hair, but no more.

Ma Win Myint's family noticed that she was color-blind "when she was quite young," and she received some teasing for this also. She continued to be color-blind at the time of my study of the case. She was defective in distinguishing blue from purple, not with regard to red and green.

Ma Win Myint suffered from frequent sore throats, and this tendency also persisted at the time I studied the case.

Ma Win Myint's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

Ma Win Myint distinguished herself from Daw Shwe Nge's other children in being unusually attached to her mother and also unusually hardworking. She did well in her studies at school and was the only one of Daw Shwe Nge's daughters to pass the university matriculation examination. Later she trained as a nurse and then while working as a nurse studied for a B.A. at Rangoon University.

As a young child, Ma Win Myint showed what her mother regarded as "manly manners." When I asked Daw Shwe Nge whether she could give examples of Ma Win Myint's masculine behavior, she wrote me that Ma Win Myint "always played rough and tough." When fighting with other children, she used her fists and kicked them as a boy might.

Although she never asked for male clothes to wear, she showed less interest in female adornments than other girls of her age. For example, she would not apply the thanaka paste almost universally used by Burmese girls on their cheeks. Only when she was about 16 did she begin to show concern about her appearance, and then began to cover her freckles with cream and use lipstick.

When Ma Win Myint was about 12, her mother observed some pubertal development of her breasts and bought her three bodices. When Daw Shwe Nge gave these to Ma Win Myint, Ma Win Myint became angry and shouted: "What am I supposed to do with these?" Daw Shwe Nge explained that she had reached the age when she should begin wearing bodices, but Ma Win Myint shouted back: "I will not wear one." (There must have been some later resolution of this difficulty, but I did not learn how this came about.)

It happened that Daw Shwe Nge and her husband lived for a time in a neighborhood having dark-skinned Indian children. Ma Win Myint was then about 5 years of age. Daw Shwe Nge noticed that Ma Win Myint was irrationally hostile to the Indian children, and when she met them she would tell them rudely to go away. On one occasion she got into a fight with one of these children when he objected to her rudeness. (Daw Shwe Nge thought that Ma Win Myint's animosity to the Indian children might have derived from Paul Taylor's annoyance and anger at his dark-skinned, half-Indian wife.)

Comment

Paul Taylor had an inoperable cancer of the tongue, and although his neck was not swollen when he left for England in 1957, Daw Shwe Nge thought it likely that as the cancer spread his neck would have become swollen (which seems probable). She thought that Ma Win Myint's thick neck (during her childhood) might have derived from Paul Taylor's presumed swollen neck. She also explained Ma Win Myint's sore throats as a residue of the painful throat Paul Taylor had had before he died from cancer of the tongue.

Daw Shwe Nge may have read too much into her daughter's symptoms. However, even if we were, for this reason, to set aside Ma Win Myint's large neck and her tendency to have sore throats, an unusual constellation of physical features would remain to be explained. These are:

1. A pointed nose (compared with other Burmese people)
2. A complexion distinctly redder than that of the average Burmese person
3. Freckles on the nose (unusual among Burmese people)
4. A patch of white hair (unusual among Burmese people)
5. Color-blindness

All these features corresponded to similar ones of Paul Taylor. None of Daw Shwe Nge's other children had any of them.

If the various details of the case allow us to suppose that Ma Win Myint had behavioral and physical memories of Paul Taylor, the case is one of the few international cases that are solved. For nearly all other cases of this group, we have not identified a deceased person corresponding to the subject's statements, behavior, and physical features, such as of birthmarks or birth defects. The subjects of international cases rarely state proper names, or ones of the specificity required to solve the case.

Before leaving this case I will remind readers of the strong attachment that Paul Taylor had for Daw Shwe Nge and (to a lesser extent) for U San Maung. If

we can best interpret the case as one of reincarnation, it shows that the strong emotional ties that seem to bind families together in successive lives may also exist between friends with the same effect.[2]

I also think that Paul Taylor's attraction for Burma and his determination to return there after being treated in London may have contributed to the development of this case.

Ma Win Myint's Later Development

Ma Win Myint completed training as a nurse and in 1986 was commissioned as a lieutenant in the Burmese Army. That same year she married a doctor who was also commissioned in the Burmese Army.

DISCORDANCES IN COMPLEXION BETWEEN SUBJECT AND PREVIOUS PERSONALITY

In the majority of the cases in which informants have compared the complexions of the subject and previous personality, they have drawn attention to a concordance between them in this respect. I can think of three exceptions in which informants said that the subject's complexion differed from that of the person whose life he or she remembered. One occurred in the case of Thiang San Kla (Chapter 19). Two informants said that Thiang was much darker than his uncle Phoh, whose life Thiang remembered. In the case of Ma Khin Mar Htoo (Chapter 17), the girl whose life she remembered was nicknamed "Kalamagyi" because of her dark complexion. Ma Khin Mar Htoo, however, was distinctly fair for a Burmese person. The third of these examples occurred in the case of Sujith Lakmal Jayaratne. Informants stated that Sujith's complexion was notably darker than that of Sammy Fernando, whose life Sujith remembered.

EXTREME DEGREES OF PIGMENTARY ABNORMALITIES ATTRIBUTED TO PREVIOUS LIVES

In this section I describe a group of subjects who were identified as having been Englishmen or Americans in a previous life. Informants identified them in this way by dreams, by what the subjects themselves said, or by their unusual behavior; some cases showed only one or two of these features. The subjects were

[2]The case of Marta Lorenz also illustrates the apparent bonding force of friendship. Marta remembered the life of Sinhá de Oliveira, who had been a close friend, but not a relative, of Marta's mother. Another perhaps parallel case is that of Maung Khin Ohn (described in Chapter 21). He was identified as the reincarnation of a distant relative of Maung Khin Ohn's father, who had befriended him when other members of the family had rejected him.

all extremely fair in hair and skin complexion; and most of them had light-colored irides. They also had ocular symptoms: nystagmus, photophobia, and myopia. In short, they were albinos. In families of more than three children, there were always (with one exception) two or more blond children.

Some Relevant Information about Albinism

As I explained in earlier sections of this chapter, the brown or black coloration of skin derives from the presence in the epidermis of granules of a black pigment, melanin. Most cases of albinism result from a congenital deficiency of the enzyme tyrosinase, which is essential for the production of melanin from its precursor tyrosine.

At least 11 different types of oculocutaneous albinism can be distinguished (Witkop, 1985). Of these, the tyrosinase-negative and tyrosinase-positive types are the most important. I believe the subjects of the cases I report in this chapter are tyrosinase-positive albinos.

The insufficiency of light-screening pigment in the eye leads to photophobia and impaired vision, particularly from myopia. Albinos also have anomalous nerve tracts in the visual pathways of the brain, and these seem to be the causal factor impairing binocular vision and producing nystagmus (Guillery, Okoro, and Witkop, 1975; Witkop, Quevedo, and Fitzpatrick, 1983). Ocular symptoms develop in almost all cases of albinism.

Among patients with tyrosinase-positive albinism, the degree of deficiency of tyrosinase (or its activity) varies widely, as do, concomitantly, the severity of the symptoms. The cases that I describe in this chapter show this variety. For example, some of the subjects had blue or blue/gray irides whereas others had greenish or brown irides. Similarly, the color of the subjects' hair varied from nearly white to shades of straw, golden, red, and brown. Investigators of albinism have noted this wide range in pigmentation, both among Caucasians (Davenport and Davenport, 1910; Witkop, 1971) and Negroes (Pipkin and Pipkin, 1942).

As far back as the first decade of this century Karl Pearson and his colleagues undertook an extensive study of the inheritance of albinism (Pearson, Nettleship, and Usher, 1911). Geneticists now believe, from substantial evidence, that tyrosinase-positive albinism is inherited as an autosomal recessive condition. Witkop and his colleagues stated that tyrosinase-positive and tyrosinase-negative albinism were genetically different (Witkop, Van Scott, and Jacoby, 1961). Nevertheless, W.O.G. Taylor (1983) reported a family in which the mother had tyrosinase-negative albinism, but all four of her children were definitely tyrosinase-positive albinos who showed progressive increases in pigmentation as they grew up. The status of the father in this family was unclear; his pigmentation was fair, but normal. Taylor in considering alternative interpretations of these cases stated: "It is suggested...that [members of] the family show phenotypical variation—some difference at the level of the cellular environment to account for the variation in pigment metabolism [among the different members of the kindred]" (p. 321). Castronuovo et al. (1991)

reported a kindred with a wide variety of albinotic signs. In their words "the degree of heterogeneity in expression of albinotic features was unexpected" (Castronuovo et al., 1991, p. 419). Cheong, King, and Bateman (1992) reported the case of a brother and sister who had all the usual signs of oculocutaneous albinism, except that the brother had nystagmus and the sister did not. Some readers may think me captious for drawing attention to the anomalous cases that I have mentioned in this paragraph, but I believe we should follow the rule that an "observer...will have his eyes as it were opened, that they may be struck at once with any occurrence which, according to received theories, ought not to happen; for these are the facts which serve as clews to new discoveries" (Herschel, 1840, p. 99).

The cases that I describe in the following pages suggest the possibility that a psychical factor (from a discarnate personality) may influence the cellular environment to which Taylor referred and thus contribute to the occurrence of albinism with phenotypical variations.

The prevalence of albinism varies somewhat between different countries. Witkop (1985, p. 79) put it at 1 in 37,000 (for tyrosinase-positive albinism) in the United States. For all types of albinism the prevalence (also in the United States) would be about 1 in 20,000. Froggatt (1960, p. 223) estimated a higher prevalence in Northern Ireland—about 1 in 11,500 (of all types of albinism). Inbreeding in isolated communities can lead to much higher prevalences. For example, Keeler (1964) estimated the prevalence among the Cuna Indians of the San Blas Province of Panama at 1 in 167. Woolf and Dukepoo (1969) reported a prevalence of 1 in 231 among the very much inbred Hopi Indians of Arizona. C. R. Scott (1982) found an even higher prevalence—1 in 92—among the people of a particularly isolated village in the state of Oaxaca, Mexico. As we might expect with a rare recessive disorder, the prevalence of consanguineous marriages is higher among parents generating albinos than in the general population. In Northern Ireland there was an incidence of about 11% of consanguineous marriages in families with albino children compared with an estimated incidence of less than 1% of such marriages in the general population (Froggatt, 1960, p. 224).

I have not found a report giving the prevalence of albinism in Burma, where most of the cases I investigated occurred. I conjecture, however, that although it would be far less than the prevalences found in isolated groups of North and Central American Indians, it would be somewhat greater than that in Europe and the United States. I say this because in Burma, unlike India, there is no ban on village endogamy, and although there seems to be little or no marriage among first or known cousins, there is almost bound to be some consanguinity among many Burmese villagers who marry another person of the same village.

The Mongolian Eye

I referred earlier to the Burmese as an Indo-Chinese people. Their language belongs to the Sino-Tibetan branch of the Sinitic languages, and this reflects their membership in the Mongolian race. Most Burmese, but not all, have

Mongolian eyes. All but two (Maung Aye and Ma Par) of the principal subjects of the (Burmese) cases who were albinos had Caucasian eyes. I think it important, therefore, to include here a brief discussion of the differences between these two forms of eyes.

We should abandon two myths about Mongolian eyes. First, they are reputed to be slanted and cartoonists often depict them in that way. Gifford (1928) suggested that the belief in a slanting of the Mongolian eye arose because slanting eyes were considered attractive, at least in Japan, and actors tended to exaggerate a slant with makeup. In fact, Mongolian eyes do not slant more than Caucasian ones.

It is also wrong to think that Mongolian eyes always have an epicanthic fold. (This feature, common in persons with Down's syndrome, led to that condition being for long named "mongolism.") A complete epicanthic fold is not an invariable characteristic of the Mongolian eye, although a rudimentary one "seems to be much more common among Mongolians than with other races" (Gifford, 1928, p. 893).

The distinctive characteristics of the Mongolian eye are: first, the palpebral fissure (between the lids) is narrower than in the Caucasian eye; and second, the sulcus orbitopalpebris superior (the crease that appears in the upper eyelid when the eyes are open) is minimally developed or absent in the Mongolian eye. (These two features may not be independent.) Some Mongolian eyes have a third feature, that of a somewhat triangular shape or "almond eye," which results when the palpebral fissure is wide in the inner half and narrowed laterally.

Figures 22-10 and 22-11 will make these distinctions clearer. They are of the same young woman, a Thai, who wished to have her eyes changed from the Mongolian type to the Caucasian type. A plastic surgeon skillfully fulfilled her request, and the late Professor Kloom Vajropala, who knew of my interest in the form of eyes, kindly obtained for me copies of photographs of the young woman's eyes before and after surgery. Readers will note that after the surgery the woman's palpebral fissures were wider and the upper eyelids had a distinct sulcus.

Figures 22-12 through 22-15 show photographs of four Burmese persons each of whom showed the principal features of the Mongolian eye to which I wish to draw attention. I selected these photographs because they showed these features. Readers can find additional photographs of Burmese subjects who show the Mongolian eye in other sections of this work. Subjects (or other persons) of this group include Ma Aye Aye (sister of Maung Sein Hla Tun, whose case report occurs later in this chapter), Maung Soe Tun, and Maung Win Hla (both in Chapter 24).

I wish to emphasize that not all Burmese people have Mongolian eyes. They are properly called an Indo-Chinese people, and their features as well as their complexions are intermediate between those of Chinese and Indian peoples. (The Mongolian eye is seen much more uniformly among Thais.) Figure 22-25 shows U Tin Aung, a Burman whose eyes were not of the Mongolian form.

Also, I wish to disclaim infallibility in judging whether someone has a Mongolian eye or a Caucasian one. I think I can easily distinguish the extreme

Figure 22-10 Thai woman before plastic surgery showing typical Mongolian eye.

Figure 22-11 The Thai woman shown in Figure 22-10 after plastic surgery. Note that the palpebral fissures have become wider and the sulcus of the superior eyelid is well defined. The eyes show the Caucasian form.

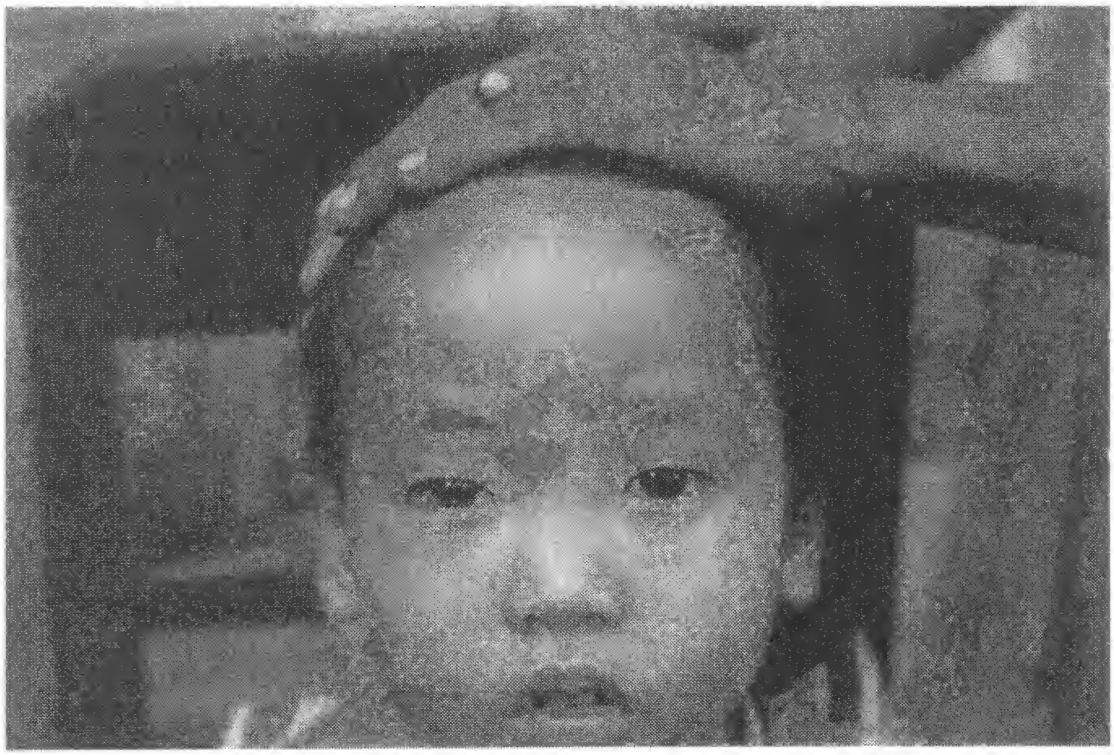

Figure 22-12 Male child of Burma showing relatively narrow palpebral fissures and poorly defined sulcus in the upper eyelids. A slight epicanthic fold can be seen.

Figure 22-13 Burmese girl showing relatively narrow palpebral fissures and absence of sulci in the superior eyelids.

Figure 22-14 Burmese girl showing narrow palpebral fissures and absence of sulci in the superior eyelids. There are suggestions of epicanthic folds.

Figure 22-15 Young Burmese man showing narrow palpebral fissures and absence of sulci in the superior eyelids.

forms of each type of eye; but in some eyes of intermediate form judgment becomes subjective.

Because I did not at first appreciate the importance for these cases of studying the forms of the subjects' eyes, I failed to take close-up photographs of their eyes in many instances.

Further Preliminary Remarks about Pigmentary Features and Memories of Previous Lives

I have conducted no survey, but I am sure that only a small fraction of albinos in India and Burma have claimed to remember previous lives or had previous lives attributed to them by their parents. I have from time to time noticed albinos on the streets or highways, and then—sometimes against the protests of my associates—have stopped to ask them whether they had any memories of a previous life. To interest me these could be imaged memories or behavioral ones. The answers were always negative. I have included a brief report of one such case, that of Nathu Ram, after the reports of the albinos to whom I was directed because they identified themselves or someone else identified them as having had a previous life.

Just as there are albinos in Burma and India who do not claim to remember a previous life as a European or American, so there are subjects—in Burma, India, and Sri Lanka—who do make such claims but who have normal pigmentation for their countries. I have published a report of one such case—that of Ranjith Makalanda—and plan to publish reports of two others—Vinita Jha and Channa Gunawardena—in a later work.

CASE REPORTS

THE CASE OF BAJRANG BAHADUR SAXENA

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Bajrang Bahadur Saxena was born in 1918[3] in Bareilly, Uttar Pradesh, India. His parents were Ram Charan Lal and his wife, Sudama Kunwar. B. B. Saxena, as I shall call him in this report, was the fourth child (and third son) in a family that eventually had four sons and four daughters. Ram Charan Lal was a scrivener and law clerk. He and his wife belonged to the subcaste of Kayasths.

B. B. Saxena was born with blond hair, virtually white, and a pink complexion, quite lacking in the usual dark pigmentation of the skins found in nearly all Indians. His irides, however, were brown. Figures 22-16 and 22-17 show him as he

[3]I am far from asserting that this date is accurate. B. B. Saxena believed that he was born in 1918, but a Hindu calendar in his possession gave the year of his birth as 1920. In 1971 he told me that the certified date of his birth was June 25, 1920; he took this date from a school certificate. (*continued*)

was when a child of about 7 or 8. Two other children of the family were also blonds, a younger brother (Brij Bahadur Saxena) and a younger sister; the latter died in infancy at the age of 2 or 3. Figure 22-18 shows B. B. Saxena in 1969 with his wife (of normal pigmentation for an Indian) and his younger brother, Brij Bahadur, of whom I shall say more in a later section of this report. The blond brothers dyed their hair in adulthood so as not to appear conspicuous among other Indians.

B. B. Saxena also had two prominent birthmarks on his neck (Figure 22-20) and head (Figure 22-21), and I shall describe these later.

He started speaking coherently when he was about 1½ years old, and he began to refer to a previous life when he was between 3 and 4 years old. While he was still in the phase of referring to the previous life (and showing pertinent unusual behavior), his case came to the attention of K.K.N. Sahay, a lawyer of Bareilly, whose son, Jagdish Chandra, had remembered a previous life. K.K.N. Sahay investigated his son's case (of which I published a full report elsewhere), and he then went on to study at least 13 other cases. He published accounts of seven of these in a small booklet, privately printed in (probably) 1927 (Sahay, c. 1927).[4]

The report of B. B. Saxena's case that K.K.N. Sahay published is the shortest of the seven reports in his booklet. This is partly because the case had no verifiable details and partly because B. B. Saxena's parents believed that he should not remember a previous life and possibly prevented him from stating more details about his memories than have been preserved.[5] In his brief summary of the case Sahay (c. 1927) lamented this suppression, and I cannot introduce the reader to its essential details bet-

[3](*continued*) This may well be false. The Kayasths frequently enter the Indian civil service, and it is convenient for them to seem officially younger than they are, because they can then work until they are older before compulsory retirement. Kayasth parents sometimes arrange to have their sons' years of birth "adjusted" when they are still young.

K.K.N. Sahay published B. B. Saxena's year of birth as 1918, but in the photograph of subjects of cases (Figure 22-16) that he had taken before the publication of his booklet (itself undated, but almost certainly published in 1927) B. B. Saxena appears to look only about 6 or 7 years old, certainly not 9. I remain in doubt about the exact date of his birth. Unlike some other cases, in the present case the exact date of the subject's birth does not seem important.

The official birth date of B. B. Saxena's younger brother, Brij Bahadur (whose minor case bears on his brother's), is even more obviously false. His school certificate states that he was born in 1930. Yet he is mentioned in K.K.N. Sahay's report of B. B. Saxena's case (from which I shall quote below), and therefore he must have been born in 1926 or, at the latest, in 1927.

[4]Many years later I was able (with much help from Dr. Satwant Pasricha) to extend the investigations of five of the seven cases that Sahay had reported in his booklet and of several others of which he had not published reports. These cases include, in addition to B. B. Saxena's case, those of Jagdish Chandra, Bishen Chand Kapoor, Brij Chandra Saran, and Bir Sahai.

[5]As I have mentioned elsewhere, most parents of northern India and Burma believe that a child who remembers a previous life may become ill and perhaps die young. A wide variety of measures are used to stop children from speaking about previous lives. B. B. Saxena's older sister, Munni Devi, told me their parents consulted "saints" and gave her brother some medicines in order to help him forget his memories. Nearly all the subjects of these cases spontaneously stop speaking about the previous lives remembered between the ages of 5 and 8; and credit may go to the measures used that is not deserved (Stevenson and Chadha, 1990).

Figure 22-16 Group of subjects who remembered previous lives whose cases K.K.N. Sahay investigated. The photograph was taken in about 1927. B. B. Saxena is the blond boy, wearing a dhoti, seated at the extreme right. At the extreme left is Bishen Chand Kapoor. Next to him (second from the left) is Jagdish Chandra (K.K.N. Sahay's son). The girl is Hira Koer. (Courtesy of Jagdish Chandra.)

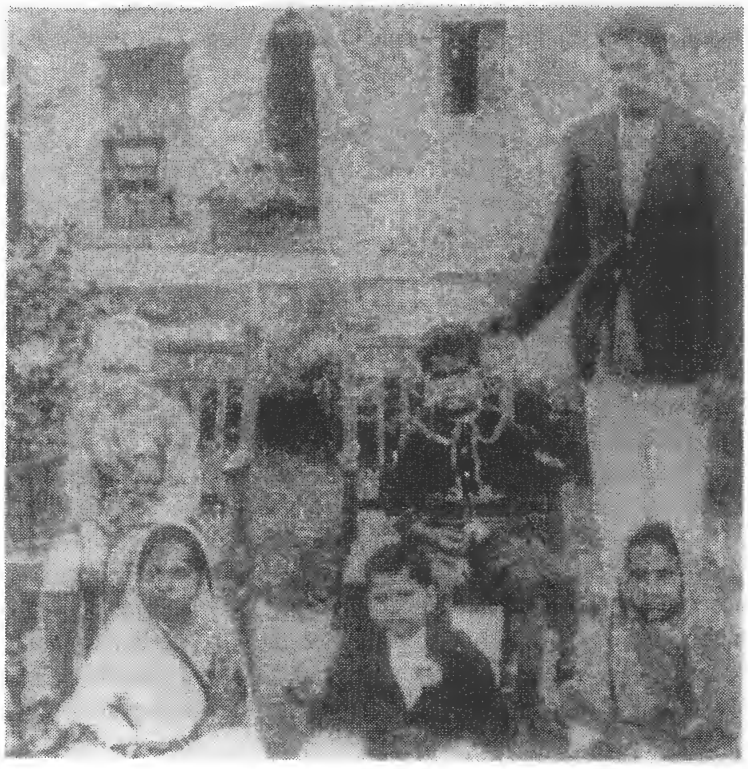

Figure 22-17 Another group of subjects who remembered previous lives. K.K.N. Sahay published this photograph in his booklet (Sahay, c. 1927), and the photograph, like that of Figure 22-16, was presumably taken shortly before the booklet was published. Four of the subjects also appear in Figure 22-16. The young man standing is Brij Chandra Saran, to whose case I refer in Chapter 10. B. B. Saxena (seated on a chair on the left) was wearing boys' shorts on this occasion, instead of a dhoti. Jagdish Chandra is seated on the other chair, and the boy seated in front is Bishen Chand Kapoor. (Courtesy of Jagdish Chandra.)

Figure 22-18 B. B. Saxena as he appeared in 1969, when he was about 51 years old. His younger brother, Brij Bahadur, is seated to the left of B. B. Saxena's wife, Vidaya Vibha. Both the men had dyed their hair, but their complexions can be seen to be much fairer than that of Vidaya Vibha.

ter than by quoting an extract from Sahay's report. (In order to aid readers I have edited it considerably without changing any meanings.) After giving B. B. Saxena's name, the name of his father, and the year of his birth (1918), Sahay continued:

> His father and mother are all of swarthy colour but he is very white, and has grey hair and hasel [sic] eyes like Englishmen. He has two round scars [birthmarks] like those of a bullet, one on the right side of the neck and the other on his skull. He knew his story [memories of the previous life] up to last year [probably 1925 or 1926] when he narrated it to B. Shakambri Das Singi, Zamindar [landlord] of Zakati Mohalla [quarter], Bareilly. Now he has forgotten it.
>
> He used to take his meals with a knife and fork up to the age of four, used to play frogleap and other peculiar games. He playfully walked in military fashion and gave cautions [military orders].
>
> He [said that he] had two other brothers and a mother. He gives his name as Arthur, and says that he was a white soldier who died in the German war [World War I]. His father had died long ago. His age at the time of death was 28.
>
> A second son was born to Ram Charan Lal [B. B. Saxena's father], who was also white [this was Brij Bahadur Saxena]. Bajrang [B. B. Saxena] said that he [Brij Bahadur] was his second brother [of the previous life].

> His father and mother are old type people who firmly believe that such remembrance shortens life. They do not know English. They did not disclose the facts when the boy began to give them out. It is a pity that such a good and instructive case has been spoiled by superstition. (p. 21)

Sahay's booklet (or the information in it) came to the attention of an English family called Phillips, and an adult male member of the family visited the Saxenas with a view to adopting B. B. Saxena. The visitor explained that he had lost a brother in the fighting of the World War (World War I); the brother had been killed with a bullet wound in the neck while riding a horse in a battle. This last detail was not included in Sahay's report, but was remembered by Munni Devi (B. B. Saxena's older sister) as one of her brother's statements about the previous life. Munni Devi did not learn (or remember) whether Mr. Phillips's brother was named Arthur; but it was evident that Mr. Phillips believed B. B. Saxena to be his brother reborn.

Munni Devi, who was my informant for the visit from this Mr. Phillips, had already married and was away from home when he came to the family. (She was thus a secondhand witness of the visit and proposed transaction; however, after she married, she returned home every 2 or 3 months and would have learned about Mr. Phillips's visit soon after he came.) B. B. Saxena was, she thought, about 8 years old at the time. Mr. Phillips offered to give Ram Charan Lal a pension for life, if he would allow him to adopt B. B. Saxena, but Ram Charan Lal refused this offer. B. B. Saxena did not recognize Mr. Phillips as anyone known to him from the previous life.

After this episode, there were no further developments in the case (except perhaps B. B. Saxena's marriage, which I shall mention later) until 1961. At that time he was brought to my attention by H. N. Banerjee, who had learned his whereabouts from K.K.N. Sahay's son, Jagdish Chandra.

In the meantime, B. B. Saxena had grown up, graduated as a bachelor from Agra University, earned an M.A. degree, studied journalism, married, and moved to Delhi. He was working there as a journalist—one of moderate prominence—during the years I knew him.

In August 1961 I had the first of numerous interviews with B. B. Saxena in Delhi. I met him again in 1964 and on six more occasions between 1969 and 1977. (Eventually, he became one of the subjects of these cases whom I have known best.) The late Francis Story, Dr. Jamuna Prasad, and Dr. L. P. Mehrotra assisted in the investigation of the case.

It happened that in the 1960s three of B. B. Saxena's siblings were living and available to be interviewed. I have already mentioned his younger brother, Brij Bahadur, who was also blond. I met him several times (in Delhi) during the 1960s and 1970s. He was not a witness for B. B. Saxena's unusual behavior when young, but their older sister and brother were. These were Munni Devi, the oldest child of the family who was born (probably) in 1908 and Shamsur Bahadur Varma, an older brother, who was born in 1910. I met the former in 1964 and

again, briefly, in 1969; I met the latter in 1969 and again, briefly, in 1971. I regard both of them as responsible informants worthy of our confidence. Munni Devi was probably between 13 and 18 during the peak of her brother's statements and behavior related to the previous life. Shamsur Bahadur, being 2 years younger than Munni Devi, was between 11 and 16 during the same years of the major events in the case. Both seemed to have preserved strong memories of these events, and their accounts (given independently) were closely similar when they referred to the same aspects of the case.

B. B. Saxena's wife, Vidaya Vibha, was a helpful informant with regard to the persistence in her husband of certain "British" traits that K.K.N. Sahay mentioned and that I shall describe later.

Persons Interviewed during the Investigation

In Delhi I interviewed:

Bajrang Bahadur Saxena
Vidaya Vibha Saxena, B. B. Saxena's wife
Brij Bahadur Saxena, younger brother of B. B. Saxena

In Bareilly, Uttar Pradesh, I interviewed:

Munni Devi, older sister of B. B. Saxena
Shamsur Bahadur Varma, older brother of B. B. Saxena (They were full brothers; the name *Varma* is a surname sometimes taken by Kayasths, *Saxena* being another.)

Relevant Facts of Geography and Other Background Information

Since B. B. Saxena was claiming as a young child that he had been an English soldier, although his parents were pure Indians, I shall give here some information about Bareilly, where they lived.

Bareilly is a substantial city, and the principal one, of a large district in western Uttar Pradesh. In the 1920s it was the site of a British Army cantonment. Riots occurred there in the late 1920s, and B. B. Saxena recalled seeing British troops parading in Bareilly to overawe the populace. Ordinarily, however, the British would not have been conspicuous in the city of Bareilly. In the Bareilly of the 1920s there would have been, in addition to the troops, some British administrative officers and other civil servants and probably a few European businessmen. However, the European community must have been tiny compared to the population of Indians. The British and Indian communities had almost no social contacts, and these would not have included clerks like Ram Charan Lal. Neither he nor his wife could speak English. Munni Devi recalled that her family used to go to a fair that was held near the cantonment in Bareilly, and they would see Europeans there. She said this in a way that implied that otherwise the family rarely saw Europeans. B. B. Saxena's older brother Shamsur Bahadur said that the family had no friends

among the British. B. B. Saxena told me that his father, as a law clerk, had some contact with British judges. (His father could not speak English, but the judges would have spoken Hindi.) He said that his father had no interest in politics, and his attitude toward the British was that he wished to "stay out of their way."

Additional Statements about the Previous Life Made by B. B. Saxena

B. B. Saxena's older sister and brother remembered that as a young child he made some statements additional to those recorded by K.K.N. Sahay. These were the following:

He had been a captain in the Army. He had an English wife. They lived in a house with a kitchen and employed a cook. (These details contrasted with the situation in B. B. Saxena's modest home, where his mother did the cooking in a room that also served as the dining room; his family had no separate kitchen and employed no cook.) He was on horseback during a battle when a bullet struck him in the neck.[6] B. B. Saxena gave no family name of the previous life, and he did not say where he and his wife had lived or where the battle in which he remembered being killed had taken place. (It could not have been in India, because no battles of World War I were fought there.)

B. B. Saxena's older sister and brother did not say that he had ever referred to the second birthmark that he had at the top of his head. Nor did they themselves mention it in their testimony to me, although K.K.N. Sahay had referred to it in his report. Munni Devi specifically said that she remembered only one birthmark on her brother. Perhaps it was easily forgotten because B. B. Saxena's hair would ordinarily have covered it.

B. B. Saxena's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

In this section I shall use information in K.K.N. Sahay's report together with what B. B. Saxena's older sister and brother told me they remembered about his unusual behavior as a child.

B. B. Saxena's Play at Being a Soldier and Other Unusual Play. K.K.N. Sahay mentioned B. B. Saxena's play at being a soldier, and it had also impressed Munni Devi and Shamsur Bahadur. They recalled his practicing military exercises and giving commands, such as "Left, right," and "March." (He began such play at the age of about 3.) He used to pretend that a stick was a gun. He also asked to have a gun.

[6]Both Munni Devi and Shamsur Bahadur said that B. B. Saxena had indicated being wounded on the *left* side of the neck, although the birthmark on B. B. Saxena's neck was on the right side. They were confused about the side. Munni Devi said that B. B. Saxena had pointed to his birthmark (on the neck) when he mentioned being hit by a bullet there; and Shamsur Bahadur, when I questioned him, acknowledged that he was unsure about the side of the neck mentioned by B. B. Saxena as that on which he had received the wound.

Such play was extremely strange in B. B. Saxena's home. The subcaste of Kayasths are about as far as any group can be from the "martial races" of India, and no member of the family had been a soldier.[7]

K.K.N. Sahay mentioned that B. B. Saxena liked to play "frogleap," better known in the West as "leapfrog." This is a distinctly European game, also played in North America, but unfamiliar in India. Jagdish Chandra, K.K.N. Sahay's son, knew B. B. Saxena slightly when they were children; they were of about the same age. He told me that he had heard (perhaps from his father) that B. B. Saxena used to remain aloof from other Indian children and preferred to play a game that Jagdish Chandra called "hop, skip, and jump." This may have been a variant of the game known in the West mostly by the name *hopscotch*. It was probably one of the "peculiar games" mentioned by K.K.N. Sahay in his report of the case.

B. B. Saxena's Preferences in Clothes. As a child B. B. Saxena wished to wear shirts and short pants, and also shoes. His parents obliged him to wear conventional Indian clothes, which for a boy of his time and class would usually have meant (for the lower garment) long pajamas or a dhoti (Figure 22-16). A boy in a poor Indian family such as his would either be barefoot or wear sandals, but not likely shoes. Indian boys of this period might wear shorts, as Figure 22-16 shows, but shorts were unusual for everyday wear by boys in B. B. Saxena's family. Shamsur Bahadur recalled that B. B. Saxena once managed to get from somewhere a pair of shorts, which he put on and wore joyfully. These were perhaps the shorts that he was wearing when the photograph of Figure 22-17 was taken.

He favored white clothes over colored ones and advised his mother to wear white. (This would have been particularly inappropriate for her at the time, because the saris worn by Hindu widows are traditionally white, and other classes of women—married and unmarried—did not wear white then.)

B. B. Saxena also told his mother that her clothes were wrong in form as well as in color. His mother would have worn an Indian sari, not a European-style dress.

B. B. Saxena's Habits of Eating and Preferences in Food. Whereas nearly all Indians of the 1920s and later ate with the fingers of their right hand, B. B. Saxena called for utensils, such as a knife, fork, and spoon.

Although his family were vegetarians, he asked for meat. Although they ate *chapattis* (discs of unleavened baked wheat), he asked for bread and butter. Although his family cooked their vegetables in fat or ghee (clarified butter), he wanted his boiled in water. He liked his food bland and objected to the chilies and spices abundantly used in Indian food.

These tastes differed markedly from those of other members of his family. They were living in poor circumstances and could not indulge B. B. Saxena; so he gradually—but not entirely, as I shall describe—adapted to the food of his family.

[7]Other examples of subjects who remembered the previous lives of soldiers and engaged in playing at soldiers when young occurred in the cases of Ma Tin Aung Myo, Maung Sein Win, U Tinn Sein, Maung Aung Htoo, and Maung Hla Hsaung.

Other Behavior on the Part of B. B. Saxena Apparently Related to the Previous Life. B. B. Saxena complained of the hot weather in India, in this respect differing from his father and older brother, but resembling his younger brother (Brij Bahadur), who also complained of the hot weather.[8]

B. B. Saxena said that the neighborhood where his family lived was dirty. Munni Devi acknowledged that the Saidpuria Mohalla, where they lived, was a dirty section of Bareilly; she added, however, that B. B. Saxena, when he complained about the dirt of the area, had no basis for comparison, because at that age he had no familiarity with cleaner parts of the city.

Apart from the uncleanliness of the neighborhood, B. B. Saxena thought his family's house was "strange," and he kept looking for his "proper house." (No one said, however, that he ever tried to run away from his home, as have some other subjects of these cases.)

He expressed a longing to be with his wife. This "longing" was translated for me by the word *craving*. There may have been sexual aspects to his desire to be with the wife he said he had, but I did not explore this possibility. He also said that he wanted to see his brother of the previous life.

Toward other persons B. B. Saxena tended to adopt a domineering attitude, as if he were superior to them. His parents seem not to have found this markedly objectionable, and Munni Devi thought that B. B. Saxena had been their favorite child.

I mentioned earlier that in his play at being a soldier B. B. Saxena gave military commands. For these he used English words, but his family attached no importance to that, since English words of command were used in the (British) Indian Army, and he might have heard these. However, B. B. Saxena also spoke other words that his family did not understand. They conjectured that these might have been English or some other European language. They noticed that he learned English more easily than the average Indian child of that period.

He also objected to the family's worship of Hindu gods, such as Krishna and Rama; and he disliked going to Hindu temples. He openly said, when he was about 10 or 11, that some of the pujas (religious ceremonies) practiced in the home were "useless." He seems, however, to have expressed no greater interest in other forms of worship, such as those of the Christian church.

Munni Devi said that B. B. Saxena was "inclined to sadness" as a child. (This may have derived from his sense of being different in complexion, although also—as a Britisher—superior in status, compared with other children of his age.) He said that he felt like a stranger in the home.

B. B. Saxena showed all the foregoing behavior between the ages of 3 and 12. As he approached adulthood, he gave another expression of being a different

[8]The frequent complaints about the hot weather in India and Burma that most of the albino subjects made should not necessarily be interpreted as "European" or "American" traits. Fair-complexioned persons, and albinos particularly, are more sensitive to both light and heat than are persons with more pigmentation.

sort of person from the other members of his family. He announced that he would marry a woman of his own choice who would be an educated person. These ideas were quite contrary to what would have occurred normally when the time came for him to marry; he would have been married to a bride selected by his parents from their own subcaste and class. Attempts were made to marry him in this way, but he rejected two or three women selected for him. He remained single until he was 30. When he felt ready, he married an educated woman from a different caste whom he chose himself. (His wife, Vidaya Vibha, became a successful journalist in her own right, as well as the mother of three children.)

B. B. Saxena's Memories and Behavior in the 1960s and 1970s

When I first met B. B. Saxena in 1961, he was 43 years old (accepting 1918 as the year of his birth), and when I last met him in 1977 he was 59. During these years his attitudes toward the subjects we discussed seemed to change little, and I do not think I shall be inaccurate if in this section I combine information obtained in different years, without always mentioning the year in which I learned it.

In 1961 B. B. Saxena said that he had none of the original imaged memories of a previous life that he had had as a child. He could also still remember some occasions during his childhood when persons outside the family came to question him or, sometimes, to stare at him, as if he was a "wonder child."

During his youth and early adulthood (from 1934 to 1950), he became an ardent follower of Mahatma Gandhi, and accordingly anti-British. He then dressed as an Indian, wearing a dhoti made of the *khadi* (homespun cloth) that Gandhi advised Indians to wear instead of imported cloth woven in Great Britain. During our conversations he would from time to time express grievances against the British for such events as the Bengal famine of 1943 and the partition of India. He objected to the use of English as a national language in India. I also listened to him discourse animatedly on the merits of the Hindu caste system, but I would not regard this as specifically anti-British, since the British themselves had a class system that arguably differed less in substance than in name from the caste system of India. Despite his endorsement of the caste system of Hinduism, he expressed skepticism about reincarnation.

Although he was staunchly Indian in many of his attitudes, he also preserved several traits that seemed definitely "British," or, at any rate, unusual among Indian people. For example, he still preferred a cool climate, although his preference in this matter was weaker than it had been. He still ate bread in preference to rice, never ate chilies, and in general liked European food more than Indian food. His wife said that he preferred to use utensils in eating instead of eating with his hand, as she herself usually did. I seem not to have asked B. B. Saxena himself specifically about this preference, but I never met Vidaya Vibha in his absence, and he would have corrected her if she had been wrong in this matter.

B. B. Saxena had two other prominent traits that deserve mentioning, because they impressed my Indian colleagues (who usually accompanied me to

meetings with him). First, he was more assertive and outspoken than the average Indian. And second, he remained unperturbed in situations that would strongly excite and even unhinge most Indians. For example, he remained quite unruffled during a dangerous political riot and also following an automobile accident in which a man riding with him was killed. Such behavior evoked the idea of British *sang-froid.* He also had during these years a greater fondness for horses and dogs than have most Indians, and he had a dog as a pet, something unusual in India at the time.

In this inventory of traits I should mention that B. B. Saxena said that he (during the years of my acquaintance with him) had no interest in military matters. He also had no unusual fear of guns.

In sum, although B. B. Saxena had become fully "Indianized" in most respects, he also preserved into middle adulthood a few traits that could be described as "British" and that were appropriate to the statements he made about having previously lived as an English army officer.

B. B. Saxena's Appearance and Birthmarks

Figures 22-16 and 22-17 show that B. B. Saxena's pigmentation of hair and skin was that of a blond European person. Readers should compare his complexion as shown in Figure 22-18 with that of his wife (also shown in Figure 22-18) and that of his older brother, Shamsur Bahadur Varma, shown in Figure 22-19.

B. B. Saxena's irides were brown and did not have less pigment than those of most other Indians I have known. He could, however, be classified as having a degree of albinism, and he had some of the visual defects usually found in albinos. For example, he was somewhat sensitive to glare, and he wore dark glasses in bright sunlight. In his youth he was found to have a degree of nystagmus, but I did not notice marked nystagmus when I was with him. His eyesight had been satisfactory up until he was 22; thereafter he needed glasses to correct for myopia.

Figure 22-20 shows the birthmark on B. B. Saxena's right neck. It was a roundish area of erythema, about 2.5 centimeters in diameter. It was markedly redder than the surrounding skin. When the muscles of the neck were relaxed, the center of the birthmark was slightly depressed and the birthmark was more nearly round. (These features appear in other photographs not reproduced here.) B. B. Saxena's older sister, Munni Devi, told me that when he was born this birthmark had the appearance of exposed flesh and gave rise to some concern that it might "break out," by which I think she meant that it might become ulcerated.

The rim of lessened pallor around the more heavily pigmented central area may correspond to a rim of abraded skin that is often found around gunshot wounds of entry (Di Maio, 1985). Figure 4-13 shows such a rim of abraded tissue in a gunshot wound of entry.

Figure 22-21 shows the (probable) birthmark at the back of B. B. Saxena's head. It was on the parietal area of the right side, about 2.5 centimeters from the midline. It consisted of an area that was hairless and had even less pigment than

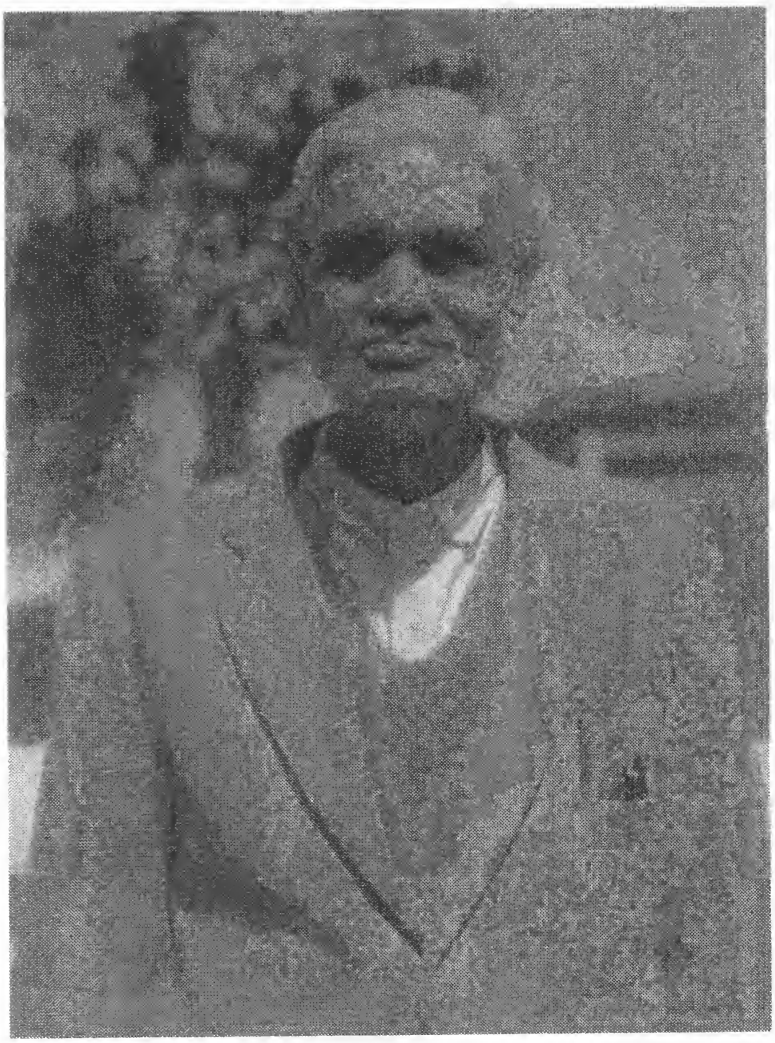

Figure 22-19 Shamsur Bahadur Varma, one of B. B. Saxena's older brothers, as he appeared in 1969, when he was 59 years old. His dark complexion was normal for Indians of northern India.

the surrounding skin. It was irregular in shape and somewhat puckered, having the appearance of a healed acquired wound. It was about 2.5 centimeters wide.

In Chapter 1 I pledged myself to mention any marks that had not been identified as birthmarks by responsible witnesses who observed them immediately after the subject's birth or soon afterward; this is such a case. We lack satisfactory evidence that the mark on the top of B. B. Saxena's head was a birthmark. K.K.N. Sahay clearly considered that it was, and he would have derived his information from Ram Charan Lal and his wife; but neither B. B. Saxena's older sister nor his older brother remembered this mark, and I think some doubt about its status must remain.

I have considered whether this second birthmark (assuming it was one) on the top of the head might correspond with a wound of exit and therefore have a connection with the birthmark on the neck, which had the roundish shape of a wound of entry. This would require the bullet to have been deflected markedly from its course after entering the neck in such a way that it came out of the head

Figure 22-20 Birthmark on the neck of B. B. Saxena, as it appeared in 1969, when he was about 51 years old. It was roundish and about 2.5 centimeters in diameter. It was an area of erythema, markedly redder than the surrounding skin. The peripheral rim of decreased pigmentation suggests a correspondence of this part of the birthmark to a rim of abraded skin such as frequently occurs around gunshot wounds of entry. Figure 4-13 shows such a wound with a rim of abraded skin.

on the same side as it entered the neck. This would be an unusual course, but not an impossible one; and Mills (1989) published a report of just such a case: that of a child with two birthmarks on the same side of the skull corresponding to bullet wounds of entry and exit confirmed by a postmortem report.

It remains possible, however, that the soldier B. B. Saxena believed he had been was wounded in more than one place of his head. This must indeed have

Figure 22-21 Probable birthmark at the back of B. B. Saxena's head, as it appeared in 1969. This mark was a hairless, puckered area of hypopigmentation, irregular in shape and about 2.5 centimeters wide. Part of the birthmark that is better seen in Figure 22-20 can be seen at the bottom of this photograph.

been a commonplace occurrence when cavalry—as we may suppose in this case—advanced against combined rifle fire and explosive shells.

Before considering other medical aspects of B. B. Saxena's case, I shall digress to consider the case—if it may be called such—of his younger brother, Brij Bahadur Saxena.

Figure 22-22 Brij Bahadur Saxena, B. B. Saxena's younger brother, as a graduating student. This photograph shows his fair complexion and near-white hair.

The Case of Brij Bahadur Saxena

Figure 22-18 shows Brij Bahadur as a middle-aged man. Figure 22-22 shows him at the time of his graduation from college and before he dyed his hair. Like his older brother he was an albino, although with a defect of pigmentation somewhat more pronounced than that of B. B. Saxena. He was myopic, and he had photophobia and a grossly visible nystagmus. And yet he also had brown irides.

Brij Bahadur never claimed to remember a previous life. However, when he was a young child he showed in a rudimentary way a few traits that could be regarded as "British." For example, he did not like chilies much, and he disliked hot weather. When young he had asked for "double roti," a food somewhat resembling English bread or an English bun. Like B. B. Saxena, he had learned to speak English easily. In adulthood he continued to prefer cold weather, but he had come to enjoy eating chilies. Apart from these few features Brij Bahadur had shown no unusual behavior, and in this respect he differed markedly from his older brother.

Brij Bahadur said that B. B. Saxena was his favorite of all his seven siblings. He remembered having a strong attachment to him from early childhood. After Brij Bahadur graduated from college in Bareilly, his father wanted him to train as a lawyer, also in Bareilly. But B. B. Saxena asked him to come to Delhi and be with him, and he did this. K.K.N. Sahay wrote that B. B. Saxena had identified Brij Bahadur as having been his second brother in the previous life that he remembered. B. B. Saxena said that Brij Bahadur was *his* favorite brother.

Their younger blond sister died before she had learned to speak coherently, and she had not manifested any behavior that might have been considered "British."

Other Relevant Medical Information

The occurrence of three blond children among eight siblings makes it possible that, in genetic terms, Ram Charan Lal and Sudama Kunwar were heterozygous for the same type of albinism and produced three homozygous blond children. The questions therefore arose of whether they were themselves in any way related and whether any other member of the family in earlier (or later) generations had been an albino.

In the Kayasth subcaste to which Ram Charan Lal and Sudama Kunwar belonged, marriage was allowed within the subcaste but strictly forbidden among known relatives. B. B. Saxena said that there could have been no cousin marriages in his family. Sudama Kunwar came from a village near Aonla, which is a small town about 32 kilometers from Bareilly. Ram Charan Lal's family had been established in Bareilly for about 100 years.

There was no history in the family of a marriage or liaison with a European.

None of my informants knew of any blond in the family other than B. B. Saxena, Brij Bahadur, and their younger sister. I recorded a genealogy of all the members of the family known to B. B. Saxena or about whom he had information. This extended back to all four of his grandparents and included eight uncles and aunts on his mother's and father's sides. He had never personally seen three of his four grandparents, but he was confident that they were not albinos. If they had been, at least one of the four children of the family whom I interviewed would surely have known and remembered the fact.

The other members of the family who were not albinos showed some minor variations in pigmentation. I could tell this from meeting two of them and from studying a group photograph of some members of the family that was taken in 1940.

Sudama Kunwar appeared in this photograph along with some of her children, including Brij Bahadur and a younger sister, Sushila (whom I did not meet). Shamsur Bahadur was definitely darker in pigmentation than Munni Devi, and I would think probably darker than their mother had been. Dr. Jamuna Prasad (himself a Kayasth), who worked with me on this case, said that Kayasths tend to be darker in complexion than other subcastes of their region, and he thought that Shamsur Bahadur had a typical Kayasth complexion. B. B. Saxena said that his father's complexion had been lighter than his mother's. He (the father) would thus have been the lightest member of the family who was not an albino. There was, therefore, a big gap between the pigmentation of those other members of the family, who showed minor variations in what would be regarded as normal pigmentation for Indians of Uttar Pradesh, and the pigmentation of the three albino members.

At the time of my visits to B. B. Saxena's home I saw his own three children, and they all had normal pigmentation for northern Indians.

Comments on the Evidence of Paranormal Processes in the Case

B. B. Saxena's statements have not been verified, and no person has been identified whose life and death corresponded to them. It is possible that he *was* the reincarnation of the brother of the Mr. Phillips who was killed with a bullet in the neck during a cavalry battle of World War I. However, this must have been a fairly common mode of death during that war; in certain campaigns of it cavalry were still used. On the other hand, B. B. Saxena's statements were all plausible so far as they went for a cavalry officer. In the light of other cases, we could suppose that a British cavalry officer had been stationed at the cantonment in Bareilly, lived there for a time with his wife, was sent with a regiment of the Indian Army to fight in Mesopotamia (now Iraq) or France, and had been killed in battle. This much is quite tenable, because a Bareilly Brigade fought in France in 1914-15 (P. Mason, 1974); and there were some cavalry troops in its division (Merewether and Smith, 1919; Willcocks, 1920). Elements of this unit had been stationed before the war at Lansdown, near Bareilly (P. Mason, personal communication, 1988). Some of the troops of the Bareilly Brigade that fought in France were later transferred to Palestine and Mesopotamia. One might further suppose that this British officer, killed in action away from India, but surviving death, tried to get back to his wife whom he had left in Bareilly and "by accident" got himself reborn in an Indian family.[9]

[9]A parallel case is that of Lalitha Abeyawardena of Sri Lanka. If her case is interpreted as one of reincarnation, it strongly suggests that the woman whose life Lalitha later remembered tried, after her death, to rejoin her brother, to whom she had been devoted, and got herself reborn, not in the brother's family, but in that of one of her brother's neighbors, Lalitha's family.

Readers may recall my conjecture for the case of Bir Sahai (Chapter 7) that Thakur Megh Singh, after dying, tried to rejoin his wife in her paternal village, which was near Saunar, and got reborn, also "by accident," in a family of Chamars.

I should like to turn away from these speculations to a matter about which I am much more certain. The simplest explanation for the case is to suppose that Ram Charan Lal and Sudama Kunwar happened to have an albino child and that, supposing that he must have been an Englishman in a previous life, they supplied him with details of such a life and fashioned his behavior to match it. After presenting the similar cases in Burma, I will address this question in the discussion at the end of the chapter. Here I will only mention a few particulars relevant to this case.

Ram Charan Lal and Sudama Kunwar cannot be reasonably supposed to have wished to develop and present to their friends the personality of a British Army officer reborn in their family. A Western observer of this case without much knowledge of India might think that such a child would have snob appeal for an Indian family; but that is not at all how the matter would have appeared to Indians. The movement for Indian independence accelerated after World War I. Many Indians believed that their contribution in fighting on the British side in that conflict had earned them the right to self-government, if not to complete independence. Bitterness toward the British increased markedly after the massacre of civilians by British soldiers in Amritsar in 1918. Gandhi's "Quit India" movement developed rapidly during the 1920s and 1930s. Ram Charan Lal, so far from gaining prestige by presuming to have a British officer reborn in his family, would have lost it.

Furthermore, it is unlikely that a person like Ram Charan Lal, who could speak no English and whose own son (Shamsur Bahadur Varma) described him as "backward," would have known enough about the British even to write out the scenario for a plausible representation of a British person by his son. His wife, a proper Hindu lady secluded by the customs of purdah, would have known far less about the British. To imagine an Indian clerk like Ram Charan Lal teaching his 3-year-old son how to strut like an English army officer and how to play leapfrog is the easiest way to finding this conjecture ridiculous.

Finally, B. B. Saxena's older sister and brother were in their teens when the supposed coaching of B. B. Saxena would have taken place (say at his ages of 2 to 5). A family of eight children were then living in a small house. Ram Charan Lal and Sudama Kunwar could not have tutored B. B. Saxena in British ways without the other children becoming aware of what was going on. Their later testimony was that, on the contrary, the parents had suppressed B. B. Saxena. (Ram Charan Lal had acknowledged this suppression to K.K.N. Sahay, but we can suppose for the purposes of this hypothesis that this was mere pretense to cover what he was really doing; thus Munni Devi's and Shamsur Bahadur's testimony on this point should have more weight.) Munni Devi put the matter succinctly when she said that B. B. Saxena "was never given a chance to think along English lines." And their brother, talking about B. B. Saxena's requests for English food, remarked that "he had no choice; he had to eat chapattis, but he demanded toast and meat."

Before concluding the report of B. B. Saxena's case, I shall discuss briefly one further feature of the case: his birthmarks. We can set aside the mark on the back of B. B. Saxena's head (Figure 22-21) on the grounds that the testimony for

its congenitality is weak. However, the mark on the right side of B. B. Saxena's neck (Figure 22-20) has a different status. Both his older sister and older brother testified to its having been present when he was born. Moreover, he himself pointed to it as the place where, in the previous life, he had received a fatal bullet wound. (It is almost certain that he would have done this before he could have seen the birthmark in a mirror, although it might have been pointed out to him by his parents or older siblings.) This birthmark in its size and roundness corresponds well with the wound of entry that a bullet usually makes. We must account for it in some way, and unless we fall back on the hypothesis that it just happened to occur by chance, we can consider reincarnation a possible explanation for it.

THE CASE OF MAUNG ZAW WIN AUNG

Introduction

Before presenting the first of the several recent cases of blonds in Burma who remembered previous lives as Englishmen or Americans, I will provide short accounts of similar cases reported long before my own investigations in Burma began.

Crawford (1827) published the first report of albinos in Burma of which I am aware. In his "Account of Mr. Crawford's Mission to Ava" he wrote:

> Albinos occur, now and then, among the Burmese, as among other races of men. We saw two examples: one of these, a young man of twenty, was born of Burmese parents. They were ashamed of him, and considering him little better than a European, they made him over to the Portuguese clergyman. The reverend father, in due course, made him a christian. (p. 368)

The first claim known to me that a blond child born in Burma was the reincarnation of a European occurred in the 1890s. The account of this case is said to have appeared first in the *Rangoon Gazette* (without a date given). After passage through a magazine the report was published by Dayanand (1947), as follows:

> Mr. Tucker, Deputy Police Superintendent [of] Pegu [a large town 65 kilometers north of Rangoon], was hacked to pieces by dacoits on August 20, 1894. A boy was born between 2 and 3 years afterwards of Burmese parents...; he bore on his body marks of wounds similar to those inflicted on Mr. Tucker, was short of the right little finger, cut off in the murder, and was fair and blue-eyed. Taken to Pegu he pointed out a bungalow he had lived in, spoke by name of some English friends of Mr. Tucker, described the murder, and pointed out Mr. Tucker's grave in the cemetery, which he had not previously visited.

In 1907 a second, somewhat similar, case was reported from Rangoon. An account of the case was transmitted to Europe, where it appeared in at least one European newspaper, *Le Journal*, on September 18, 1907. I learned about this case from Delanne (1924) and subsequently studied the original report in *Le Journal* at the Bibliothèque Nationale. The report included the following details.

In 1903 a British Army officer, Major Welsh, took two companions for an excursion in a boat on the lake at Meiktila. The boat capsized, and all three persons in it drowned. A few years later, a 3-year-old boy, the son of Burmese parents, began to tell his parents that he had been Major Welsh. He gave details of Major Welsh's home and activities and an accurate account of how Major Welsh and his companions had perished in the boating accident several years earlier.

In 1925, 18 years after this first report of the case, another report of it appeared in a French spiritualist magazine (Forthuny, 1925). This second report stated that Major Welsh and his companions had drowned in 1904, not 1903. It added the following details: The child had blue eyes and blond hair, and, being the son of Burmese parents, his physical appearance was quite startling. The boy and his parents lived near Meiktila.

This later report gave as its source, not the earlier report in *Le Journal* (which said nothing about blue eyes and blond hair), but a despatch from the *Rangoon Times*. Thinking that a report in the *Rangoon Times* would have been published shortly before the publication in *Le Journal*, I examined at the British Library all the issues of that newspaper for August and September 1907; but I failed to find any report of the case. (I think that I should have extended the search farther back in the newspaper files.)

At the time I learned about this old case in Meiktila, in the middle 1960s, I was still studying that of B. B. Saxena. I avow that I found it perplexing, and I had serious qualms about publishing a report of it. I thought that a parallel case, if one could be found, would enhance the credibility of B. B. Saxena's case. In this state of hesitation, it occurred to me that the subject of the old Meiktila case (although no exact date of birth had been given for him) was perhaps still alive and traceable. If he was about 3 years old in 1907, he was born in 1904, and in the late 1960s when I began to have these thoughts, he would only have been in his mid-60s. Accordingly, I wrote to Dr. R. L. Soni of Mandalay (with whom I had been put in touch by the late Francis Story) and asked him whether he could send someone to Meiktila, which is 120 kilometers south of Mandalay, to make inquiries there about a blond man who, as a child, had claimed to be the British Major Welsh reborn.

Dr. Soni said that he would make this effort. After some months he wrote again to say that he had not been able to find the man said to be the reincarnation of Major Welsh, but he had learned about another blond Burmese subject who claimed to remember a previous life. This was Maung Zaw Win Aung. A friend of Dr. Soni, U Hla Bu, who was a government officer stationed in Meiktila, was acquainted with Maung Zaw Win Aung and his family—they were near neighbors—and he notified Dr. Soni about this comparatively new case.

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Maung Zaw Win Aung was born in Meiktila, Upper Burma, on May 9, 1950. His parents were U Tin Aung and his wife, Daw Kyin Htwe. He was their first child; they eventually had 12 children. U Tin Aung was a schoolteacher, and, at the time I was studying this case, he was headmaster of a primary school in Meiktila.

Maung Zaw Win Aung was an extreme blond and should be regarded as having had a moderately severe form of albinism. Three of his younger siblings were also albinos, and I shall say something about them later.

When Maung Zaw Win Aung was about 2½ years old, he went to live with paternal aunts either in Pyuntaza or the nearby town of Daik-U; but he often returned to Meiktila to visit his parents.[10]

Maung Zaw Win Aung began to speak between the ages of 2 and 3, and almost immediately he began to talk about a previous life, saying that he had been an American aviator whose airplane was shot down and crashed near Meiktila. He talked frequently about the previous life until he was about 12. At the same time he showed a group of behaviors that were unusual in his family, but that could be considered typically "Western."

After completing high school, Maung Zaw Win Aung entered Rangoon University, and he was a medical student there when I first met him in 1970.

Dr. Soni recorded the first information on the case in 1969. After he learned about it from U Hla Bu in Meiktila, he sent an assistant there to make further inquiries. He included some preliminary information about the case in letters that he wrote to me in June 1969. In December 1969 Dr. Soni and his daughter, Sujata Soni, went to Meiktila and began to obtain firsthand information from Maung Zaw Win Aung and his parents.

A year later, in 1970, I made my first visit to Burma. I met Maung Zaw Win Aung in Rangoon and his parents in Meiktila in December of that year. On that occasion I drove from Mandalay to Meiktila with Sujata Soni, who acted as my interpreter. On subsequent visits that I made to Meiktila U Win Maung accompanied me, and we usually spent 2 or 3 nights there. On four of these visits to Meiktila between 1972 and 1977, we met one or both of Maung Zaw Win Aung's parents again. I met Maung Zaw Win Aung himself four more times between 1971 and 1978. In 1971 I met his two paternal aunts who had raised him from early childhood.

During my first two meetings with Maung Zaw Win Aung, U Tin Tut (later the Ven. U Dhammadara) interpreted for me. Subsequently, U Win Maung was my interpreter with Maung Zaw Win Aung, as he was for most of my interviews with other informants for the case.

[10]Burmese parents often lend or give children to relatives who have fewer or no children of their own. This practice implies no rejection of the children given away on the part of the parents. On the contrary, it is an expression of affection for the childless relatives, permitting them to have the joy of a child in the home.

I have not met Maung Zaw Win Aung or any other member of his family since 1978. In 1985, however, Daw Hnin Aye met Daw Kyin Htwe and obtained some additional information about Maung Zaw Win Aung's later life and about other members of the family.

Persons Interviewed during the Investigation

In Rangoon I interviewed:
Maung Zaw Win Aung

In Meiktila I interviewed:
U Tin Aung, Maung Zaw Win Aung's father
Daw Kyin Htwe, Maung Zaw Win Aung's mother
U Hla Bu, government official and neighbor of U Tin Aung

In or near Pyuntaza I interviewed:
Daw Hla, U Tin Aung's sister and Maung Zaw Win Aung's aunt
Daw Kyin Sein, U Tin Aung's sister and Maung Zaw Win Aung's aunt

Both with Dr. Soni and in my own interviews, U Tin Aung said rather little. He seemed to prefer to let his wife do most of the talking.

In Meiktila, U Hla Bu was a useful informant for background information. He had lived in Meiktila for many years.

Relevant Facts of Geography and History

Meiktila is in Upper Burma, about 120 kilometers south of Mandalay. It is located on a large lake and is a commercial and transportation center of importance for an extensive region. During World War II its possession was fiercely contested in the first months of 1945 between the advancing British Army and the slowly retreating Japanese one. (See Appendix B.) Before and during this campaign American bombers flying from Hastings Mills, near Calcutta in West Bengal, India, harassed the Japanese, who sometimes shot them down. U Hla Bu recalled hearing about one American military airplane that had been shot down near Meiktila by the Japanese. Lt. Col. Howard Wright, who had been among the American pilots engaged in bombing the Japanese, furnished me with information about the campaign from the perspective of a participating American aviator; he remembered that one of his friends, flying a P-40 fighter-bomber, had been shot down near Meiktila. (I have no evidence suggesting that the airplane this pilot flew was the same as that mentioned by U Hla Bu, and it is probable that more than one or two airplanes were shot down near Meiktila.) Pilots or other crew members who happened to survive a crash landing behind the Japanese lines were luckless, because the Japanese soldiers often tortured and killed them (E. F. L. Russell, 1958).

Pyuntaza, U Tin Aung's native town, is nearly 500 kilometers from Meiktila. It is about 135 kilometers northeast of Rangoon.

Statements Made by Maung Zaw Win Aung

Because I think Maung Zaw Win Aung spoke first and most about the previous life with his aunts in Pyuntaza (with whom he was staying when he began speaking), I shall first describe what Daw Kyin Sein remembered his having said about the previous life. I shall then mention some additional details of his statements that Daw Hla (his other aunt whom I interviewed) and his mother, Daw Kyin Htwe, remembered.

According to Daw Kyin Sein, Maung Zaw Win Aung said that he was an American aviator who had been piloting an airplane that was shot down by antiaircraft fire. Another man was in the airplane with him. He did not state a name of the aviator or the place in America from which he had come. He said he had plenty of money and good clothes with shoes. (The last detail would be an important one in Burma, where young children go barefoot or wear sandals, but almost never wear shoes.)

To the foregoing statements, Daw Hla added that Maung Zaw Win Aung frequently spoke about the second man in the airplane, and he sometimes inquired about him (as if perhaps *he* had been reborn and could be found somewhere.) Asked whether the two men in the airplane were related, Maung Zaw Win Aung gave varying answers; sometimes he spoke of the other man as his brother, at other times as his friend. He also mentioned how he used to drink alcohol, and he described a scene of sitting on benches by the bank of a river, where he (presumably with friends) drank, whistled, sang, and shouted.

Daw Kyin Htwe remembered that Maung Zaw Win Aung had said that he was in an airplane that was shot down by the Japanese and crashed near Meiktila; he survived the crash and was then killed by the Japanese. He said that he had been bombing. He told his mother that the airplane had a crew of two and that he was not the pilot; the pilot was hit by Japanese gunfire, and they then crashed near Meiktila.

Maung Zaw Win Aung seems never to have mentioned to his mother that he (in the previous life) had been drinking while flying his missions, but she mentioned that he had said this to his aunts. (Daw Kyin Sein and Daw Hla did not mention "drinking while bombing" as among Maung Zaw Win Aung's statements to them; however, I did not ask them a direct question about the detail.)

When Maung Zaw Win Aung was about 3 years old, he asked his mother to call him "John Steven." He did not state to her the name of any place in America where he had lived.

Comment. Dr. Soni told me that the Burmese language does not distinguish types of aviators, such as a pilot and navigator or bomber. The discrepancies in the statements of the informants—as translated to me—concerning whether the previous personality was or was not the pilot of the airplane may have arisen from

this deficiency of vocabulary. If we are guided by Maung Zaw Win Aung's play as a young child, the previous personality had been the pilot of the airplane, and this was Maung Zaw Win Aung's own conclusion (in 1971) from remembering how he played as a child.

Maung Zaw Win Aung's Statements in 1970-71. When I met Maung Zaw Win Aung in 1970 and 1971, he said that he had no original memories of the previous life, but he remembered some of what he had said when he was young.

For example, he recalled telling his aunts when he was young that "they [meaning he and others of his group] were all drunk and had been on a bombing mission." There were two men only in the airplane. He did not remember the rank he had or the uniform he wore, and he could not say how many engines the airplane had or what its color was. He remembered that the airplane he flew was not based in Burma and that it crashed in Upper Burma, near Meiktila. He was still in the airplane when it crashed. (That is, he had not parachuted down to the ground.) He had no memories of events after the crash, including the period between the aviator's death and his (Maung Zaw Win Aung's) birth.

Efforts to Find an American Aviator Corresponding to Maung Zaw Win Aung's Statements. With the information available it seemed that it might be possible to trace an American military aviator of World War II who corresponded to Maung Zaw Win Aung's statements. He had said that he was an American aviator engaged in bombing and that his airplane had been shot down by the Japanese near Meiktila. He had also given a name: John Steven. Unfortunately, he did not give the name of a military unit to which the previous personality belonged nor the place of his residence in the United States. Many of the records of deaths in combat of American servicemen are preserved in relation to the histories of individual military units or by counties and states of residence of the deceased men. To search through records of this type would have consumed time that I thought could be spent more usefully in other work. I applied for searches of the name John Steven to the National Archives and Records Service of the General Services Administration (Washington, D. C.) and to the Section of Military Personnel Records of the National Personnel Records Center (St. Louis, Mo.); but the results of both searches were negative.

Maung Zaw Win Aung's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

Circumstances and Manner of Maung Zaw Win Aung's Speaking about the Previous Life. I learned of two early stimuli of Maung Zaw Win Aung's statements about the previous life. I am not sure which came first; either might have set off his first references to the previous life. Both of them occurred in Pyuntaza.

The first incident occurred when an airplane flew over Pyuntaza. This led to a discussion among the adults (of Daw Hla's household) about World War II and how when Allied airplanes had come over to bomb the Japanese the family had gone into air raid shelters. (This conversation took place in about 1953, and the

war had ended only 8 years earlier, so memories of these dreadful events probably remained vivid.) When Maung Zaw Win Aung heard these events discussed, he said: "Why should you be afraid? It was I who passed over this town." Then he went on to state some further details of the previous life as a drinking aviator.

Another early stimulus of Maung Zaw Win Aung's memories was a tray having painted on it a scene of Western-style houses and a church. When I was in Pyuntaza in 1971, I was shown this tray, and the scene seemed to me more likely to be English than American. Be that as it may, when Maung Zaw Win Aung looked at the tray, he felt reminded of the home of the previous life. He felt a longing to be at that home; but he could not specify its location.

Whenever he spoke about the previous life, he made emphatic gestures, particularly with his head.

Between the ages of 4 and 5, Maung Zaw Win Aung began drawing pictures of airplanes.

Maung Zaw Win Aung's mood varied widely as he talked about the previous life, especially as he described the bombing raids in which he remembered participating. At times he spoke of the raids boastfully. At other times he felt remorseful; then he would fall silent, and his face would become red. He would say that he had sinned in killing so many persons. By this time (at the age of 3 or 4) he had become somewhat acquainted with Buddhist ways of worship and with Buddhist monks. He seemed to want to approach Buddhist monks as if they could give him absolution for his war crimes, as he then saw his conduct at such times.[11] However, these moods were not durable and would be followed by another phase of boasting about drinking and bombing.

Maung Zaw Win Aung often accompanied his statements by expressions of nostalgia for America and of an intention to return there when he could. He said that people lived better in the United States than in Burma and that he would go

[11]Buddhism does not have a place for formal forgiveness, let alone absolution for sins that one human being can, by right of ordination, confer on another. Maung Zaw Win Aung's interest in the monks might have derived from his identification of them with vague memories he may have had of religious persons in the West; some of them, such as Roman Catholic priests and monks, wear long robes, although these are not of the ochre color of the robes worn by Buddhist monks in Burma.

I should add, however, that Maung Zaw Win Aung was never seen to be using Christian modes of worship. He took readily to Buddhism, but was not notably devout.

U Tin Tut, who helped me during two of my meetings with Maung Zaw Win Aung, suggested that Buddhist monks might have put into the boy's mind the idea that he should repent for such enormous crimes as bombing humans from an airplane. The testimony suggests, however, that Maung Zaw Win Aung's remorse was, if not entirely spontaneous, largely so. The following extract from a letter to me of Dr. Soni (dated June 15, 1969) illustrates this. (Dr. Soni did not mention the source of his information, but it was probably Daw Kyin Htwe.)

> When a little boy, on seeing a Buddhist monk, he would rush to him ardently and worship him; and he cried bitterly when the monk left the place, explaining that he must atone for his past evil deeds. He said that as an American he bombed many places during the last war, and when his own plane crashed, the Japanese killed him.

there if someone came for him. He said that he had a pair of very good shoes and a good belt, and he asked for these to be obtained for him. Whenever he saw someone wearing shoes—not a common sight in Pyuntaza in the 1950s—he would say that *his* shoes were much better. When someone gave him some post-war Burmese money, he threw it away, saying that it was spurious. Mounted on a tricycle he would call to anyone listening: "Follow me. I am going to America."

Yet members of his family noted that he became sad when he spoke about America. He told me himself, much later, that his memories of the previous life made him feel sad, and he made a deliberate effort to forget them. This also was not permanent, because, as I shall describe later, he subsequently found some solace against the feeling he had of being different and isolated in Burma in thinking about the previous life.

Maung Zaw Win Aung's Attitude toward Airplanes. Maung Zaw Win Aung showed both an attraction for airplanes and a fear of them. On the positive side, he showed an interest in games, toys, and play having to do with flying. He imitated by gestures the movements of a pilot in flying an airplane. He was fond of machinery, and his family discovered that if he was sulking or crying he would recover good spirits when they gave him some piece of machinery with which he could tinker. (However, he appears not to have shown any precocious mechanical aptitude.) He was also fond of gasoline (petrol) and its odor. He sometimes inhaled the fumes of gasoline and fuel for a cigarette lighter. (I presume he did this nostalgically, because it seems unlikely that at such a young age he could have learned about the psychedelic effects the inhalation of such fumes might induce.)

Maung Zaw Win Aung told us in 1970 that up to the age of 16 he had wanted to become a fighter pilot; his parents, however, dissuaded him from this course and encouraged him to go into medicine, which he did.

Despite Maung Zaw Win Aung's fascination with airplanes and the details associated with them, he also showed a fear of them. If an airplane happened to fly overhead while he was playing, he would shout to his playmates to stop the game, lie down, and hide. His mother also noticed that he covered his ears when airplanes flew over. She remembered an incident that occurred when he was about 3. Some pilots of Burmese airplanes asked him to go for a ride in an airplane. He refused saying: "No, if you go in an airplane you will die." (In 1970 Maung Zaw Win Aung told U Tin Tut about a similar incident; the details of this second account varied somewhat from the one I have given, and Maung Zaw Win Aung said the incident he remembered occurred when he was 5 years old, so I do not know whether there were two similar incidents or two somewhat different reports of the same incident.)

Maung Zaw Win Aung's Preferences in Clothes. I have already mentioned Maung Zaw Win Aung's interest in shoes and his request to have "his" shoes obtained—from where he did not say—and given to him. He also asked to have his uniform of the previous life. These items not being available, he could at least wear trousers, and his family allowed him at first to wear trousers to school.

When it was suggested that he might wear a Burmese longyi, he did not resist, but he preferred to wear trousers. In 1971 Maung Zaw Win Aung, who was by then wearing a longyi (Figure 22-23), showed me a photograph of himself that was taken when he was 7½ years old; in it he was dressed in a Western-style shirt and trousers.

Comment. Maung Zaw Win Aung's wish for shoes was more unusual than that for trousers, because boys in Burma sometimes prefer trousers to the longyi, which they may find cumbersome.

Maung Zaw Win Aung's Manner of Eating and Preferences in Food. Whereas the other members of the family (other than the other blonds) took their food to their mouths with their hands, as nearly all Burmese people do, Maung Zaw Win Aung ate with a spoon until he was about 12 years old; then he adopted the custom of the rest of the family.

Maung Zaw Win Aung did not like the spicy Burmese food. He enjoyed soft drinks—even now (1995) not readily available in Upper Burma—and asked for milk and biscuits. If he did not like the food served by his mother or aunts, he would—when he became able to do so—leave the house and seek food elsewhere.

Maung Zaw Win Aung's Attitude toward Alcohol and Tobacco. Daw Kyin Htwe said that Maung Zaw Win Aung had not asked for alcohol when he was a young child. (However, Maung Zaw Win Aung himself told me in 1970 that he had then sometimes had "a strong urge" for alcohol.)

Daw Kyin Sein said that Maung Zaw Win Aung was fond of tobacco pipes, although I did not learn where he would have seen these; probably he saw them being smoked by neighbors of his aunts in Pyuntaza.

Maung Zaw Win Aung's Attitude toward the Japanese. Maung Zaw Win Aung did not become annoyed if someone mentioned the Japanese in his presence. However, he said (when a young child) that he was angry at the Japanese for killing him. A Burmese boy of normal pigmentation, who lived in the area of Pyuntaza, showed a marked reaction of fear and cried whenever he saw Maung Zaw Win Aung. This boy was reputed to be the reincarnation of a Japanese soldier. Maung Zaw Win Aung showed no special reaction toward him.

Other Possibly "Western" Traits Shown by Maung Zaw Win Aung. Under this heading I shall mention a miscellany of behaviors that seemed unusual in Maung Zaw Win Aung's family, but that could be considered "Western." First, there was his preference for cool weather. His mother noticed that when he came to Meiktila during vacations from school, if the weather was hot, he would play with his friends in some cool building. He would throw off extra blankets that his siblings of normal Burmese pigmentation would retain on their beds.

Maung Zaw Win Aung showed modesty about exposing himself that was unusual for a Burmese child; they are accustomed to bathe naked, but Maung Zaw Win Aung covered his middle with a loin cloth when he bathed. He was also noted to be much more concerned about cleanliness than his siblings of normal Burmese pigmentation. If his clothes became dirty, he would wish to have them changed.

When Maung Zaw Win Aung was a baby, he would not respond if someone wiggled a finger above his face, but he did respond if someone whistled. Then when he became older, he himself whistled. (Burmese people consider whistling unlucky, and they do it little.)

Daw Hla remarked that Maung Zaw Win Aung was generous toward others. Although careful with his money, he shared both it and any food that he had with other persons. I hesitate to identify this as an American trait and would not mention it if the same trait had not been noticed in two of the other three blonds of the family; the fourth blond child was too young to show such a specific trait during the period of the investigation of this case.

Unlike some other subjects of international cases, Maung Zaw Win Aung did not, when a young child, speak any language unintelligible to his parents. However, he used to open English books that his aunt in Pyuntaza had and complain that he could no longer read them. He said: "I used to be able to read them." Later, in school, he learned English readily. He won prizes for English at school, and some of his essays in English were circulated to other schools as models of English composition. Daw Kyin Htwe said that Maung Zaw Win Aung's schoolteachers were surprised at the ease with which he learned English.

The Case of Dolly Aung

When Maung Zaw Win Aung was about 10 years old, Daw Kyin Htwe dreamed that a woman dressed in Western clothes came to her carrying a white bundle in her hand. She gave the bundle to Daw Kyin Htwe and said that she wanted to come to her (meaning as a baby) so that she could be near her brother. Daw Kyin Htwe replied: "Please do not come here. We are very poor." The Western woman said: "Never mind. It is all right as long as I am near my brother." The woman in the dream was a young person, perhaps in her 20s. She had a fair complexion and loose, flowing blond hair.

In 1970 Daw Kyin Htwe told me that she was already pregnant with a child when she had the dream; but she must have later reconsidered the dating of the dream, because U Hla Bu (in a letter to me dated May 22, 1971) wrote that she then thought she had had the dream several months before she became pregnant and about a year before she gave birth to Dolly Aung, her next blond child, on April 21, 1961.

At the time of his mother's pregnancy with Dolly Aung, Maung Zaw Win Aung was in Pyuntaza and had a feeling of being followed by a member of his previous family. It was a pleasant feeling, but he discerned no other details about the "presence," not even the sex of the person who seemed to be following him. (I believe that at this time he did not know that his mother, then living in Meiktila, was pregnant; and he did not see Dolly until she was about 8 months old.)

The English word *doll* has been taken into the Burmese language. When Dolly Aung was still a toddler, her father took her on his bicycle, and people

remarked that she looked like a doll. So the family decided to give her the name Dolly.[12]

Dolly Aung never spoke about a previous life, but she showed a group of behaviors that were unusual in her family. Some of these resembled the "Western" behavior that Maung Zaw Win Aung had already shown.

Dolly Aung's Unusual Behavior. From an early age Dolly Aung showed a special attachment for Maung Zaw Win Aung. She was friendly and indeed affectionate with her siblings of normal Burmese appearance, but more so with Maung Zaw Win Aung. Even before she could walk, she would crawl over to be close to Maung Zaw Win Aung, and she liked to sleep with him. She babbled much to him in words other members of the family could not understand. (It was not suggested that she spoke English; but if she had, her parents would not necessarily have recognized this language, although U Tin Aung's sisters [who were schoolteachers with some knowledge of English] certainly would have done so.) Once when the entire family were together at Daik-U (near Pyuntaza) and most of them, including Dolly, were about to return to Meiktila, she burst into tears when she learned that Maung Zaw Win Aung was not going back with the others.

Her strong attachment to Maung Zaw Win Aung persisted at least to the time of my meeting her in 1971. I could easily observe that she liked to sit next to him and to hold his hand when they walked together. (He was then about 21 and she 10 years old.)

For his part Maung Zaw Win Aung had a feeling of special affection for Dolly, although he told me that he never showed this outwardly. (This was not quite correct, because even as he talked about Dolly, I could see that he was deeply moved.)

Dolly wished to eat with a spoon and sometimes cried when, instead of being given a spoon, she was asked to eat with her hands. She was gradually trained to eat with her hands and gave up her preference for a spoon at the age of about 5.

When she became able to talk a little, Dolly asked for bread, butter, and milk, and she would not eat rice until she was 2 years old. If she disliked the food provided in the family, she would not walk away (as Maung Zaw Win Aung sometimes did), but would quietly leave the food uneaten.

When she was a young child, Dolly asked for Western-style clothes, including shoes; she liked good clothes and was "very fond of beautifying herself." She gradu-

[12]Asian families often do not name a child, or do not give it a permanent name, until several months—or, occasionally, years—after the child's birth. During this period the parents are feeling their way toward a name appropriate for the child. They attach importance to selecting the right name. Ideas about reincarnation may or may not influence them. A child's illness may be attributed to its having been improperly named. Examples of names of children changed for this reason occurred in the cases of Ratana Wongsombat and Hair Kam Kanya, both subjects of Thailand. In Chapter 8 I described how the first name given to Linda Chijioke, an Igbo of Nigeria, was canceled when she became ill as an infant and was judged to have been incorrectly identified.

ally adapted to wearing the Burmese longyi, but I did not learn how old she was when she made this adjustment. (She was wearing a longyi when I met her in 1975.)

Like Maung Zaw Win Aung, Dolly attached importance to being clean and would wish to have her clothes changed if she became dirty. Like him also, she preferred cool weather and did not like to wear heavy clothes, even in cool weather.

Dolly was noted to be kind-hearted and generous.

In all of the traits mentioned above Dolly might have been imitating her older blond brother of whom, as we have seen, she was especially fond. However, Maung Zaw Win Aung told me of one habit Dolly Aung had that she did not learn from him. She liked to kiss on the lips. This is common in the United States among members of the same family, but Burmese people kiss only on the cheeks.

The Later Blond Children of the Family

About 2 years after the birth of Dolly Aung (in April 1961), Maung Zaw Win Aung told his next younger brother that someone like Dolly and himself was coming to join them, that is, going to be reborn in their family. However, Daw Kyin Htwe's next baby was normal in complexion and appearance for a Burmese person, and Maung Zaw Win Aung forgot about his prediction until, after having two more babies of normal Burmese pigmentation, Daw Kyin Htwe gave birth to a blond baby boy, Maung Shwe Soe Aung. He was born on October 15, 1969, just a few weeks before Dr. Soni and Sujata Soni went to Meiktila to begin the investigation of the case. In 1970 Daw Kyin Htwe told me that she had had no announcing dream before Maung Shwe Soe Aung's birth, but in 1985, in talking with Daw Hnin Aye, she remembered that she had had one; she said that a blond male appeared in a dream and asked permission to stay with them.

After Maung Shwe Soe Aung's birth, Daw Kyin Htwe gave birth to another baby of normal Burmese appearance. By this time she had had 11 babies, and she and her husband thought that she should have no more. Accordingly, her husband was contemplating having a vasectomy, when Daw Kyin Htwe dreamed that a blond young man—seemingly between 20 and 25 years old—came to her riding on a white elephant and said: "Please do not do the vasectomy yet. Please allow me to come and stay because there is still myself left to stay with you." (This quotation is from Daw Hnin Aye's notes of 1985). Daw Kyin Htwe became pregnant again and gave birth to another blond son, Maung Than Soe Aung, on November 15, 1974.

Even before this time U Win Maung and I had been meeting the family less frequently and for briefer visits; and I learned nothing about the behavior of this last of the blond children of the family.

However, Maung Shwe Soe Aung had begun by 1970-71 to show some behavior not expected of the usual Burmese child. He was attracted to automobiles, and when he saw one he somehow signaled a wish to drive it. Sometimes he would point to a photograph of U Tin Aung and say "Da-da." (This was unusual because a Burmese child's first word to indicate a father is [roughly] "Pay-pay.")

Daw Kyin Htwe said that Maung Shwe Soe Aung once saw some shoes at a bazaar, pointed at them, and somehow indicated that he wanted them. (When I saw him in December 1970, he was wearing shoes.)

Maung Shwe Soe Aung was given for adoption to another family at a fairly young age, and so even his parents knew little about the details of his behavior after infancy. So far as they knew, however, he had never talked of a previous life.

The Attitudes of Maung Zaw Win Aung's Family toward His Memories

Maung Zaw Win Aung's parents seem initially to have had no objection to his talking about a previous life in America. However, one of his paternal aunts of Pyuntaza became alarmed that he might want to go back to America; in fact, he said he did want to do this. It was also suggested "that it would be bad for him" if he thought too much about the previous life. Just how it would be bad I did not learn; but it had been noticed, and Maung Zaw Win Aung himself noticed, that he became sad when he thought about America. So his family then tried to stop him from thinking and talking about the previous life. He was also not allowed to see Americans, a matter not difficult to arrange, because they must have been exceedingly rare in both Meiktila and Pyuntaza during the 1950s. They also fed him duck eggs, which, as I mentioned in the report of Maung Aung Myint's case, are considered a sovereign remedy in Burma for memories of previous lives (Foll, 1959). However, these measures were by no means fully successful, as I shall explain.

Comment. It is impossible to say how much information was lost from Maung Zaw Win Aung's memories by the (relatively mild) efforts to suppress him. I believe that little was lost, because he seems to have spoken often about the previous life before he was suppressed. (Speaking often is not the same as saying many different things; like many other subjects of these cases, he seems to have said the same things repeatedly.) In addition, members of his family appear not to have had much curiosity about additional details that he might have given. Concerning some details that interested me, I was told that they had not questioned him.

Daw Kyin Htwe's Attitude toward Her Blond Children

Daw Kyin Htwe said that when she first saw Maung Zaw Win Aung she was surprised but happy that she had a pretty child.[13] At the same time she was con-

[13]Some of the nurses at the hospital in Meiktila were old enough to remember and to tell her about the case of the blond boy who, many years earlier, had claimed to remember the life of the British officer (Major Welsh) who had drowned in the lake at Meiktila. I explained earlier that it was an effort to trace this much earlier case that led Dr. Soni to discover that of Maung Zaw Win Aung. We never did find the subject of the earlier case, but I was interested to learn that some persons in Meiktila still remembered the case in the 1950s.

cerned that gossips might say that she had an affair with a European or an American. She felt vindicated by the birth of Dolly Aung and the later blond children, since she thought that no one could then imagine that she was having intermittent affairs with Westerners.

When Daw Kyin Htwe had other blond children, someone suggested to her that she had accomplished this by craving to have blond children and keeping a photograph of a blond in front of her.[14] She had, however, kept no photograph of a blond in front of her and had no strong craving for blond children. She told me that she would have been glad to have blond children only; but she only developed this desire after Maung Zaw Win Aung was born.

I do not think that Daw Kyin Htwe consciously favored her blond children over those of normal Burmese appearance. She did, however, accommodate them in their "Western" behavior. I have already mentioned that Maung Zaw Win Aung was provided with trousers and Maung Shwe Soe Aung with shoes. Also, to a certain extent, the blond children were allowed to eat with spoons instead of with their fingers. When I asked Daw Kyin Htwe about Maung Zaw Win Aung's play as a young child, she mentioned that she had brought him toy automobiles before he had asked for them. (Yet he played with them without being forced to do so.)

The Appearance of Maung Zaw Win Aung and His Blond Siblings

Maung Zaw Win Aung's Appearance. Figures 22-23 and 22-24 show Maung Zaw Win Aung's appearance in December 1970. He was then about 20½ years old. His hair was a light brown. He said that it had darkened considerably since his childhood. He said it was "like corn silk" when he was younger. The darkening was partly due to aging, he thought; and he attributed some of it to the application of coconut oil, which he had applied in the belief that it would make his hair darker. (He did not dye his hair.) His eyebrows were blond. His irides were light brown in color. He had a moderately severe nystagmus and suffered from photophobia. He had some impairment of vision, but I did not learn how severe this was.

The external form of his eyes was Caucasian with perhaps the slightest suggestion of Mongolian form. He had no epicanthic fold. Readers should compare the form of his eyes with that of U Tin Tut, whose photograph is also in Figure

[14]It is widely believed in South Asia that a person of a particularly desirable type—handsome, saintly, or whatever—can be brought to reincarnate in a family if the mother, while pregnant, keeps relevant thoughts of an ideal person of the type wanted in her mind. Thus she may have scriptures read to her or gaze at a painting or photograph of a god or saint kept on a wall where she can see it often. I have learned about this belief in Sri Lanka, India, and Burma; but it is probably much more widespread.

The suggestion about the process of generating blond babies shows the belief in maternal impressions in Burma and will remind readers of the case reported by R. O. Mason (1891) that I cited earlier in which maternal impressions preceded the birth of three albino babies.

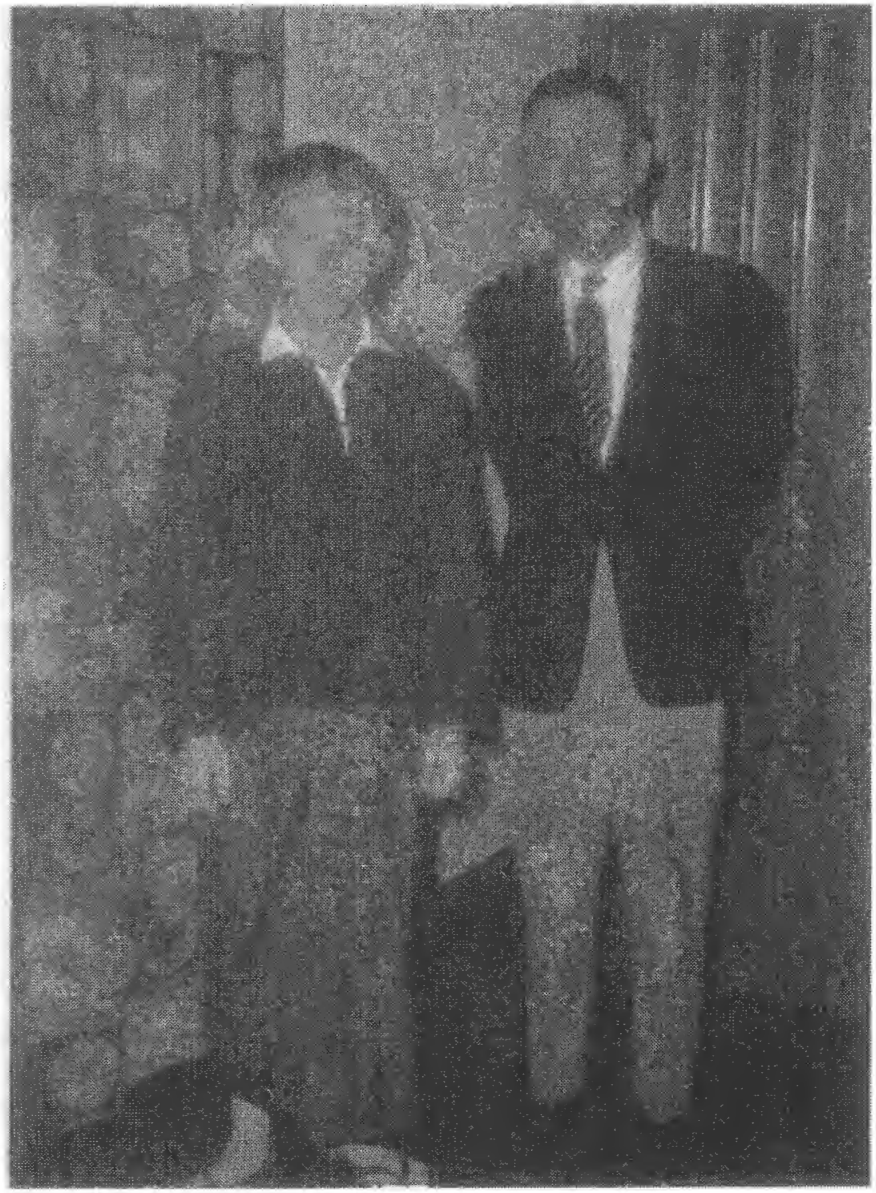

Figure 22-23 Maung Zaw Win Aung as he appeared in December 1970, when he was about 20½ years old. U Tin Tut is also shown in the photograph, and readers may compare the pigmentations and forms of the eyes of the two men.

22-23. I have included Figure 22-25 to show the form of the eyes of Maung Zaw Win Aung's parents. U Tin Aung's eyes were not of Mongolian form, whereas Daw Kyin Htwe's were.

Maung Zaw Win Aung was somewhat short in stature, even for a Burmese of his age. His stature and pigmentation can be compared in Figure 22-23 with those of U Tin Tut, who was helping me as interpreter for the meeting when this photograph was taken.

Maung Zaw Win Aung had no birthmarks.

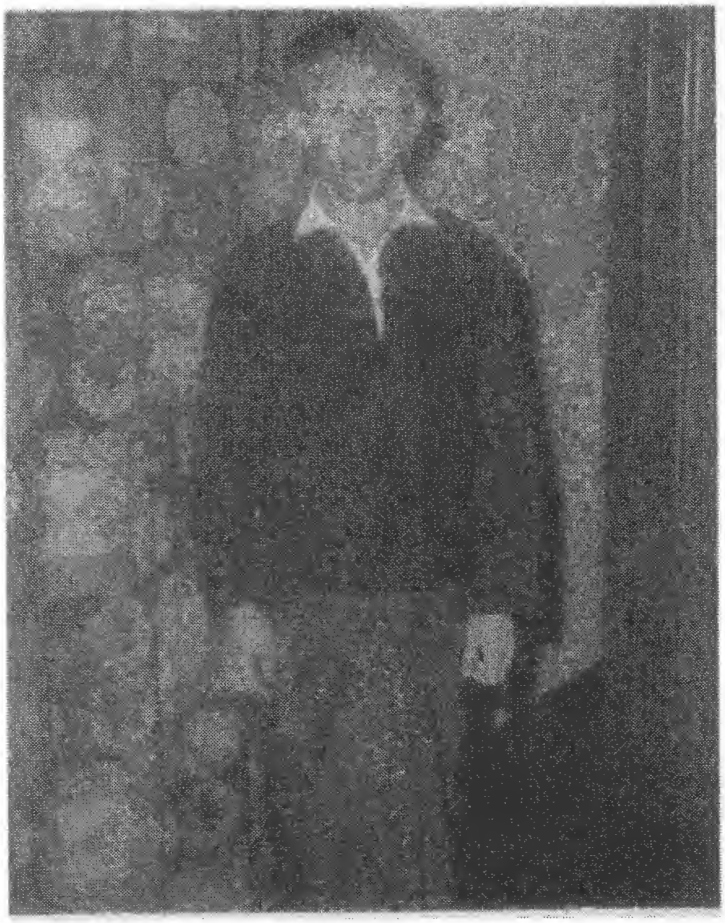

Figure 22-24 Another photograph of Maung Zaw Win Aung taken in December 1970. This photograph gives a closer view of Maung Zaw Win Aung's eyes. They were essentially of Caucasian form.

Figure 22-25 U Tin Aung and Daw Kyin Htwe, Maung Zaw Win Aung's parents. The infant is Maung Than Soe Aung, the youngest of the family's four blond children. This photograph was taken in November 1975. Daw Kyin Htwe had distinctly Mongolian eyes; those of U Tin Aung were not Mongolian.

Figure 22-26 Dolly Aung as she appeared in November 1975, when she was 14½ years old. Although my notes record her irides as being light brown, a color photograph shows them to have some bluish coloration. Her eyes were distinctly Caucasian in form.

The Appearance of Dolly Aung and the Two Younger Blond Children. Dolly Aung was more blond than Maung Zaw Win Aung (but she was also younger). Her hair was golden blond. In 1971 she was wearing it in two lateral pigtails, a style often seen in American girls of her age, but rarely in Burma. Her skin was pale and pinkish.

She was markedly myopic and suffered from nystagmus. (I have no note about whether she had photophobia.) Her irides were light brown, almost a yellow-brown. The external form of her eyes was completely Caucasian without the slight suggestion of Mongolian eye form that I thought I saw in Maung Zaw Win Aung's eyes. Figure 22-26 shows her appearance in November 1975, when she was about 14½ years old.

Maung Shwe Soe Aung (at the age of 14 months) had extremely fair skin and reddish brown hair. (Daw Kyin Htwe said that Maung Zaw Win Aung's hair had been like that of Maung Shwe Soe Aung when he was young.) Maung Shwe Soe Aung's irides were a deep blue. The external form of his eyes was mostly Caucasian, with a suggestion of Mongolian form.

In November 1975 I saw and photographed the youngest blond of the family, Maung Than Soe Aung, who was then about 1 year old. His skin was

fair and his hair quite blond. His irides were blue. I failed to make a note of the form of his eyes, and my photographs are not the best for judging this. I believe, however, that his eyes were closer to the Caucasian form than to the Mongolian one.

The Large Size of the Blond Babies. Daw Kyin Htwe said that Maung Zaw Win Aung and Maung Shwe Soe Aung had each weighed 4300 grams at birth, and that Dolly Aung had weighed 4050 grams. (U Hla Bu obtained this information from her and transmitted it to me in a letter of May 22, 1971.) In 1985 Daw Kyin Htwe told Daw Hnin Aye that Maung Than Soe Aung had weighed 4050 grams at birth. None of the other seven children of normal Burmese appearance who were born before 1971 weighed more than 3825 grams at birth. (The figures are approximations of those given to me in pounds and ounces.) We did not learn the weight at birth of the eleventh child of the family, who had normal Burmese pigmentation. The blond babies were thus appreciably heavier at birth than their normal siblings.

Genealogical Information about Maung Zaw Win Aung's Family

Prior to Maung Zaw Win Aung's birth there had been no blonds born in the family, so far as his parents knew. U Tin Aung's grandparents had died before he was born, but his parents were of normal Burmese appearance, and he thought his grandparents had also been. Fuller information on this point was available for Daw Kyin Htwe's family, because I was able to question her father, U Po Htun, on the background of his family. (U Po Htun was not otherwise an informant for the case.) He had known all of his grandparents, and they had all had a normal Burmese appearance. Daw Kyin Htwe had known her maternal grandparents, and they also had been of normal Burmese appearance.

U Tin Aung came from Pyuntaza and met Daw Kyin Htwe when, as a young man, he went to Meiktila to stay with one of his sisters whose husband was a government official there. It is therefore extremely unlikely that Maung Zaw Win Aung's parents were even distant cousins.

Other Relevant Information

I mentioned earlier that when Maung Zaw Win Aung was born, his mother was afraid that gossips would say that she had had an affair with a European or American. (I did not learn that anyone had made such a suggestion, but that did not lessen her concern about the matter.) Her fears were, however, groundless, because U Hla Bu informed me that there had been no Europeans or Americans in Meiktila from the time of Burmese Independence (January 4, 1948) until the time of Maung Zaw Win Aung's birth in May 1950. During much of this time Burma was in a prolonged political and military crisis. (See Appendix B.) Meiktila was occupied by insurgents for 2 months in February and March 1949. It is away from the main railway line between Rangoon and Mandalay although on the main highway. In the

1950s and 1960s Europeans and Americans were not likely to visit it even in normal times, and even less likely to do so during the period of insurgency.

Maung Zaw Win Aung's Later Development

Daw Hla said that Maung Zaw Win Aung stopped speaking about the previous life when he was about 12. If so, the fact demonstrates a failure of the measures to suppress him that I mentioned earlier. However, long before then Maung Zaw Win Aung had tried by himself to forget his memories of the previous life, which he found unbearably sad. Dr. Soni wrote me that he learned from an informant in Meiktila (he did not give me the name, and this information was transmitted in June 1969 before Dr. Soni himself had gone to Meiktila in December of that year) that from the age of 6 Maung Zaw Win Aung had "refused to talk of the past life, telling his parents that, if they really loved him, they should not remind him of the unhappy past."

This effort at self-suppression was not fully satisfactory either. Maung Zaw Win Aung still wanted to dress in trousers, all the time realizing that he was different in appearance and seen to be different by other "normal" Burmese persons. From this awareness arose his attempts to darken his hair in order to be less conspicuous. When he took up the study of medicine, he learned about albinos and read something about them, trying to convince himself that he was "only an albino and not someone reborn."

At times he tried to escape from the unpleasant "present life" into the memories of the previous life. The memories, however, brought sadness and sometimes even an "unbearable chest pain." He said that he had such pain for 2 days before meeting me for the first time in 1970; the prospect of meeting me had led him to think more about the previous life. This review brought up no new memories, but he again recalled what he had told Dr. Soni a year earlier.[15]

In sum, Maung Zaw Win Aung was to some extent caught between present realities and memories of a markedly different previous life. At one point during our first meeting in 1970, he looked at me earnestly and said: "I am dominated by my surroundings."

Nevertheless, after years of struggling between an identity as a Burmese and one as an American, he decided that he must "Burmify" himself (my word), and he made a conscious effort to do so. The change was gradual. In 1970 he was no longer angry at the Japanese, but he still felt an affinity for Americans. He enjoyed reading of successes achieved by Americans, was hurt by their failures, and defended their policies.

As I mentioned earlier, Maung Zaw Win Aung had been attracted to a career as a fighter pilot, and when he was 16 he wanted to apply for admission to the

[15]That I was an American (Dr. Soni was an Indian, resident in Burma) may have increased Maung Zaw Win Aung's tension over meeting me. He was noticeably anxious during our first meeting, but much more at ease in later ones.

In the report of Ma Tin Yee's case (Chapter 17) I give a list of other subjects whose memories of previous lives have been accompanied by physical symptoms.

Burmese Defense Academy. However, his parents dissuaded him from this, and he entered Rangoon University to study medicine. He did well in his studies, and an excellent professional life lay ahead of him. In the next 5 years he overcame all appetite for war, and in 1970 he said that he hated it.

In 1970 he no longer had a phobia of airplanes. He said that he sometimes still had strong urges to drink alcohol, but controlled these; he occasionally drank alcohol with friends.

When I last met Maung Zaw Win Aung (in 1978), he had graduated from the university and was working in a professional position. He said then that he only remembered the previous life "very dimly." He was fully identified with life in Burma. He said that he would like to marry a Burmese girl; and although he said that he would like to go abroad for graduate studies, he would not wish to emigrate, but would return to Burma.

In 1985, when I last had news of Dr. Zaw Win Aung, as he then was, he was working as Assistant Medical Officer in the Myaungmya Civil Hospital. In July 1983 he had married a Karen girl, and the marriage was a happy one. He and his wife had one son. The son had a normal Burmese complexion and features.

THE CASE OF MAUNG AYE

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Maung Aye was born in (approximately) 1952, in the village of Yarsagyi, which is in the Southern Shan States, Burma, about 10.5 kilometers from the town of Pindaya. His parents were U Lar Ma and his wife, Daw Htay. They were members of the Palaung Tribe. Maung Aye was the second child and first son of his parents. He had an older sister. There were five other, younger children in the family by the time I met Maung Aye in 1971.

Maung Aye was a blond with light blue-green irides, and his complexion was so light that he could be regarded as having a degree of albinism. Maung Aye had two birthmarks on his upper chest, and I shall describe these later. His next younger sibling, Ma Saw (who was born in about 1956), was somewhat darker than Maung Aye, and she looked remarkably like a European girl. (I shall describe their appearances in more detail later.)

Ma Saw never spoke about a previous life, but when Maung Aye was about 3 years old, he said that he had been in an airplane that was shot down by the Japanese. His mother did not wish him to talk about a previous life, and she suppressed him, so that he stated few details about the life to which he was referring. He also showed some behavior that was unusual in his village and appropriate for an English person or an American.

The case came to my attention through U Tin Tut of Rangoon, who learned about it from one of his friends. In March 1971, U Win Maung and I met Maung Aye and his father in the town of Pindaya. The coordination of this meeting was

itself an extraordinary accomplishment on the part of U Win Maung. He and I flew from Rangoon to the airport at Heho and from there drove about 75 kilometers in a Jeep to the town of Pindaya. During about the same time, Maung Aye and his father walked from Yarsagyi (in the surrounding hills) down to Pindaya and reached it almost when we did. (We met at the house of one of U Win Maung's friends, U Ba Tun.) U Lar Ma spoke the Palaung language but no Burmese. The headman of Yarsagyi, Saya Phyu (who was a cousin of Daw Htay) accompanied Maung Aye and U Lar Ma to Pindaya and interpreted for U Lar Ma. (Maung Aye could speak Burmese.) Ma Saw and Maung Aye's younger brother, Maung Zin, came with them. Daw Htay was not available, and we did not meet her. A cousin of Saya Phyu, Maung Tay, was present at our interview and added some helpful information.

At the time of our meeting in Pindaya, Maung Aye was a samanera (novice) in the Buddhist monastery at Yarsagyi, and he was dressed in the ochre robes of the Sangha (Buddhist order of monks); but this did not mean that he had definitely opted for the life of a monk.

Since 1971 I have not seen or communicated with Maung Aye.

Persons Interviewed during the Investigation

In Pindaya we interviewed:

Maung Aye
U Lar Ma, Maung Aye's father
Saya Phyu, headman of Yarsagyi village and cousin of Maung Aye's mother, Daw Htay
Maung Tay, cousin of Saya Phyu

Ma Saw said almost nothing during our time together, and I do not claim to have interviewed her.

Further Geographical and Historical Facts

Yarsagyi is not accessible by any road. It is reached by a narrow path traversable by persons on foot or on horses. It is in hills above Pindaya—about 5.5 kilometers from the town—and about 1500 meters above sea level. (Pindaya itself, a town of about 7,000 inhabitants, is 1,000 meters above sea level.) Yarsagyi had, we were told, about 450 inhabitants in 70 houses. All the inhabitants were Palaungs. The adult Palaungs came down from Yarsagyi to Pindaya to attend the market there about once a week; persons from Pindaya rarely went to Yarsagyi.

The Palaungs are an agricultural people, and the ones at Yarsagyi grew garlic and a leaf used as a cover for cheroots. They also kept water buffaloes and cows, as well as some horses for riding. They married only among their own tribe and did not permit marriage even with Shans or Burmese. Once, when a girl wanted to marry a Burmese man, she was driven away from her village. The Palaungs are Buddhists.

To a certain extent I made myself an object of ridicule by asking whether there might have been some European liaison in the ancestry of Maung Aye. My informants regarded this as an absurd question for the following reasons. In the first place, there had been no Europeans living in Pindaya for many years. U Ba Tun, our host in Pindaya, was 48 years old in 1971, and the only white man he could remember to have lived in the area had worked in a silver mine more than 40 years earlier. (There would, however, have been some European visitors who were not residents.) Furthermore, the Palaungs live in villages that are exclusively inhabited by members of their tribe, and we can be sure that no European ever lived in Yarsagyi. Nor could one have reached Yarsagyi and stayed there transiently without this being immediately known to the Palaung villagers. As I mentioned, the Palaung villagers from Yarsagyi came down to Pindaya to shop, and some of them married into other Palaung families in other communities. Daw Htay had relatives in a village called Pinepin, which is 50 kilometers from Pindaya, and she visited her relatives there once or twice a year. However, the Palaungs moved out of their villages in groups, and neither Daw Htay nor any other Palaung woman would have gone to Pinepin by herself. Thus, although I cannot assert that Palaungs of Yarsagyi could never have had sexual relations with Europeans, I think it extremely unlikely that this ever happened.

The Airplanes Shot Down Near Kalaw and Pinepin

We learned that the Japanese had had bases near Pindaya at least during the early part of their occupation of Burma. British and American bombers bombed these bases.

During the Second World War, Maung Tay stayed at Kalaw, a town about 50 kilometers from Pindaya. While there he learned that two airplanes were shot down and crashed at a place called Yeyar, which is about 1.5 kilometers from Kalaw and an equal distance from Pinepin, where Ma Htay's relatives lived. One road to Pinepin goes through Yeyar, although there is another road that does not. In any event, Daw Htay would have passed within less than 2 kilometers of Yeyar whenever she went to visit her relatives in Pinepin.[16]

[16]The detail of Daw Htay's traveling into the area where the airplanes were shot down resembles similar events in other cases in which a subject's parent examined a dead body or passed near graves where dead bodies had been interred. A note in the report of Maung Aye Kyaw's case lists some examples. In addition to the cases of Maung Aye Kyaw and Maung Aye, examples occurred in the cases of Yusuf Köse, Hanumant Saxena, Mahmut Ekici, Ma Khin Mar Htoo, Ngozi Uduji, Maung Myo Min Thein, Ma Hmwe Lone, Bhopal Singh, Maung Win Aye, Maung Tin Soe, Narong Yensiri, Ma Htwe Win, Thiang San Kla, Faris Yuyucuer, Maung Bo Gyi, and Ma Par.

In the present case, however, Daw Htay only went within 1 or 2 kilometers of the site of the airplane crashes; she did not examine the graves—if there were any—of the airmen. Nor did she have any dream apparently linking the persons killed in the airplanes shot down at Yeyar with the birth of Maung Aye.

Statements Made by Maung Aye

When Maung Aye was about 3 years old, he said that he was in an airplane that was shot down by the Japanese. He said that he would like to shoot the Japanese. He wanted to say more, but his mother suppressed him. U Lar Ma could not remember any other details that Maung Aye had mentioned when he was young.

I failed to ask U Lar Ma whether Maung Aye, as a young child, had ever drawn attention to his birthmarks.

Maung Aye's Statements in 1971. Maung Aye's memories had not completely faded by 1971 (when he was 18 years old), and he said that the airplane had four crew members of whom three had died in the crash and one survived. He himself had been a gunner. He thought the airplane had three engines, but was unsure about this. He also remembered the gunner's uniform as being "slightly green" and having stars on the shoulders.

He thought the airplane had crashed at Yeyar, near Kalaw, that is, that it was one of the two mentioned by Maung Tay as having crashed at Yeyar. He remembered no other details and could not give a name for the gunner who was killed or say from where he came. When I asked him if he could even say to what country the gunner belonged, he said that he was in so much pain after the crash that he forgot. He did not claim to remember anything of experiences after the gunner's death and before his birth.

By 1971 Maung Aye clearly regarded his birthmarks as derived from wounds received in the previous life when the airplane to which he referred had been shot down. When I enquired about birthmarks, he showed the two on his upper chest.

Comment. I am uncertain whether Maung Aye identified the airplane that crashed at Yeyar as the one concerned in his previous life from his own memories (as a young child) or from knowledge that he learned normally later. He only said that he *thought* the airplane in which he was killed in the previous life was one of those at Yeyar; and it may be that from hearing about these airplanes he inferred, but did not remember, that the gunner whose life he remembered had died in one of these crashes.

Maung Aye's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

When Maung Aye was a young child, he asked for Western-style clothes. He asked his father to give him trousers and a hat. Maung Aye remembered this himself (in 1971) and said that he also wanted to have a coin stuck in the front of the hat. (I understood this to mean that the coin was to imitate military insignia on the hat.)

In his play Maung Aye used to pretend that he was the driver of a vehicle or the pilot of an airplane, and he was the only one of the four boys of the family who did this.

He expressed dislike for the heat of Burma and said that he preferred a cooler climate. Pindaya, being in the hills, is substantially cooler than the great plain of Upper Burma, but it was still too hot for Maung Aye.

Maung Aye also expressed antagonism toward the Japanese and when young said he wanted to shoot them. (In 1971 Maung Aye remembered having felt angry toward the Japanese, but said that he was gradually overcoming his antagonism toward them through the practice of Buddhist meditation.)

Maung Aye himself said that he was not afraid of foreigners and liked to meet them. (There must have been few opportunities for meeting them in Pindaya after Burma became independent, that is, during Maung Aye's lifetime.)

Maung Aye and his younger sister Ma Saw played much together when they were young, and they were heard speaking with each other a "private language," which other members of the family could not understand.

A detail of Maung Aye's behavior in 1971 surprised me and much impressed the Burmese members of the group at U Ba Tun's house. It happened that Maung Aye, his father, and sister had to leave (to return to Yarsagyi) before U Win Maung and I needed to go. Maung Aye stood up, crossed the room, and came toward me with his hand extended for a friendly shake, which I gladly returned.

To complete the description of Maung Aye's behavior, I should mention that he did not resist eating Burmese food, although he had a fondness for sweet foods greater than the average Burmese child. Also, he did not have a phobia of airplanes, or any other phobias.

Comment. It is unusual for Burmese people, unless they are markedly "Westernized," to shake hands, and the gesture must be almost unknown among the Palaungs. I am sure no one ever taught Maung Aye to shake hands, and I interpret his doing so with me as a behavioral memory.

Observations of Ma Saw's Behavior

Ma Saw showed almost no unusual behavior. Unlike Maung Aye, she did not ask for Western-style dress, and there was nothing unusual about her play as a child. I have already mentioned that she and Maung Aye played much together and talked to each other in a strange language when they were young. (They were about 3 years apart in age, and each was the sibling closest in age to the other during the period before Ma Saw's younger brother, Maung Sein, became able to play with her.)

Ma Saw expressed a preference for a cooler climate than that of Pindaya and Yarsagyi, but she had not complained about the heat as Maung Aye had.

Comment. Ma Saw's family regarded her just as much as Maung Aye as a Westerner reborn. The informants emphasized to me that the Palaungs are very strict with their girls and inculcate docility in them at an early age. There seemed to be a suggestion in what I was told about the control by the Palaung men of their women that Ma Saw might have had memories of a previous life—both imaged memories and behavioral ones—that she would have communicated if she had

been living in a culture that allowed women greater freedom of expression. However, this was not said explicitly to me, and I may have inferred too much from what was said.

Maung Aye's Appearance and Birthmarks

Maung Aye's skin was extremely fair and pinkish (Figures 22-27 and 22-28). His hair was a light brown or golden. His irides were a light green-blue color. I did not obtain a satisfactory photograph showing the color of his irides. He had some nystagmus when standing in the sun, but did not seem to have photophobia. (He had never complained of this.)

The external form of his eyes was definitely of the Mongolian type.

Maung Aye had two round birthmarks on his upper chest. They had the appearance of healed scars of bullet wounds of entry. The more prominent of these was 5 millimeters in diameter, slightly depressed below the surrounding skin, and slightly less pigmented than the surrounding skin. It was located about 5 centimeters inferior to the right clavicle. The second birthmark was over the upper sternum and 1-2 centimeters inferior to the sternal notch. It was fainter than the first mark and more irregular in shape, but, in general, also round.

These birthmarks, especially the more prominent one, closely resembled the birthmarks corresponding—I believe—to bullet wounds of entry in cases earlier described in this work, such as those of Henry Elkin, Yahya Balcı, Chanai Choomalaiwong, and Maung Tin Win. I did not photograph Maung Aye's birthmarks, but I sketched them (Figure 22-29).

According to U Lar Ma, Daw Htay had noticed both these marks about 6 weeks after Maung Aye's birth when she was bathing him; she showed them to her husband.

Maung Aye had no birthmark on the back of his chest that might have corresponded to the exit wound of a bullet or bullets.

Maung Aye said that he had never had pain in his chest at the site of the birthmarks.

Ma Saw's Appearance

If Ma Saw had not been dressed in the tribal costume of the Palaung people, I could not have thought she belonged to any race other than the Caucasian or came from anywhere except Europe or North America. She looked as "European" as any native of Burma I have ever seen. Her complexion was fair, and her cheeks had the rosy-redness that the French call "le teint anglais." Her hair was russet. The external form of her eyes was entirely Caucasian, not Mongolian (like Maung Aye's eyes). Her irides were light green in color. (My photograph [Figure 22-28] represents her eyes and complexion badly.) She may have had a slight nystagmus when standing in sunlight, but I could not be sure of this.

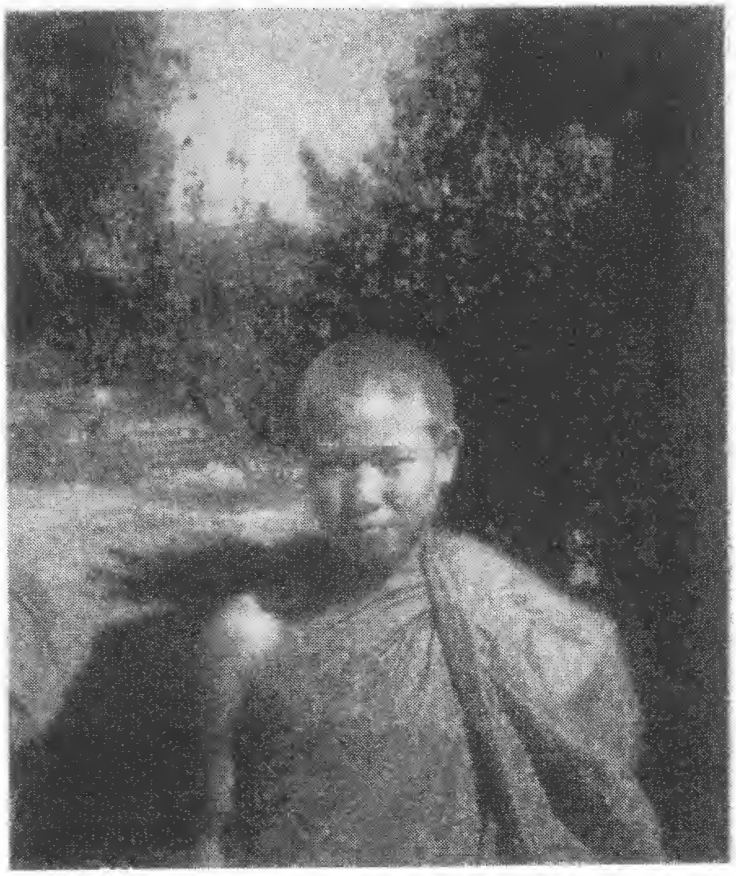

Figure 22-27 Maung Aye as he appeared in 1971, when he was about 19 years old. (He was a samanera and was wearing the ochre robes of a Buddhist monk.) His complexion was fair. His hair was a golden brown. His irides were a light green-blue. His eyes had a Mongolian form.

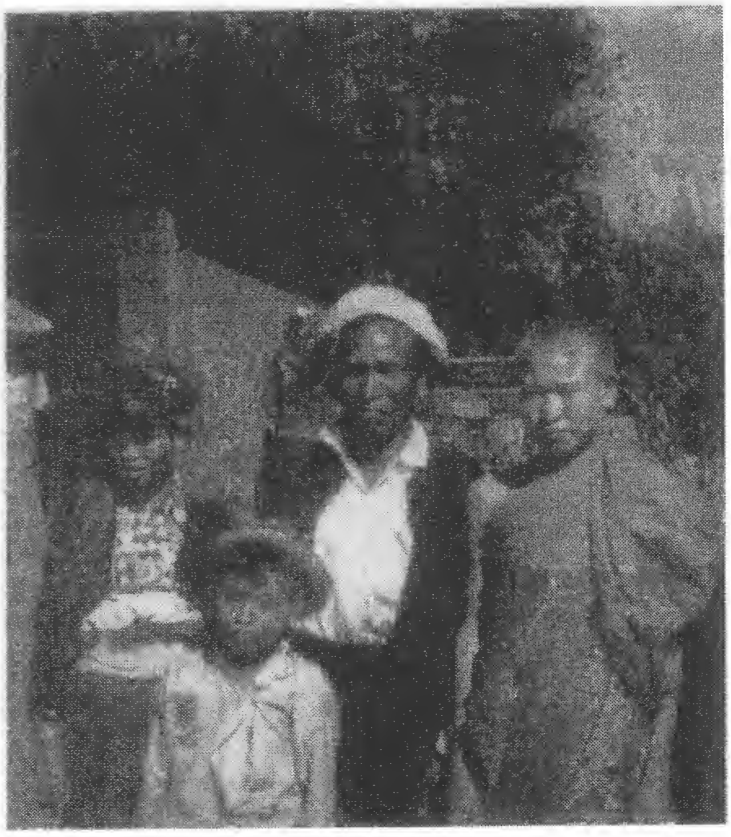

Figure 22-28 Maung Aye with his father, U Lar Ma, his younger brother, Maung Zin, and his younger sister Ma Saw. The photograph does not show the russet color of Ma Saw's hair or her pinkish complexion.

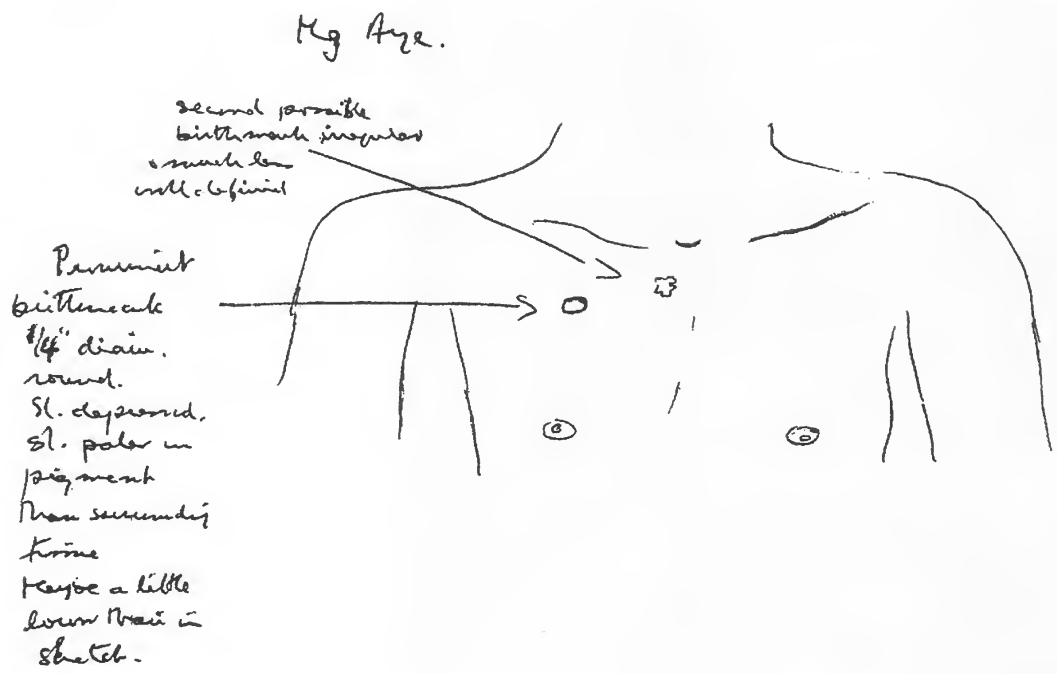

Figure 22-29 Sketch made in 1971 of the upper part of Maung Aye's chest showing location and approximate size of his two birthmarks.

Other Relevant Information

U Lar Ma knew of no marriages between cousins in his family. Marriages between cousins were rare among the hill tribes of the Shan States, although in a group as isolated and endogamous as the Palaungs are, some marriages between distant cousins must be inevitable.

Our informants from Yarsagyi knew of two other blonds among the Palaungs. They were in fact born in the family of Maung Tay and lived near Pinepin. Efforts were to be made to trace these children for us, but U Win Maung received no further communication about them.

THE CASE OF MA PAR

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Ma Par was born in the village of Myet-thi-kyin Taungywa, Mahlaing Township, Upper Burma, on January 16, 1946.[17] She was the daughter of U Mya Yin and his wife, Daw Waing Kyi. She was their third and last child. She had an

[17]This date appears to have a precision that may not be justified. We were also given other estimates of Ma Par's year of birth, and they ranged between 1945 and 1948.

older sister, who died at the age of 5, and an older brother, Maung Aung Tun, who was born in 1943. U Mya Yin had died by the time (the early 1970s) U Win Maung and I investigated this case, and I did not learn what his occupation had been.

Ma Par was a blond of extreme paleness of complexion and should be regarded as an albino. Her mother had an announcing dream that she related to a visit she had paid to the graves of some British airmen (of World War II) who were buried near her village. This dream, together with Ma Par's European-like complexion, led to her being considered the reincarnation of a British airman or soldier.

Ma Par also had a birthmark on her abdomen that I shall mention later.

When Ma Par became able to express herself in words—at the age of about 3—she described a previous life in England and how she had been killed in an airplane crash at Kangyi, which is about halfway between Myet-thi-kyin Taungywa and Mahlaing.

Ma Par did not start school until she was 8 years old. She then attended school for 3 years, long enough to learn to read. When she grew up, she worked at first as a trader with her older brother, and also lived with him. She remained a spinster.

This case was notified to U Win Maung by Maung Aye Kyaw of Mahlaing. I mentioned earlier that he and his sister, Daw Tin Tin Myint, informed us about numerous cases in the area of Mahlaing.

U Win Maung (accompanied by U Tin Tut) went to Myet-thi-kyin Taungywa village in July 1971. They had an interview there with Ma Par's mother, Daw Waing Kyi, and also met Ma Par herself. Daw Waing Kyi was then ill and bedridden. Subsequently U Win Maung and I met Ma Par twice in Mahlaing, once in November 1972, and again in November 1975. U Win Maung had occasional correspondence with Ma Par afterward.

Nearly all our information on the case comes from Ma Par and her mother. There were some variations in the details given us during the interviews of 1971, 1972, and 1975, and I shall draw attention to any of these that seem important. Otherwise it will be easier for readers if I use the information from the different interviews in a connected narrative of what we learned in them.

Daw Tin Tin Myint (our hostess in Mahlaing and the sister of our informant, Maung Aye Kyaw) went to Myet-thi-kyin Taungywa, where she made "extensive inquiries" about the authenticity of the case. She was concerned that Ma Par's statements and other aspects of the case might have been made up as an explanation for her blondness, and she satisfied herself that the case had not developed in this way.

Relevant Facts of Geography and History

Myet-thi-kyin Taungywa is about 6 kilometers east of Mahlaing. Mahlaing is the principal town of a township. It is about 32 kilometers northwest of Meiktila, the largest city in this part of Upper Burma. The capture of Meiktila on March 3, 1945, was an important victory in the British recapture of Burma from

the Japanese. Almost halfway on the road that joins Mahlaing and Myet-thi-kyin Taungywa is a place called Kangyi. Here an Allied airplane had crashed (or been shot down by Japanese gunfire) and the bodies of the crew buried (probably by Burmese villagers) near the scene of the crash. Daw Waing Kyi thought the crash had occurred in about 1943. She thought it was in 1944 that she noticed the graves of the Allied airmen as she was walking one day along the road at Kangyi. She was returning from Mahlaing where she had gone for shopping. Being a somewhat inquisitive person, she decided to take a closer look at the graves and did so.

An Announcing Dream

A few days after she had examined the graves at Kangyi, Daw Waing Kyi dreamed that a man was following her. She became frightened and in her dream cried out: "Don't follow me. Go with Ma Phwa Khin." (Ma Phwa Khin had been one of some friends who had accompanied her to the market at Mahlaing, when, on the return journey, Daw Waing Kyi had examined the graves.) However, the man in the dream paid no attention to this request and continued to follow her. Trying to evade him she jumped into a bush, and he jumped in also. At this she awoke. "Soon afterward" she conceived Ma Par.

Comment. Burmese villagers use the word "soon" loosely, and in this example it does not necessarily mean only a few days; it might mean a few weeks or months. If Ma Par was born in January 1946 (a matter far from certain), she was conceived in the spring of 1945, which might be regarded as "soon after" Daw Waing Kyi's examination of the graves and her subsequent dream. The dream did occur, we can be reasonably sure, a few days after the visit to the graves. The important point is that Daw Waing Kyi regarded all three events—the visit to the graves, the announcing dream, and the conception of Ma Par—as meaningfully linked.[18]

Statements Made by Ma Par

The account of Ma Par's statements about the previous life that I shall now give derives almost entirely from what she told U Win Maung and me in 1972 and 1975. In a verified case a subject of her age could have learned normally about the events described, but nothing that Ma Par said has been verified (except for the crash of the airplane at Kangyi and the subsequent burial of the killed airmen), and it seems unlikely that she could have learned any of what she said normally. Although Ma Par had attended school for a few years and was literate enough for her work as a trader, she lived almost exclusively within the orbit of her village and Mahlaing. She had once been to Taunggyi, capital of the Southern Shan

[18]Similar connections have occurred in other cases between a woman's examining a dead body and soon afterward conceiving a baby who will later claim to remember the life of the person whose dead body the mother saw. A note in the report of Maung Aye's case lists other examples of this feature.

States, which is about 90 kilometers (as the crow flies) east of Mahlaing. I do not think she had ever traveled farther away from Mahlaing.

I should also note that although Ma Par claimed (in 1972 and 1975) still to remember the previous life "in great part," she was also diffident about the accuracy of some of her memories. She sometimes prefaced a comment or response to a question by a phrase such as "I think...." At other times she frankly said she could not remember particular details about which we enquired. We certainly detected no conscious attempt on her part to fill in missing details.

Ma Par said that she remembered being a married man with a wife and three children, all boys. She also remembered three brothers and three sisters. She could state no proper names for the man or other members of his family, although she told us that she thought that earlier in life she had been able to remember some names.

She thought that she had lived in a city in the middle of England; it was on the coast and one could see ships at sea. It also had an airport and a factory where aircraft were made. The city appeared different (in its buildings, she meant) from Burmese cities she had seen, like Mahlaing and Taunggyi.

She was more prosperous in that life than in her family in Burma. She worked in a family business concerned with making parts for airplanes and automobiles. The weather was colder than in Burma, and the rooms were heated in winter. (Ma Par could not say how they were heated.)

Ma Par said that she could remember her physical appearance in the previous life and that it was similar to her present appearance. The man she remembered having been was a blond with fair hair and blue-gray irides. She also thought her facial appearance similar to that of the man whose life she remembered.

Ma Par thought that she had been, or had become, an infantry officer in the British Army. She had flown to some other land to the west of Burma. From there she was sent in a small airplane on a special mission over Burma. This was toward the end of the war. She did not remember the name of the enemy. The airplane ran out of fuel and crashed. She had a gun between her legs and when the airplane crashed the gun discharged and killed her instantly. This was the cause of the birthmark on her abdomen.

In 1972 Ma Par said that the airplane had only two occupants: the pilot and herself; but in 1975 she changed this and some other details. She said that there were three occupants: the pilot, herself, and one other person. Ma Par thought that the officer she remembered being had been getting ready to shoot at the enemy when the airplane crashed. When Ma Par said that there had been three occupants in the airplane, I suggested with a leading question (which I usually avoid, except in special circumstances) that the man whose life she was remembering had been a gunner. She agreed to this and said that he had been in the tail of the airplane. He was not the person who released the bombs. She did not change the other details of her account: The airplane ran out of fuel, and when it crashed the gun she was holding discharged, killing her instantly.

Comment. It is unlikely that a tail gunner would have had a rifle between his legs in such a way that, on impact, the gun would have gone off and killed the

gunner. I may have misled Ma Par during this part of the interview. Upon reviewing a draft of this report later, U Win Maung said that he thought that Ma Par had agreed with me out of politeness. A bomber would usually have had a larger crew—of six or more airmen. The airplane Ma Par seemed to be describing was more likely to have been a reconnaissance airplane with a crew of two or three.

Ma Par's Statements about Events after the Death of the Airman and before Her Birth. Ma Par claimed to remember experiences between death and presumed rebirth. She said that the pilot of the crashed airplane and the man she remembered being were buried together at Kangyi. (The third man in the airplane did not figure in these memories.) As a discarnate personality she thought of her family in England and went to them.[19] However, the "King of Death" did not permit her to stay there, and she returned to Burma. She went a second time to England, but was again pulled back to Burma and "ordered to be reborn." She was not told in what family she should be reborn.

Ma Par said that during her period in the discarnate state she stayed in an acacia tree near the site of the airplane crash at Kangyi. She added (presumably from knowledge acquired normally) that the airmen were buried at the site of the crash, and the acacia tree where she, as a discarnate personality stayed, was about 25 meters from the graves. One day her (present) mother (Daw Waing Kyi) passed by with some other women. She liked her best of all the women in the group passing by, and she followed her.[20] She remembered "sending" a dream to Daw Waing Kyi.[21] After that she lost consciousness until the age of about 2, when she became aware of being Ma Par. She then remembered the previous life, but could not communicate it in words until she became able to speak, when she was about 3.[22]

When I asked Ma Par what had become of the pilot of the crashed airplane, she said that the bones of the deceased airmen had been removed to England. (If this happened, it would have been a year or 2 after they had been killed and buried, after the British reoccupied Upper Burma, in the spring of 1945.) The dis-

[19]Other examples of claimed memories of discarnate personalities returning to the members of the deceased person's family occurred in the cases of the Ven. Chaokhun Rajsuthajarn (Thailand), Thiang San Kla (Thailand), and the twins, Ma Khin San Tin and Ma Khin San Yin (Burma). I give details of these twins' cases in Chapter 25.

[20]Other examples of subjects who said that as discarnate personalities they saw and followed home parents to whom they were somehow attracted occurred in the cases of U Tinn Sein, Tong In Songcham, Bongkuch Promsin, Maung Aye Kyaw, U Kalar, and Maung Sein Hla Tun.

[21]Other examples of subjects claiming to remember "sending" a dream (or participating in a dream) that members of the subject's family also remembered occurred in the cases of the Ven. U Sobhana, Maung Yin Maung, Maung Zaw Thein Lwin, Veer Singh, Pratima Saxena, and Maung Aung Than.

[22]The frequent early mispronunciations of the subjects and their equally frequent use of gestures to supplement words have long made me think that in many, if not all, of the subjects of these cases, memories of the previous lives come into consciousness before they have acquired sufficient capacity for verbal expression to communicate the memories to other persons. Ma Par was one of the few subjects to have described this condition explicitly. The Ven. Chaokhun Rajsuthajarn and Ma Win Tar remembered similar experiences.

carnate personality of the pilot was allowed to follow his bones back to England, but she had been "ordered to remain here," meaning at Kangyi. She gave no reason for this apparent discrimination.

Ma Par's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

Ma Par said that as a child she suffered from the heat in Burma, but by the time we met her, she had become used to it, although still feeling a preference for the cooler climate of England as she remembered it.

When Ma Par was a young child, she did not like the spicy food of Burma, and she asked for milk and bread. Her parents gave these to her. Gradually she adapted to Burmese food and by 1972 had no dislike for it. However, she had preserved a liking for milk. Daw Waing Kyi told U Win Maung (in 1971) that Ma Par disliked pork (a principal meat of the Burmese people) and preferred chicken and beef.

Daw Waing Kyi also drew attention to Ma Par's preoccupation with cleanliness, especially that of kitchen utensils. (This would be a matter to which most Burmese villagers would give little attention, especially ones as poor as Ma Par's family was.)

In the matter of clothes, Ma Par's only deviation from normal Burmese custom was a preference for wearing skirts rather than longyis. Ordinarily a village girl in Burma would begin wearing a longyi by the age of about 5, but Ma Par's parents, to please her, allowed her to wear skirts until she was 8. (She was wearing longyis when we met her many years later.)

Ma Par said that she had at least a mild phobia of airplanes when she was young; she became anxious whenever one flew low over her village. As she grew up, this fear diminished, but a residue persisted in 1975.

Daw Waing Kyi said that when Ma Par was young and passed by the graves of the dead airmen at Kangyi (whenever they went into Mahlaing) she would cry.

Ma Par's Sexual Orientation. Ma Par showed a degree of embarrassment about discussing her sexual orientation, and we avoided pressing her with questions about it. She was a spinster (at least up to our last meeting with her in 1975). She expressed a definite preference for being a man. She thought that men had more freedom than women. She expressed the wish to be a man (and her reason for it) both in 1972 and 1975. She regretted the change from the previous life that she remembered.

When I asked her how she explained the difference in sex, she attributed this to her attachment to the previous family. I suggested that she had perhaps learned this interpretation from Buddhist monks, but she denied that this had happened.[23]

[23]Ma Par's denial did not completely eliminate the possibility that her views on the matter of sex change in her case derived from the traditions of Burmese Buddhism.

Ma Par's Appearance

Figure 22-30 shows Ma Par's face and Figure 22-31 a close-up of her eyes. Her hair was a whitish yellow or straw color. Her skin was extremely fair and pink. The form of her external eyes was that of members of the Mongolian race, although perhaps having some Caucasian quality to them. Her irides were blue-gray in color.

Ma Par suffered from extreme photophobia, and she could not open her eyes without discomfort beneath an open sky, even when there was cloud cover. She could open her eyes in more shaded areas, and when she did this, I could see that she had a marked nystagmus and difficulty in focusing. Ma Par said that her vision was good for distant objects and also for reading.

Ma Par impressed me as being tall and somewhat large for a Burmese woman, but I did not learn whether she had been a large baby when she was born.

Ma Par's Birthmark. Daw Waing Kyi said that Ma Par had been born with a birthmark on her abdomen. Ma Par said this was a residue of the bullet wound received in the previous life when the rifle the previous personality was holding discharged as the airplane crashed.

In 1972 Ma Par said the birthmark was "fast disappearing," and in 1975 she said that it had faded away. (We did not ask to examine her abdomen.)

Genealogical Information about Ma Par's Family

Ma Par's parents were unrelated, so far as she knew. However, they both came from the same village (although from opposite ends of it), and a distant relationship could not be excluded, especially since there were only about 100 inhabitants in the village.

Both her parents were of pure Burmese stock. There were no marriages in the family with Europeans. There were also no other albinos in the family. She knew of no other albinos in her village or in neighboring villages.

Ma Par's Later Development

When U Win Maung and I met Ma Par in the 1970s, she was living with her brother, Maung Aung Tun, in Myet-thi-kyin Taungywa village. (Their widowed mother lived in another house in the village.) Ma Par worked with her brother in the making and selling of jaggery, a product of the sugar of palm trees.

She still wished to go abroad, both to meet the previous family and because she thought she would be more "comfortable" in England than in Burma. In 1974 (when U Win Maung and I were in Mahlaing, but did not meet Ma Par) we learned that she had been visiting Daw Tin Tin Myint and asking her to help her find her family in England; but she could give no names of people or places in England. In 1975, when we did meet her, she repeated this request to us, but could still furnish no guiding details. I expressed willingness to help, if she could give us clues.

Figure 22-30 Ma Par as she appeared in November 1972, when she was about 27 years old. Her complexion was fair and pinkish. Her hair was straw-colored and her irides blue-gray.

Figure 22-31 Close-up view of Ma Par's eyes showing their somewhat Mongolian form but not the blue-gray color of her irides. This photograph was also taken in November 1972.

In 1985 Ma Par, who was intermittently in touch with U Win Maung, told him four names of people or places that had come into her mind and that she thought derived from the previous life. She said the place where she had lived in the previous life was called Paris (not a name of English geography). She gave her own (previous) name as Restin Boswick, that of the wife she remembered as Rosie Fall, and that of a son as Cheswick. In fairness I should add that the names as U Win Maung spelled them (and I have given them) are his best effort to give a phonetic rendering in English of what Ma Par wrote in Burmese. The names, except for Paris, are plausibly English, but I have not been able to use them in verifying the identity of the airman Ma Par claimed to have been. In sending the names to me U Win Maung commented: "I hope she is not elaborating." It is improbable, but not impossible, that at the age of nearly 40 Ma Par would recover additional verifiable memories.

Comment

When Ma Par described herself as an infantry officer on a special mission in an airplane with a single pilot, I thought that the life remembered was that of a soldier who was being dropped behind the Japanese lines, as the celebrated Chindit forces had been. His goal could have been sabotage, disruption of Japanese communications, transmitting information to the advancing Allied Armies, or all of these.

However, her account in 1975 (perhaps misguided by me) made it appear that the previous personality had been a gunner who was a member of the crew of a bomber.

There is a slight possibility of tracing the identity of the airmen who crashed at Kangyi, especially if their bones were, as Ma Par said, dug up and removed to England.

THE CASE OF MAUNG TIN SOE

Introduction

The subject of the present case never made any statements about a previous life. The value of the case derives almost exclusively from his blondness (to a degree of albinism) and from unusual behavior that he showed when he was a young child. In addition, his mother had a dream that seems to bear on the case.

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Maung Tin Soe was born in Yelai in Upper Burma in November 1958. (Yelai is about 15 kilometers from Chauk, but on the opposite side of the Irrawaddy River.) His parents were Maung Ohn Pe and his wife, Daw Aye Yin. He

was the second youngest of their nine children. Maung Ohn Pe worked much of his life as a cultivator, but in 1961 he obtained a position as a driver for a large corporation in Chauk.

Maung Tin Soe was so markedly blond that we should regard him as an albino. The external form of his eyes was that of a Caucasian. He never spoke about a previous life, but he showed a number of unusual traits, which, together with his physical appearance, made his parents suppose that he was a European reborn.

U Win Maung and I learned of this case in 1971 through a friend of U Tin Tut. In March 1971, we went to Chauk and there met Maung Tin Soe and both his parents. At the time of our visit to Chauk, the other children of the family were staying in Yelai, on the other side of the Irrawaddy River, and we did not meet them. Apart from a small amount of correspondence, we had no contact with Maung Tin Soe and his family after 1971.

The case will be easier to understand if I next summarize the marital history of Maung Tin Soe's parents.

Relevant History of Maung Tin Soe's Family

Maung Ohn Pe and Daw Aye Yin were both born in about 1922. Both their families lived in Yelai. When they were about 18, they fell in love and wanted to get married. However, Maung Ohn Pe's mother, although she had no specific objection to Daw Aye Yin, wanted "a better girl for her son" and opposed their marriage. They nevertheless became more intimate, and Daw Aye Yin became pregnant. The young couple then eloped and went to live in Chauk, which was then the major city of the oil development in Burma. Before her arrival in Chauk, Daw Aye Yin had probably never seen a European, although Maung Ohn Pe had. Chauk was then full of Europeans connected with the Burma Oil Company, which was exploiting the oil wells. However, although Maung Ohn Pe and Daw Aye Yin became acquainted with some of the Europeans in Chauk, they had no social relationships with any.

In about 1941 Daw Aye Yin gave birth to a blond baby girl who had blue irides and a "European appearance." (I take this to mean that her eyes had the external form of the eyes of Caucasians, not that usual among Burmese people.) Shortly before the birth of this baby, Maung Ohn Pe and Daw Aye Yin had married. However, the birth of the blond baby girl was a shock to Maung Ohn Pe. He did not suspect his wife's fidelity to him, but he was afraid that other persons would do so; and so he separated from her and the baby. After a year, however, the couple came together again and had remained married and united since.

The blond baby girl died within 6 months of her birth. Thereafter, Maung Ohn Pe and Daw Aye Yin had additional children of both sexes—eight more in all. The first five of these all had the pigmentation and appearance of normal Burmese people. These were followed by two blond boys, Maung Than Myint (born about 1956) and Maung Tin Soe.

Maung Than Myint died at the age of about 3. He had shown some traits his parents considered "European." He had refused to eat Burmese food and obliged his parents to buy bread, butter, and biscuits for him to eat. If he was forced to eat Burmese food, he would develop diarrhea.

About 5 years after Maung Tin Soe's birth, Daw Aye Yin gave birth to her ninth child, another girl of normal Burmese pigmentation and appearance.

The blond babies of the family were all noticeably larger at birth than the babies of normal Burmese appearance. The blond boys had limbs that were longer than those of the normal Burmese children. The blond baby girl's limbs were not unusually long, but she was fatter and heavier than the normal Burmese babies.

All the blond babies nursed well at the breast, and Daw Aye Yin had plenty of milk for them. The difficulty in feeding the two blond boys only occurred when they were weaned, and the baby girl died before she was weaned.

The Airplane Crash Near Yelai

In 1945, as the Japanese were retreating from Burma, an airplane crashed about 8 kilometers north of Yelai. Maung Ohn Pe did not know whether it was shot down; but it had "engine trouble," and the engine was heard to be misfiring before it crashed. The airplane broke into three parts on impact with the ground. The crew were killed, and Burmese villagers buried them nearby. About 6 weeks after the crash Maung Ohn Pe decided to go to the site in the hope of obtaining some useful pieces of machinery from the wreckage. He had never seen an airplane close up before. He searched the wreckage and found some useful ball bearings. There were no dead bodies around, but he noticed some blond hairs sticking to the airplane's debris. He also saw the site where the villagers had buried the bodies of the crew. He had heard that the airplane had had seven crew members, but the grave he saw seemed large enough for only one person. Maung Ohn Pe could not tell whether the airplane had been British or American. (In 1945 it probably would not have been Japanese, since at this late stage of the war, the British and American air forces had control of the air above Burma.)

Although Maung Ohn Pe visited the wreckage of the airplane in 1945, he attributed the birth of the two blond boys in his family (the first of these being born 11 years later) to his having gone to the airplane where he saw the blond hairs attached to the wreckage. He did not bring any of the blond hairs home; but he afterward remembered that they were the same color as Maung Tin Soe's hair.

Comment. Maung Ohn Pe's interpretation of the significance of his visit to the airplane wreckage accords with two beliefs commonly held by Burmese people: that in cases of violent death discarnate personalities tend to stay around their vacated dead bodies; and that persons who approach the places where such discarnates are staying are liable to become the parents of children who will remember the lives of the deceased persons whose bodies or burial sites they have approached.

In this feature the case resembles those of Ma Par and Maung Bo Gyi (subject of the next case reported in this chapter), with the important difference that

in Maung Tin Soe's case a much longer interval—about 11 years—occurred between the parent-to-be's inspection of the burial site and the subject's birth than usually occurs.[24]

Maung Ohn Pe's conjecture about the previous lives of the two blond boys could not contribute to understanding the birth of the blond girl who was born in about 1941, before there had been any fighting (with the Japanese) in Burma.

Two Announcing Dreams

Before the births of each of her two blond sons, Daw Aye Yin dreamed that she "was traveling over the waters." She did not remember (if she knew in the dream) to what place she was traveling.

She had no similar dreams before or during her pregnancies with the blond baby girl or with her children of normal Burmese appearance.

Comment. The dreamed scene of traveling across water presumably symbolized that the expected child was coming from some remote land that one reached across the sea, that is, that it would be a European. (This, however, is my interpretation; Daw Aye Yin did not offer it.)

Maung Tin Soe's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

Maung Tin Soe preferred bread and butter to Burmese food. He did not like the spicy food ordinarily eaten by Burmese people. (However, he did not refuse it or become ill if he took it, as had his deceased older brother, Maung Than Myint.) He showed a strong liking for beef, chicken, and eggs; he asked for meat at every meal. He also liked to drink tea and coffee. His tastes for food were expensive, and his parents explained that they could not afford to feed him with bread and butter. They also could afford little tea, but his siblings generously allowed Maung Tin Soe to have their share of tea.

Maung Tin Soe had a strong preference for wearing trousers instead of longyis. His parents allowed him to wear trousers up to the age of 7 or 8, older than the usual Burmese boy would be when he would begin wearing longyis. (As I mentioned in the case of Maung Zaw Win Aung, some Burmese boys prefer trousers to longyis, and I do not wish to give too much emphasis to this preference in Maung Tin Soe.)

In his play Maung Tin Soe preferred playing with toy or make-believe automobiles and airplanes. He had a strong attraction for airplanes, and whenever one would fly over he would run and watch it. He was more interested in airplanes than the usual Burmese boy. However, he also had a fear of being in an airplane. On one occasion, when he was 3 years old, his father took him to a place where an airplane was standing and tried to get him to go inside it, but he resolutely refused to do so.

[24]In a note for the case of Maung Aye I gave a list of other cases in which a subject's parent had viewed the previous personality's dead body or had passed close to the site of the burial of his body.

Maung Tin Soe also liked football and some other games (not specified) that interest most Burmese boys much less than they did him.

He was inclined to be a bit aloof and also somewhat "bossy" with other children. (I mention this here, because such an attitude might derive from an officer's habit of command; B. B. Saxena showed such "officerlike" behavior more explicitly.) Unlike most Burmese children, he showed no fear of Europeans.

Maung Tin Soe complained of the heat. His fair skin led to his easily being burned when exposed to much sunlight, but it was heat rather than sunlight of which he complained. His normally pigmented siblings did not object to the heat.

All the foregoing traits (except the preference for wearing trousers) were continuing at the time we met Maung Tin Soe, when he was about 12½ years old.

Comment. With the exception of his interest in ground motor vehicles, there were no models in Maung Tin Soe's family for the unusual behavior he showed. Since his father worked as a vehicle driver, he might well have derived his interest in automobiles (but not that in airplanes) from his father. Maung Ohn Pe mentioned that when he had been a farmer his older sons had played at plowing in apparent imitation of him.

Other Relevant Behavior of Maung Tin Soe

Maung Tin Soe was (in 1971) near the top of his class at school. His parents considered his intelligence somewhat superior to that of other children of his age.

Maung Tin Soe was an early riser in the morning. The other children of the family had to be awakened, and their parents also had a tendency to get up later than Maung Tin Soe.

To complete the description of Maung Tin Soe's behavior under this heading, I should mention that he never showed any resistance to learning Buddhist forms of worship, spoke any language incomprehensible to his parents, resisted eating with his hands and called for cutlery, or asked to go to England or his "home."

For a career when he grew up, Maung Tin Soe said that he did not wish to be a soldier, but would like to be a driver of a motor vehicle (as his father was).

Maung Tin Soe's Appearance

Maung Tin Soe had a fair complexion with pink cheeks. His hair was a light brown, close to a golden color (Figure 22-32). (It was not as light as that of most other subjects in this group of cases.) His irides were green tinged with brown. He seemed not to have any photophobia and said that glaring sunlight did not bother him. However, he did have some nystagmus. His father said that he was moderately shortsighted. (Maung Tin Soe was blind or almost blind in one eye from a corneal opacity that resulted from the improper application of a Burmese folk remedy; but Maung Ohn Pe said that Maung Tin Soe had been shortsighted before his eye was damaged.)

Figure 22-32 Maung Tin Soe (with his parents) as he appeared in March 1971, when he was 12½ years old. The photograph does not show his fair pinkish complexion, his light brown hair, or the form of his eyes.

The external form of Maung Tin Soe's eyes was that of a Caucasian, not that of a member of the Mongolian race. In this connection I should add that although Daw Aye Yin appeared to me to be "pure Burmese," Maung Ohn Pe had a somewhat mixed appearance, as if he might have had some Caucasian strain in him as well as a Mongolian one.

Genealogical Information about Maung Tin Soe's Family

As I mentioned earlier, Maung Ohn Pe and Daw Aye Yin were both from Yelai village. Their grandparents were distantly related. So far as they knew, there had been no marriages or liaisons with Western persons in their families. Nor had there been any other blond children in the family, apart from the three they had.

THE CASE OF MAUNG BO GYI

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Maung Aye Myint Soe, alias Bo Gyi, was born in Chaung-gwa village, Lewe Township (near Pyinmana), Upper Burma, on May 31, 1945. (He became better known by his nickname of Maung Bo Gyi, and I shall use this name for him in this report.) His parents were U Bo and Daw Tin Aye. Maung Bo Gyi was the third son and third child of his parents, who eventually had seven children in all. U Bo was a shopkeeper and timber merchant. He was a Christian, whereas Daw Tin Aye was a Buddhist.

Maung Bo Gyi was a blond of a degree that we should consider albinism. So were his two younger brothers, Maung Bo Lay (born on January 8, 1949) and Maung Bo Htway (born on November 19, 1951), whose cases, although having few details, will figure marginally in this report.

When Maung Bo Gyi was a young child—we did not learn his age at the time—he spoke about a previous life in which he had been in a fighter airplane that crashed. He also told his parents that two other blond children would be born next in the family. Because Maung Bo Lay was born less than 4 years after Maung Bo Gyi, he must have been under 4 when he made this prediction. Maung Bo Gyi showed a number of unusual behaviors that could be regarded as "Western," and so, to a lesser extent, did his younger blond brothers.

U Win Maung learned of this case from an informant in Taungdwingyi, a town about 80 kilometers west of Pyinmana, where U Bo and his family were then living. I think he went to the case soon after being informed of it, and on April 8, 1973, he interviewed U Bo and Maung Bo Gyi. Unfortunately, the time available for the interviews was brief. As will be seen, the case seemed to be solvable, and during 1974 I made efforts—in the event unsuccessful—to verify Maung Bo Gyi's statements. In 1981 U Win Maung was again in Pyinmana and met U Bo and the three blond brothers again. U Bo, however, added nothing to what he had previously said.

I myself neglected the case for many years. I think this was partly because Pyinmana (although on the main highway and railway lines between Rangoon and Mandalay) was not easily accessible from places in Upper Burma where I could stay. Finally, in June 1986, determined to learn whatever else I could about the case, I made the long journey by Jeep from Pyawbwe to Pyinmana. U Win Maung and Daw Hnin Aye were with me.

At Pyinmana we learned that U Bo and Daw Tin Aye had both died (U Bo just 3 months before our visit). Maung Bo Gyi had graduated from a theological seminary and was traveling as an itinerant Protestant preacher; he was away. So was Maung Bo Htway. The only members of the family at home were Maung Bo Lay and the sole living daughter, Ma Hla Gyi. We were able to have a long interview with Maung Bo Lay, although readers should remember that he was almost 4 years younger than Maung Bo Gyi and thus not qualified as a

firsthand informant for some of what he told us. Ma Hla Gyi was still younger, and she contributed little information.

Events Before Maung Bo Gyi's Birth

During the Japanese occupation of Burma (early 1942 to May 1945), U Bo was staying with his family in Chaung-gwa village. One day he was on his way to Pyinmana when he saw an airplane shot down and landing in the forest. Partly out of curiosity and partly hoping that he might recover something useful or valuable from the airplane, he went to examine it. He found the wallet and identity card of a dead airman in the airplane. The card indicated the owner to be Flight Lieutenant Hutchinson of a Spitfire Squadron of the (British) Royal Air Force. The wallet also contained a photograph showing an (evidently) English girl with three children. U Bo took the wallet, identity card, and a few other personal belongings of the airman and kept them at home until they were destroyed by a fire.

U Bo did not say how long the interval had been between the crash of the airplane that he examined and Maung Bo Gyi's birth. (I think we can conjecture that it was at least several months, because the Japanese occupation of Burma was effectively ended with the surrender of Rangoon on May 2, 1945.)

U Bo made no mention of other occupants of the airplane, but spoke of one only.

Daw Tin Aye had no announcing dream before Maung Bo Gyi's birth.

Statements Made by Maung Bo Gyi

When Maung Bo Gyi was a young child, he spoke copiously about his part in the war (World War II), but U Bo stated no details of what he said about the war. He did remember that Maung Bo Gyi said that he had a wife and three children.

Maung Bo Lay recalled some of Maung Bo Gyi's statements when they were young children. According to him, Maung Bo Gyi had said he and Maung Bo Lay had been brothers in his previous life. They were in the airplane together, and Maung Bo Lay had been the pilot. The airplane was not shot down, but crashed when it hit a tree. Maung Bo Gyi identified Maung Bo Htway as a friend of his (and Maung Bo Lay) in the previous life.

Perhaps Maung Bo Gyi's most extraordinary statement was the prediction he made that two more blonds would be born "next" in the family. I do not have precise information about when he made this prediction. After Maung Bo Gyi's birth, Daw Tin Aye gave birth to a girl of normal Burmese pigmentation, but she died within 2 or 3 months. I believe it was after her death that Maung Bo Gyi told the family that two more blonds would come "next."

The Attempt to Verify the Death of Flight Lieutenant Hutchinson

Maung Bo Gyi himself never said that his name in the previous life had been Hutchinson. Nevertheless, U Bo's memory of the identity card with the rank

and name of "Flight Lieutenant Hutchinson" stimulated me (in 1974) to request the branch of the Ministry of Defence of the United Kingdom concerned with the war records to verify his existence. Unfortunately, they could not. There was no record of an officer called Hutchinson dying during World War II in the Far East.

Comment. In the nearly 3 decades that had elapsed between U Bo's taking the pilot's identity card (say in 1944) and his first meeting with U Win Maung (in 1973), U Bo might well have partly forgotten the airman's name. If it had been "Hutcherson" or "Henderson," the searchers at the Ministry of Defence were sent in the wrong direction by being given the name "Hutchinson."

Maung Bo Gyi's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

Maung Bo Gyi would not eat rice when he was a young child, but asked for biscuits and condensed milk. He did not eat salted or pickled fish, which are favorite Burmese dishes. Maung Bo Lay recalled that Maung Bo Gyi had been "very fussy about his food" and "wanted Western food." It happened that for a time, after World War II ended and up to about 1948, Western food was available in Burma. Maung Bo Gyi's family were able to indulge his food preferences, at least for a time.

Nothing unusual was noted about Maung Bo Gyi's manner of eating, because the whole family used knives, forks, and spoons instead of their hands for conveying food to their mouths.

Maung Bo Gyi disliked Burmese clothes and wished to wear Western style shirts and trousers. U Bo fitted out all three of the blond brothers with trousers.

Maung Bo Gyi showed an unusual interest in airplanes and would watch them in the sky when he could.

Maung Bo Gyi's family noted that he showed a preference for Western music over Burmese music.

The Cases of Maung Bo Lay and Maung Bo Htway

During her pregnancy with Maung Bo Lay, Daw Tin Aye dreamed that a white (presumably European) man came to her and said: "You are going to have a boy this time." (Her previous child had been the girl who died in infancy.) Maung Bo Lay was born in Lewe town (not far from Pyinmana) on January 8, 1949. He was a blond like Maung Bo Gyi. With her next pregnancy Daw Tin Aye had dreams identical to the one she had when pregnant with Maung Bo Lay. During this pregnancy, however, she had the dream three times on three different nights. Maung Bo Htway was born in Rangoon on November 19, 1951. He also was a blond.

Neither Maung Bo Lay nor Maung Bo Htway had any imaged memories of a previous life. When I met Maung Bo Lay in 1986, he was 37 years old and remembered little about his childhood. He implied without saying so explicitly that he had disliked Burmese food when he was a young child. At the time we met

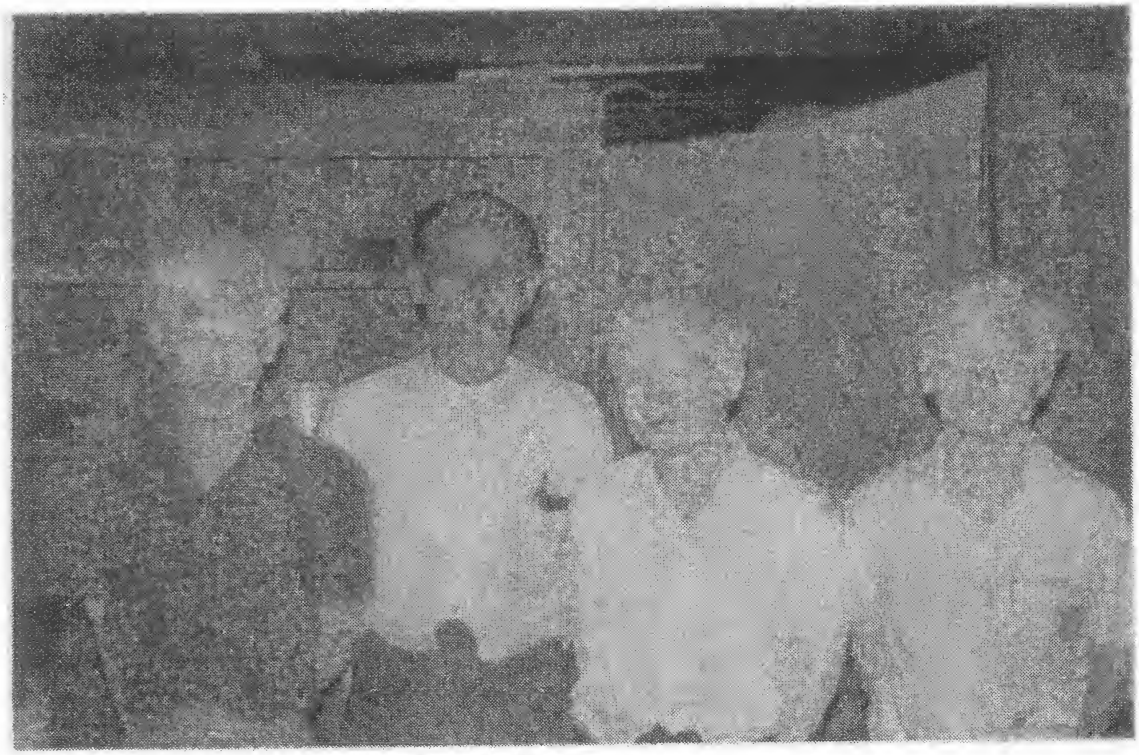

Figure 22-33 Maung Bo Gyi as he appeared in April 1973, when he was almost 28 years old. From left to right are Maung Bo Htway, U Bo (father of the youths), Maung Bo Lay, and Maung Bo Gyi. The three sons all had pinkish complexions and light straw-colored hair. Their irides were blue.

him, however, he had fully adjusted to it. He complained of the climate in Burma, but I think his discomfort derived largely from his lack of normal pigmentation and the sensitivity to bright light that this entailed.

He had an interest in airplanes and in mechanical matters, but was handicapped in pursuing these interests by his poor eyesight. He graduated from Rangoon University with a specialty in philosophy. In 1986 he was working as a private teacher.

I learned nothing about any unusual behavior observed in Maung Bo Htway.

The Appearance of Maung Bo Gyi and His Younger Brothers

Because I never met Maung Bo Gyi, I can only describe him from the photograph (unfortunately not a close-up view) that U Win Maung took in April 1973 (Figure 22-33). Maung Bo Gyi was then 18 years old. One can see, however, that Maung Bo Gyi (as well as the two brothers with him in the photograph) had a fair complexion and extremely fair hair that I would call light straw-colored. His irides were blue.

The three albino brothers all seem to me to have had Caucasian eyes; but I noted that their father, U Bo, also had eyes of that form (Figure 22-33), and so did their sister Ma Hla Gyi (Figure 22-34).

Figure 22-34 Maung Bo Lay as he appeared in February 1986, when he was 37 years old. His hair had darkened since 1973. His complexion remained pinkish. His younger sister, Ma Hla Gyi, had normal, but somewhat light pigmentation for a Burmese. Her eyes were of Caucasian form.

Figure 22-34 shows Maung Bo Lay as he appeared in February 1986, when he was 37 years old. By this time his hair had darkened considerably and perhaps grayed somewhat. His complexion was still pinkish and had much less pigmentation than that of his younger sister, Ma Hla Gyi, pictured with him. His irides were blue-gray. He had photophobia, nystagmus, and moderately severe myopia.

Figure 22-35 shows a closer view of Maung Bo Lay's face. This photograph was also taken in February 1986. In color, it shows distinctly the blue-gray color of his irides.

In 1973 U Win Maung did not ask a question about the weight of the blond brothers at birth. As I mentioned, his interview with U Bo was brief. In addition, we were then just beginning to appreciate the possible importance of the size of the blond babies compared with their normally pigmented siblings. By the time I reached the case, 13 years later, both Maung Bo Gyi's parents had died, and so we are left without information on this potentially important detail.

Comment. I may nevertheless conjecture that Maung Bo Gyi received his nickname because he was larger than usual. I explained earlier that the Burmese word *gyi* means large and is often affixed to names of persons who are regarded as unusually large, as in the cases of Maung Than Htun Win, who was known as

Figure 22-35 Close-up view of Maung Bo Lay's face. This photograph was also taken in February 1986. It shows the Caucasian form of his eyes.

"Karengyi," and Ma Thein Nwe, who was known as "Kalamagyi." The word *gyi* may also be applied to a senior person, such as a firstborn child; but Maung Bo Gyi had two older brothers, so this was not the reason for his being called by the name *gyi*.

Genealogical Information about Maung Bo Gyi's Family

In 1986 Maung Bo Lay told me that his parents were cousins, but he was unsure whether they were first or second cousins. They were of pure Burmese stock. Maung Bo Lay knew of no other blonds or albinos in the family other than his brothers and himself.

THE CASE OF MAUNG SEIN HLA TUN

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Maung Sein Hla Tun was born in the village of Mingone, Prome District, Burma, on June 5, 1951. His parents were U Ohn Maung and his wife, Daw Hla

Gyi. Maung Sein Hla Tun was their second child; they had an older son and a younger daughter. U Ohn Maung was a cultivator.

Maung Sein Hla Tun was a blond who should be regarded as an albino; he suffered from severe nystagmus and myopia. On the basis of his appearance his parents assumed at his birth that he was probably a European or American reborn.

When Maung Sein Hla Tun began to speak at the age of about 1½ years, he spoke in a mixture of languages that was half Burmese and half another language which his parents did not understand. He said that his name was "Georgette," and he called his (present) mother "auntie." He gradually communicated by words and gestures that he had been a pilot of an airplane shot down by Japanese ground guns near Prome. He also showed some behavior that was unusual in his family and that could be regarded as "European" or "Western."

This case came to the attention of Dr. U Shin, who was a physician practicing in Nattalin, where he had helped U Win Maung and me in the study of cases. Nattalin is 65 kilometers southeast of Prome, and we were not immediately able to respond to Dr. Shin's suggestion that we study the case. However, in March 1978 we were in Prome for the investigation of another case and found ourselves with time to make a detour for the study of this one.

On March 15, 1978, we went to Mingone and there interviewed Maung Sein Hla Tun and some other members of his family. Since then I have not met Maung Sein Hla Tun, but U Win Maung received occasional letters from him.

Persons Interviewed during the Investigation

In Mingone village, we interviewed:

Maung Sein Hla Tun
U Ohn Maung, Maung Sein Hla Tun's father
Daw Hla Gyi, Maung Sein Hla Tun's mother
Daw Sein Phyu, U Ohn Maung's mother and Maung Sein Hla Tun's grandmother

We also met Ma Aye Aye, Maung Sein Hla Tun's younger sister.

Relevant Facts of Geography and History

Mingone village is about 5 kilometers east of Prome, which is the largest city and the district town of this area. Prome is a major center of commerce and transportation for a large region. It is on the Irrawaddy River and at the terminus of a railway line running northwest from Rangoon. Prome is 240 kilometers from Rangoon.

Mingone is an interior village located about 1.5 kilometers from the paved road that joins Prome and Paungdale. One must walk to the village from the road. Mingone seemed to me such a remote place that I found entirely credible Daw Hla Gyi's statement that she had never seen a Westerner before Maung Sein Hla

Tun's birth. (Ordinarily she went to Prome only once a year.) She heard that after the Japanese left the area (in 1945) the British had reoccupied it, but she did not see them; and by the time she went to stay in Prome for a few months in the early 1950s, the British had again left.

During the Japanese occupation of Burma, the Mingyi Taung Hills, near Prome, provided excellent sites for the placement of antiaircraft guns aimed at Allied airplanes flying low to bomb Prome; the Japanese had considerable success in shooting down airplanes with these guns.

Statements Made by Maung Sein Hla Tun

As I mentioned above, Maung Sein Hla Tun's first speech was partly in a language that his parents could not understand. They afterward did not remember the words of this language, except for "auntie," which was what Maung Sein Hla Tun first called his mother. Daw Hla Gyi did not at first know that this word was English or what it meant. It may be presumed that the other words of Maung Sein Hla Tun's strange language were also English; but no member of the family knew English, no other persons confirmed that the language was English, and by the time U Win Maung and I reached Mingone (in 1978) to study the case, the family members could no longer remember any other of the strange words that Maung Sein Hla Tun had spoken when he was a young child. When we met him, Maung Sein Hla Tun was 27 years old, and he had been studying English (in a correspondence course) for some time; but he could not speak it, and he did not claim that he himself remembered that he had spoken English as a young child. He communicated the further statements that I shall now mention as he gained the use of the Burmese language; sometimes he supplemented his words with gestures.

Maung Sein Hla Tun said that his name was "Georgette." (The second syllable of his name might have been an attempt at giving a surname, e.g., "George Ett.") He said that he had been a pilot and that his airplane had been shot down by the (Japanese) guns on the Mingyi Taung Hills. He said his airplane crashed, and he was lying on his back before he died. (This detail suggests that the pilot survived the crash of his airplane and, if he was not thrown out of it on impact, managed to crawl out to a place where he died of his injuries.) He emphasized that he had been the pilot of the airplane by imitating with gestures the steering of an airplane.

Maung Sein Hla Tun also said he had a brother, but gave no particulars about him; and he did not name a place where he had lived.

Maung Sein Hla Tun's Statements about Events after Death in the Previous Life. When Maung Sein Hla Tun was about 3, he tried to show by drawing a sketch on the ground the various locations of places pertinent to how—as he remembered the events—he came to be reborn as Daw Hla Gyi's son. He said that he had seen his mother bathing in the (Irrawaddy) river and had followed her home, crossing the railway track in doing so. With his sketch on the ground he pointed out where (as a pilot) he had been shot down, where his mother bathed in the river, and how he crossed the railway line in following her home.

Comment. The details just mentioned matched some experiences in Daw Hla Gyi's life. During the period of insurgency in Burma that followed the end of World War II and the attaining of independence (in 1948), Daw Hla Gyi fled from her village and stayed for 3 months in Prome. She could not remember the exact year of this stay in Prome, but 1950 seemed approximately correct. While she was in Prome, she had gone bathing in the Irrawaddy River. The railway line between Prome and Rangoon lies west of Mingone, and one crosses the line in coming from Prome to Mingone.

If we have adequately accurate dates for Daw Hla Gyi's stay in Prome and for Maung Sein Hla Tun's birth, she must have conceived him soon after she returned to Mingone from Prome.

Maung Sein Hla Tun's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

Circumstances and Manner of Maung Sein Hla Tun's Speaking about the Previous Life. U Ohn Maung said that when Maung Sein Hla Tun was young he would be stimulated to speak about the previous life every time he saw an airplane fly over or heard a train go along the track, which was about 1.5 kilometers from Mingone. He would go out of the house and say that he wanted to go home and would ask to be sent back to his country. However, he never said where "home" was.

When he spoke about the previous life, he did not show strong emotion.

Other Behavior of Maung Sein Hla Tun Related to the Previous Life. U Ohn Maung and Daw Hla Gyi, having identified Maung Sein Hla Tun (at or soon after his birth) as an ex-European, so to speak, tried to accommodate his presumed needs and habits. Their tolerance and indeed indulgence toward him makes it difficult to say now to what extent he initially asserted needs different from those customary in Burmese villages.

For example, in the matter of clothes, Maung Sein Hla Tun's parents dressed him in trousers and did not even offer him a longyi until he was a young adult. So Maung Sein Hla Tun wore shorts in childhood and then trousers until within a few years of our meeting him, when he was wearing a longyi. He had not earlier asked for a longyi; but U Win Maung did not think that we should interpret his being content with trousers as necessarily "British" or "American." As I mentioned in the report of Maung Zaw Win Aung's case, some Burmese boys and young men find the longyi somewhat encumbering and would prefer to have trousers if their parents could provide these.

In the matter of food preferences Maung Sein Hla Tun was more definitely unusual compared with other members of his family. Up to the age of 4 he more or less refused to eat the usual Burmese food. He was weaned at the age of about 2, the usual age in Burma. He then would not eat fish or meat and was given bread with milk, sometimes sugared. He started eating rice when he was about 2, but instead of taking it with curries he had it mixed with milk. Around the age of 4 he adapted to the Burmese diet and thereafter had no difficulty eating it.

Maung Sein Hla Tun complained much of the heat in Burma when young, although by the time we met him he said he no longer minded the heat.

As a child he tended to remain a good deal by himself instead of playing with other children. He did not openly complain about being in Burma, and yet his longing to go home and some of his remarks suggested that he felt restrained and almost a prisoner in Mingone.

U Ohn Maung remarked that Maung Sein Hla Tun was more fastidious about cleanliness than other members of the family. Maung Sein Hla Tun himself said that when he had been living in a student hostel in Rangoon (where he had gone to sit an examination, I think) he differed from the other students in wanting everything around him kept neat and tidy.

Maung Sein Hla Tun had no phobias or antipathies. He expressed no antagonism to Japanese people and no special fondness for Europeans or Americans. When we met him, he said that he admired the scientific and technical progress of Western countries, but this opinion derived from his later reading about them, not from innate nationalism. When we asked him whether he felt a preference for the United Kingdom or the United States, he said he preferred the United States, but we did not pursue the reasons for this, which seemed not to be a matter of importance to him.

Other Relevant Behavior of Maung Sein Hla Tun

Both of Maung Sein Hla Tun's parents said that he had an unusually enquiring mind, being quite exceptional in this respect compared with the average Burmese child. He was constantly asking questions about the nature of things. "He wanted to know why leaves are green, why this, why that."

The Attitudes of Maung Sein Hla Tun's Family toward Him

There was no announcing dream in this case, and Maung Sein Hla Tun's parents were not emotionally prepared for the birth of a child with what seemed to them to be European features. Daw Hla Gyi said that at her first sight of Maung Sein Hla Tun, she wept; and the baby's grandmother tried to wash the baby's skin, thinking that its pallor was due to a thin covering of some white substance. U Ohn Maung was not surprised to have a blond baby, because he had heard about similar cases in Burma when he was young. (He did not give details of these cases and said they were not in the Prome area, but elsewhere in Burma. It is possible but unlikely that he had heard of the two old cases in Pegu and Meiktila, reports of which had been published in Burmese newspapers many years before his time.)

Because of his poor eyesight and the sensitivity of his skin to sunlight, work as a farmer was not in question for Maung Sein Hla Tun. This circumstance and his enquiring mind seemed to make him suited for higher education followed by work in some clerical position. His parents encouraged his education as they did that of his younger sister; she had matriculated and qualified as a dental techni-

cian. However, there was no electricity in Mingone village, and Maung Sein Hla Tun found studying extremely difficult with only a kerosene lamp to assist his poor vision at night. He repeatedly failed the matriculation examination, but eventually was accepted as an external student for a correspondence course at the University of Rangoon. In 1978 he was studying in the second year of this program, his subjects being English, chemistry, and biology.

The foregoing pertains to the attitudes of Maung Sein Hla Tun's parents toward his albinism. They did not merely accept that he might have been a Westerner in a previous life; they recognized his inability to work in the fields and tried their best to let him prepare himself for an indoor occupation.[25]

Maung Sein Hla Tun's Appearance

Figures 22-36 and 22-37 show Maung Sein Hla Tun with other members of his family and in a close-up view.

His skin was pale and pink in color, his hair a creamy white. He had severe nystagmus and marked myopia. I failed to enquire about whether he had photophobia. His irides were gray-blue in color. His eyes were of Caucasian form.

Figure 22-38 shows another view of Maung Sein Hla Tun's eyes in which, I believe, the Caucasian form of his eyes appears more definitely than it does in Figure 22-37. Figure 22-39 shows that his sister, Ma Aye Aye, had eyes of Mongolian form.

We also observed that Maung Sein Hla Tun had a full beard and much more hair on his arms than has the average Burmese person.

Genealogical Information about Maung Sein Hla Tun's Family

There had been no other instances of albinism in the families of either of Maung Sein Hla Tun's parental families. For information on this point we personally saw several other members of the family and learned about others from our informants. U Ohn Maung and his mother, Daw Sein Phyu, knew between them the appearance of all four of U Ohn Maung's grandparents and that of four of his great-grandparents. Daw Hla Gyi could speak from personal knowledge only of her parents and one pair of her grandparents.

So far as U Ohn Maung, Daw Sein Phyu, and Daw Hla Gyi knew, there had never been any marriages between a European and a member of their families. In

[25]It detracts nothing from the credit due to U Ohn Maung and Daw Hla Gyi for their assistance to Maung Sein Hla Tun to mention that other parents of albinos in Burma show a similar kindness toward these children. In general, the albinos of Burma are fully accepted and integrated in their society. This happy situation contrasts with that of albinos in Nigeria, where most of them are social outcasts and frequently forced to labor in the fields without protection from sunlight and with a consequent dreadful mortality from cancer of the skin to which their fair complexion makes them peculiarly vulnerable (Okoro, 1975).

Figure 22-36 Maung Sein Hla Tun with members of his family. This photograph and the next three photographs were taken in March 1978, when Maung Sein Hla Tun was not quite 27 years old. He is on the left of the photograph, and next to him, left to right, are his father (U Ohn Maung), his paternal grandmother (Daw Sein Phyu), his mother (Daw Hla Gyi), and his younger sister (Ma Aye Aye). They all had normal Burmese appearances.

Figure 22-37 Close-up view of Maung Sein Hla Tun's face. His hair was creamy white. His irides were gray-blue. For this photograph he had narrowed his palpebral fissure because it was taken in a brighter light than that of Figure 22-38. This partial closing of the eyes and a slight epicanthic fold gave his eyes more of a Mongolian appearance than they ordinarily had. This photograph should be compared with that of Figure 22-38.

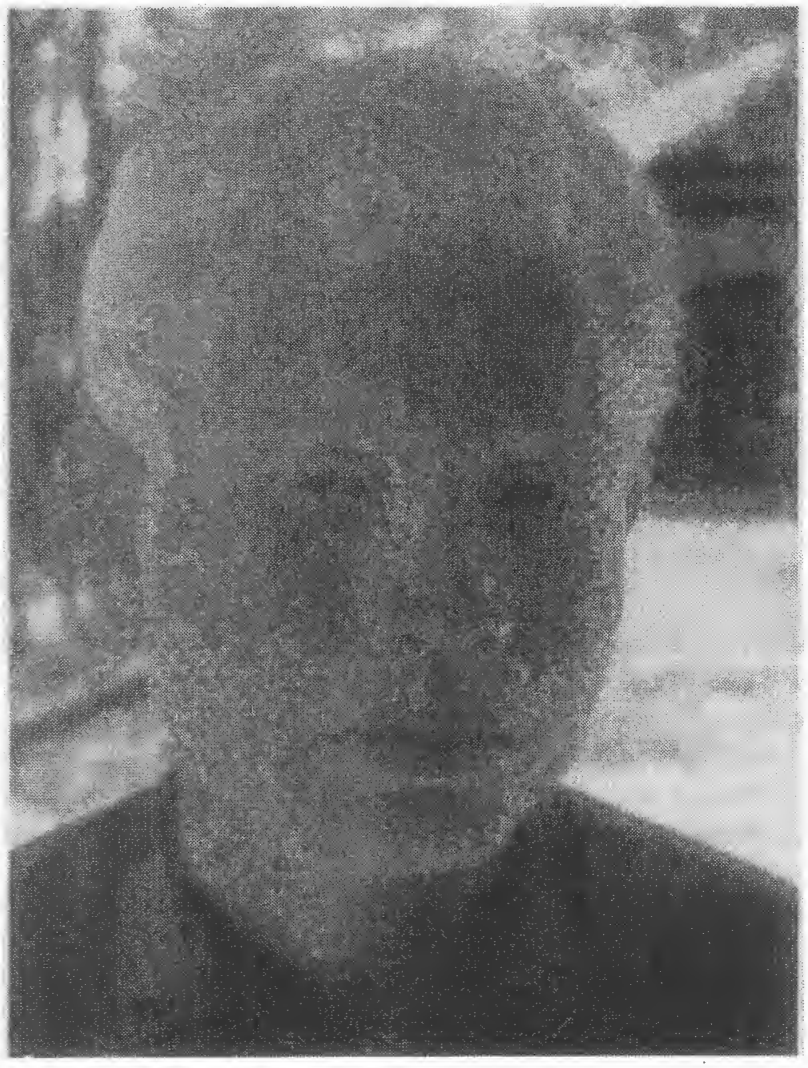

Figure 22-38 This photograph was taken in the shade, and Maung Sein Hla Tun's eyes were more open. Their form in this photograph seems definitely Caucasian.

such a remote village as Mingone this would have been highly improbable, although not impossible.

U Ohn Maung said that he knew of no marriages between cousins in the family. Daw Hla Gyi had been born in Mingone, but her mother had come from another village.

Maung Sein Hla Tun's Interpretation of His Own Case

Maung Sein Hla Tun's family were Buddhists, and he believed in rebirth (to use the term the Buddhists prefer to reincarnation). However, this did not mean that he viewed his own case as an instance of reincarnation. He expressed skepticism about rebirth as an explanation for the difference between his appearance and that of the other Burmese people he knew. He thought this difference was "due to defects in

Figure 22-39 Ma Aye Aye, Maung Sein Hla Tun's younger sister. This photograph shows typical Mongolian eyes of a Burmese woman. Ma Aye Aye had slight epicanthic folds.

my parents' chromosomes." (This may seem an unusual remark for a Burmese villager to make, but the reader should remember that Maung Sein Hla Tun had been studying biology at the second-year level of the University of Rangoon.)

THE CASE OF MAUNG TUN SEIN

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Maung Tun Sein was born in Rangoon, Burma, on April 21, 1955. His parents were U Khin Thoung and his wife, Daw Tin Nu. U Khin Thoung worked (during the period of the investigation of this case) as a supervisor at a State Agricultural Station at Thamaing, Rangoon.

Maung Tun Sein was an extreme blond and should be regarded as an albino. He was not the first or last albino child in his family. Before his birth Daw Tin Nu had given birth to two blond girls, and she also gave birth to three other blond sons, all younger than Maung Tun Sein. In addition, she had two sons and one daughter (also all younger than Maung Tun Sein) who had the normal pigmentation of Burmese people. The two blond girls died in infancy, and the youngest of the blond boys was still an infant in 1970, when I investigated the case of Maung Tun Sein. Accordingly, most of the information in this report bears on Maung Tun Sein and the two older of his blond brothers, Maung Than Gyaw (who was born in 1964) and Maung San Tun (who was born in 1966.) Figure 22-40 shows Maung Tun Sein and his family as they appeared in 1970.

Maung Tun Sein (and his blond siblings) had eyes of the external form of Caucasians, whereas their parents (and their normally pigmented siblings) had eyes of the form characteristic of the Mongolian race. Also, Daw Tin Nu had dreamed of Western women when she was pregnant with Maung Tun Sein. These various features led her and her husband to think that Maung Tun Sein and his blond siblings had been either Europeans or Americans in previous lives. These judgments were strengthened when, later, Maung Tun Sein (but not his younger brothers) made a few statements about a previous life as a Western person, and when he and the other blond children showed some "Western" behavior.

When Maung Tun Sein was about 1½ years old, he went to live with his paternal grandparents at Hlawga, a village located about 43 kilometers northwest of Rangoon. His parents continued to live in Rangoon with the younger children. However, eventually (that is, by 1970) all the children were living with their grandparents in Hlawga. This was a matter of convenience (partly for the schooling of the children) and implied no rejection of them by their parents. These circumstances led to our finding the children's grandparents better informed than their parents about what the children had done and said when they were younger.

When Maung Tun Sein was between 3 and 4 years old, an airplane flew over Hlawga, and it had, or seemed to have, some trouble with its engine. This stimulated Maung Tun Sein to say that he and a companion had been in an airplane that was shot down by the Japanese. He made a few other statements about a previous life that he seemed to remember. None of the other children had, by 1970, spoken about a previous life.

This is one of the first cases that I investigated in Burma. I learned of it through U Tin Tut (later the Ven. U Dhammadara), whose great value as an informant for cases I have earlier mentioned. U Tin Tut acted as my interpreter during the first 2 of 3 days that I devoted to investigating the case at the end of November and beginning of December 1970. U Win Maung interpreted on the third day. In March 1971 I had a second interview with Daw Tin Nu, and U Tin Tut again interpreted for me.

I have not met Maung Tun Sein since 1970, but afterward occasionally had some news of him from U Win Maung or in correspondence. In 1982 U

Win Maung tried to visit the family again, but learned that they had moved to an unknown address.

Persons Interviewed during the Investigation

In Hlawga I interviewed:

Maung Tun Sein
U Khin Thoung, Maung Tun Sein's father
Daw Tin Nu, Maung Tun Sein's mother
U Hla Maung, Maung Tun Sein's paternal grandfather
Daw Hla Gyi, Maung Tun Sein's paternal grandmother

An Announcing Dream

During her pregnancy with Maung Tun Sein, Daw Tin Nu dreamed of being with some Western women. They were brunettes with short hair and were wearing dresses in the style of Western women.

At our first meeting Daw Tin Nu told us she had similar dreams of being with Western women before each of her pregnancies with a blond child, but in two subsequent meetings she changed this statement and said she could remember such a dream only in connection with her pregnancy with Maung Tun Sein.

The Previous Acquaintance of Maung Tun Sein's Family with Westerners

In the years of World War II there was a military airport at Hlawga. Before the Japanese occupation of Burma (in early 1942), U Khin Thoung (at that time unmarried) had worked at this airport, where British airmen, and for a period American ones, had been stationed.

An American Volunteer Group of airmen was stationed at Hlawga shortly before the Japanese occupation. One of their airplanes accidentally dropped a bomb just as it was taking off, and this bomb exploded and destroyed another airplane that, also taking off, was following close behind the first one. Five or six persons were killed in this accident.

Just before the Japanese invasion of Burma, Japanese airplanes began raiding the area. British (and perhaps American) airplanes from Hlawga went up to fight them, and the Japanese shot down some of these airplanes.

After the Japanese Army in Burma was defeated and surrendered (in April-May 1945), the airport at Hlawga came again under Allied control, and British and American servicemen were once more at Hlawga.

The adults of Maung Tun Sein's family thus knew some Europeans who were stationed at the airfield, but they had no close relationship with them, and Daw Tin Nu said that she did not even know any of them personally. U Khin Thoung recalled that some of the Americans he saw at the airport had blond or red hair, but none of them were as blond (albino) as his children.

Statements Made by Maung Tun Sein

Maung Tun Sein said that he and a companion were in an airplane when it was shot down by the Japanese. He seems to have implied without explicitly saying that the airplane's engine had failed. He mentioned that the airplane had food and also a toilet. He did not say whether he had been American or British in the previous life. He gave no name for himself and did not state (directly) where he came from. However, he said that he had a red automobile and good clothes at Singapore. He referred to driving motor vehicles. He also mentioned hotels and having many friends with whom he would eat in hotels. He referred to underground apartments, apparently in basements or cellars of buildings. He mentioned a make of shoe that he liked, but Daw Hla Gyi, who was the informant for this detail, did not say what make of shoe Maung Tun Sein had mentioned; this was probably because she had not remembered it. (Burmese villagers wear sandals, and they are not normally familiar with shoes, let alone particular makes of them.) She did, however, recall that Maung Tun Sein had alluded to Cobra brand shoe polish, which—I was told—was a shoe polish used by the British.

Maung Tun Sein (unlike B. B. Saxena and Maung Zaw Win Aung) never identified his younger blond siblings as persons who were with him in the previous life.

Maung Tun Sein's Statements in 1970. In November 1970 Maung Tun Sein was 15½ years old. He spoke with us affably, but had nothing to say directly about a previous life. He said that he did not wish to be a farmer (cultivator), but hoped to become an army officer or an engineer. He told us that he would like to travel, but he mentioned no country that he especially wished to visit. He also said that he was finding English easy to learn—easier for him than Burmese.

Maung Tun Sein's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

Circumstances and Manner of Maung Tun Sein's Speaking about the Previous Life. I mentioned earlier what may have been the first stimulus of Maung Tun Sein's references to the previous life: the occasion when an airplane flew overhead and sounded as if it had engine trouble. On later occasions, his grandmother told us, he wanted to talk about the previous life—as have many other Burmese subjects—when the weather was cloudy; however, he was suppressed.

Maung Tun Sein's Other Behavior Related to the Previous Life. Maung Tun Sein complained of the heat in Burma and said that he preferred cooler weather. (This was stated by Daw Hla Gyi and by Maung Tun Sein himself, and it provides an example of the differing opportunities Maung Tun Sein's grandparents and parents had for observing him; his father said that he had not complained of the heat.)

Maung Tun Sein asked to eat food with a spoon (or knife) and fork, in contrast to the usual manner for the Burmese of eating food with their hands. He also liked his food to be of the best quality and showed an especial fondness for meat.

He preferred beef and chicken to other meat. (Burmese Buddhists are not usually vegetarians, but they prefer pork to other kinds of meat.) He also showed a preference for bread over rice, the usual grain foodstuff of the Burmese people; and he liked baked potatoes.

Maung Tun Sein expressed a wish to wear long trousers as early as the age of 6 years. This is not so unusual a trait as some of the others that the informants mentioned, because, as I stated in earlier case reports, young boys in postwar Burma sometimes expressed a wish to wear trousers rather than a longyi. More significant was Maung Tun Sein's apparent communication—there was some doubt as to just what he wanted—of a wish to have and wear a necktie, which his family could not afford to give him. Even more unusual was his (more clearly expressed) wish to have shoes and boots, an item almost completely unknown in Burmese villages, whose inhabitants wear sandals or go barefoot. He was fastidious about his dress and did not like to play in the mud as other Burmese children often do.

Maung Tun Sein was fond of all mechanical things. Once, when he was still a young child, he was crying, and his grandparents gave him a tin can; he stopped crying and played with the can as if it were an automobile, trying to repair it. He was fond of tinkering with mechanical devices, such as a radio that he obtained somewhere and tried to repair. He showed these behaviors when he was only 5. He also showed an interest in airplanes and said that he wanted to fly one. He expressed a wish to become an engineer and also an army officer. These interests would not arouse comment about a Burmese boy living in a city like Rangoon or Mandalay; but at the period in question (the late 1950s and early 1960s) the Burmese villagers had little or no mechanical equipment, and objects such as radios and automobiles were rare. The play of the average village boy incorporated other objects.

Our informants remarked that Maung Tun Sein was more aggressive and more independent than the usual Burmese child. He was less polite to adults than they usually are and seemed at times to have a superior air toward other people. It was particularly noted that he would not accept offers of pocket money, even from his grandfather. (An average Burmese boy would accept the gift, even if he did not otherwise want it, out of a wish not to offend the donor.)

Burmese parents sometimes try to control their children by saying that ghosts will trouble them if they do not obey their parents. This warning had no effect on Maung Tun Sein and his blond brothers.

During the 1960s and 1970s, Burma did not have many European or American visitors, and they were much less often seen in places like Hlawga than in Rangoon. There was consequently little opportunity to observe whether Maung Tun Sein mixed well with Westerners. He did once go to a swimming pool where there were some Western children, and his grandmother said that he got along well with them there. However, he did not show a noticeable preference for playing with the European children instead of the Burmese ones. Moreover, in his own family Maung Tun Sein did not show any greater fondness for his blond brothers compared with his brothers (and sister) of normal Burmese pigmentation.

When other persons referred in conversation to Europeans or Americans, Maung Tun Sein seemed pleased (although he never expressed in words a special fondness for Western people). In contrast, his face (but not words) showed dislike whenever the Japanese were mentioned.

Maung Tun Sein did not resist the practices of Burmese Buddhism, although he was not especially interested in religion. He did not show any gestures or habits suggestive of another religion, such as Christianity.[26]

Observations of Maung Tun Sein's Blond Brothers

Maung Tun Sein was the only one of the blond children who ever spoke about a previous life. He did not say much, but he did make a small number of statements, whereas his brothers said nothing about a previous life, or perhaps I should say nothing that any adult among my informants overheard and remembered.

With regard to behavior, however, the younger blond boys showed the unusual behavior that I have described for Maung Tun Sein with some variations. For example, the younger blond brothers shared his food preferences, such as for meat and bread; but they ate with their hands instead of asking for cutlery, as he did.

The blond brother next to Maung Tun Sein (Maung Than Gyaw) was even more interested in mechanical equipment than was Maung Tun Sein. However, he said that he wished to become a soldier and fight when he grew up. Also, he was just as insistent as Maung Tun Sein on wearing trousers.

Maung Than Gyaw (when he was "quite young") was once heard to speak a full sentence in English. He said: "What is your name?" (This sentence, however, would be one of the first English sentences learned by Burmese children.) Maung Tun Sein himself said that Maung Than Gyaw and the next younger blond brother, Maung San Tun, had at one time spoken a "private language" that no one else, including himself, could understand. However, none of the adults mentioned having heard such a private language to me.

The blond brothers talked of driving automobiles.

In general, all of the blond brothers, including Maung Tun Sein, were more independent and more aggressive than the normal Burmese children of the family.

The Attitudes of Maung Tun Sein's Parents and Grandparents toward the Case

When Daw Tin Nu gave birth to the first of the blond children (one of the two baby girls who died in infancy), a nurse at the hospital in Rangoon where she then was asked her, somewhat tactlessly, if her husband was a European. Daw Tin

[26]Subjects who have shown behavior unusual for the religion of their family but characteristic of the religious practices of the previous life include: Gamini Jayasena (Christianity), Vinita Jha (Christianity), Wijanama Kithsiri (Islam), Archana Shastri (Islam), Mukul Bhausar (Islam), and Subhash Singhal (Islam).

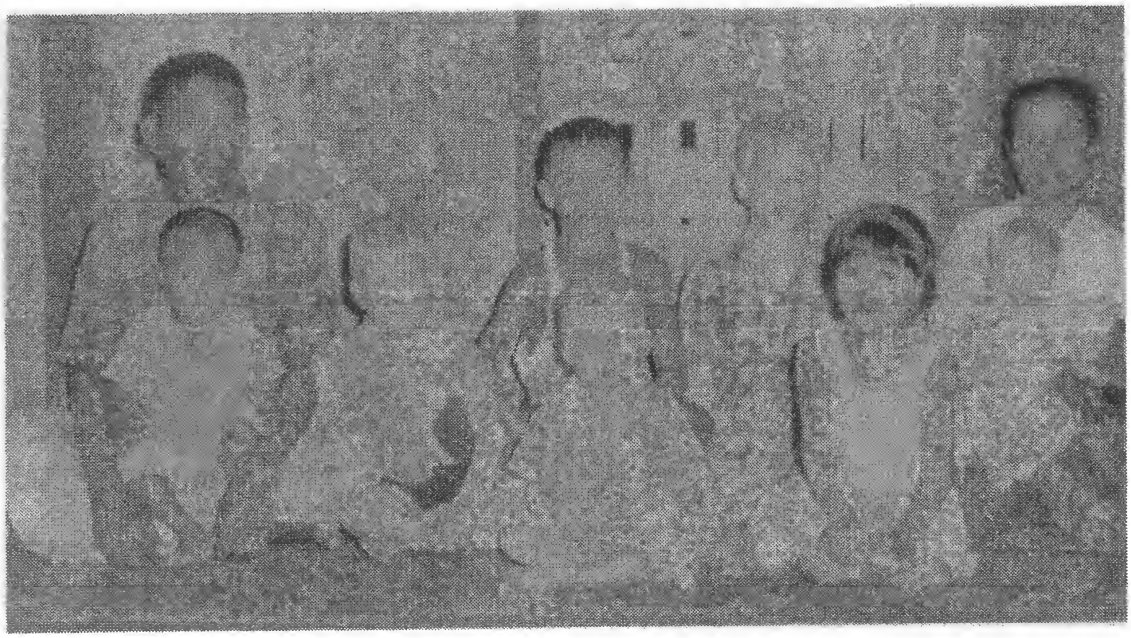

Figure 22-40 Maung Tun Sein, his parents and siblings as they appeared in December 1970, when Maung Tun Sein was 15½ years old. He was the tallest of the albino children, seated at the back with a checked shirt. His hair was straw-colored and his irides were blue. His complexion was extremely fair. The seeming pallor of the face of Maung Tun Sein's sister, seated in front of him, derives from the application of thanaka paste to her face. She had normal pigmentation for a Burmese.

Nu said that she had no particular reaction to finding that she had a blond baby. Her husband was not discomfited either; on the contrary, he was pleased. His acceptance of the first blond baby and all the subsequent ones shows his complete confidence in his wife's fidelity. In the Burma of that period he could have disavowed the paternity of the children, if he had believed they were not his.

Maung Tun Sein's grandparents shared the widespread belief in Burma that children who remember previous lives may die young. They thought that the blond girls who had died in infancy were Westerners who had reincarnated, and that their early deaths were somehow related to the previous lives. This idea seems to have strengthened their resolve to suppress Maung Tun Sein, and so when he tried to speak about the previous life, they first admonished him and then beat him. He then stopped talking about the previous life.

Maung Tun Sein's Appearance

Maung Tun Sein's complexion was light pink in color, his hair straw color (not white), and his irides were blue-gray. The form of his eyes was Caucasian, not Mongolian. I neglected to take a close-up photograph of Maung Tun Sein.

Figure 22-40 shows a group of all the children of the family together with their parents. The scanty pigmentation of the four blond children can be readily compared with that of their normally pigmented siblings and parents.

Maung Tun Sein had moderately severe photophobia and moderate nystagmus. He also had some impairment of visual acuity, but I did not learn its severity

Maung Tun Sein's Birthmark. Maung Tun Sein had a mark on the inner surface of the lower part of his left upper arm, just above the crease of the elbow. It was in general round in shape, but a little irregular. It was paler than the surrounding skin and about 10 millimeters in diameter.

The status of this mark as a birthmark is somewhat uncertain. His paternal grandparents had not noticed it and neither had his mother, before Maung Tun Sein himself drew our attention to it in December 1970. However, U Khin Thoung said that it had been present at birth. So did Maung Tun Sein; he was obviously not a fully qualified firsthand witness on this matter, but he expressed confidence that the mark was a birthmark, and he distinguished it from two other marks that he had, lower down, on the same arm. They were acquired scars from vaccinations.

Maung Tun Sein had not earlier connected the birthmark to which he pointed in 1970 with his memory of having been shot down as an aviator in the previous life; and he did not make such a connection in 1970.

Other Relevant Medical Information. Daw Tin Nu said that Maung Tun Sein (and also all her other blond children) had been larger at birth than her children of normal Burmese pigmentation. Maung Tun Sein weighed 4100 kilograms at birth. (This weight is the approximate equivalent of 9 pounds, the weight U Khin Thoung stated.)

U Khin Thoung said he considered the blond brothers more intelligent than their normally pigmented brothers.

Genealogical Information about Maung Tun Sein's Family

The adult informants of the case said that so far as they knew there had been no marriage or liaisons between Europeans (or Americans) and members of the families of either U Khin Thoung or Daw Tin Nu. Nor had there been any previous instances of blond persons in the families. I drew up a genealogy for the members of the family known to them. For U Khin Thoung it went back as far as his great-grandparents, but Daw Tin Nu could speak only about her own parents (Maung Tun Sein's maternal grandparents).

U Khin Thoung and Daw Tin Nu were not related. Daw Tin Nu, who was the informant for this detail, added that she did not know of any cousin marriages in either of their families.

THE CASE OF MA AHMAR SEIN

Introduction

The case of Ma Ahmar Sein differs from the other Burmese cases in this section in that she was identified as the reincarnation of an older sibling. She herself

had no distinctive behavioral traits, but her older sibling had shown some "Western" ones. The case also merits inclusion here because it is in some respects parallel to that of Celestina Ume-Ezeoke, whose case I describe next.

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

I have not recorded a birthdate for Ma Ahmar Sein, but from available evidence I can be reasonably sure that she was born in about 1955. Her parents were U Mya and his wife, Daw Phwa Thin. U Mya was a cultivator. He and his family lived in Nyaungnabin, which is in Tatkon Township, Upper Burma. Ma Ahmar Sein was the seventh of the nine children in the family.

Ma Ahmar Sein was a blond whom we should regard as an albino (Figure 22-41). She had a few memories of the previous life of her deceased older sister, Ma Bo Ma.

U Win Maung learned of this case from U Kyauk Tin, who was one of his numerous informants about cases in Burma. U Kyauk Tin lived in Tatkon and was well acquainted with the family of Ma Ahmar Sein. In April 1973, U Win Maung went to Nyaungnabin, where he met and interviewed Ma Ahmar Sein's parents and also photographed her.

It was more than 2 years before I joined in the investigation of the case. On November 14, 1975, U Win Maung and I went to Nyaungnabin, where we interviewed Ma Ahmar Sein's parents and again photographed her. I have not met Ma Ahmar Sein since that time.

The Life, Death, and Character of Ma Bo Ma

Ma Bo Ma was said to have died in about 1943 at the age of 7. Therefore, she was born in about 1936. She was born, lived, and died in Nyaungnabin. She was the third child of her parents. She died after being severely frightened—I did not learn by what—following which she developed an extremely high fever and died after a brief illness.

Ma Bo Ma was distinctive in two unusual features. First, she was an albino. We did not obtain a description of her appearance beyond learning that she and Ma Ahmar Sein were "exactly alike." (The last phrase was Daw Phwa Thin's.)

Second, Ma Bo Ma had several behavioral traits that we could regard as "European" or "British." She liked good food, that is, food better than her family could ordinarily provide. She disliked and did not eat food having hot spices, which nearly all Burmese people relish. She liked to drink tea with milk and sugar. (The Burmese villagers take tea without either milk or sugar.) She preferred lean pork to fatty pork. Compared with her siblings she was unusually clean. She seemed to prefer Western clothes, if these were obtainable. Once a trunk of clothes fell off the back of an automobile in which British Army officers were traveling; they were unaware that the trunk had fallen off and continued their journey ignorant of the loss. U Mya retrieved the trunk and brought some of the

clothes home. Ma Bo Ma showed much interest in the Western clothes (which included some of an officer's wife) that had been in the trunk. She claimed most of them for herself, and her family adapted them for her. Ma Bo Ma also showed a superior attitude toward her siblings and even toward her parents.

Ma Bo Ma never made any statements about a previous life, and her identification as a reincarnated European derived exclusively from her extreme fairness (of hair, complexion, and irides) and from the syndrome of traits that her parents considered "Western."

Events between the Death of Ma Bo Ma and Ma Ahmar Sein's Birth

For a time after Ma Bo Ma's death, Daw Phwa Thin had wished to have Ma Bo Ma back again as another child. During this period she had a dream in which she was nursing Ma Bo Ma again and very pleased. After having three more daughters—making six in all—and no sons, however, she lost the wish to have Ma Bo Ma return. When she became pregnant again—around 1954, I estimate—she ardently wished for a son. In the hope of obtaining a prenatal diagnosis of a son, she consulted an astrologer. Instead of telling her that she would have a son, the astrologer said: "You had a special kind of baby before, and it will be coming back to you again."

Statements Made by Ma Ahmar Sein

Ma Ahmar Sein seems to have made a few statements about the life of Ma Bo Ma, but we did not learn details of what she had said, with one exception, and this referred to a postmortem discarnate existence instead of to Ma Bo Ma's terrestrial life. Someone in the family once wondered aloud, in Ma Ahmar Sein's presence, where a certain Ma Khin Homi then was. (Ma Khin Homi had been a close friend of Ma Bo Ma, and she had died in about 1945, 2 years after Ma Bo Ma.) On hearing this query about Ma Khin Homi, Ma Ahmar Sein said: "Oh, I left her on that big banyan tree." This remark implied that Ma Bo Ma and Ma Khin Homi had met each other in a discarnate realm after they had both died.

Observations of Ma Ahmar Sein's Behavior

U Mya and Daw Phwa Thin said nothing about any unusual behavior that Ma Ahmar Sein had shown, and I believe that her interests, tastes, and attitudes resembled those of other Burmese children of her age. She could, for example, eat spicy foods, which Ma Bo Ma had disliked.

Ma Ahmar Sein's Appearance

Figure 22-41 shows Ma Ahmar Sein's appearance in April 1973, when she was—by my estimate—about 18 years old. Her complexion was extremely fair,

Figure 22-41 Ma Ahmar Sein as she appeared in April 1973, when she was about 18 years old. Her complexion was extremely fair, her hair a light brown, and her irides gray-brown. Her eyes were of Caucasian form.

her hair a light brown, and her irides gray-brown. She had moderately severe nystagmus and considerable photophobia; her vision, however, was good. Her eyes had a Caucasian form. She was sensitive to heat.

Figure 22-42 shows Ma Ahmar Sein (with two of her sisters) as she appeared in November 1975. In this photograph her hair appears to be lighter—more straw-colored—than it does in Figure 22-41. Because of the brighter light in which the photograph was taken, Ma Ahmar Sein had partly closed her eyelids before the photograph was taken, and this gave them more of a Mongolian appearance than they otherwise had.

Genealogical Information about Ma Ahmar Sein's Family

U Mya and Daw Phwa Thin were first cousins. Each had known their grandparents, and they said that they knew of no albinos in their families before the

Figure 22-42 Ma Ahmar Sein and two of her sisters as they appeared in November 1975, when Ma Ahmar Sein was about 20 years old. In this photograph Ma Ahmar Sein's hair appears much whiter than it does in Figure 22-41. Her eyes were partly closed, because of the bright light.

birth of Ma Bo Ma. Nor were there any other albinos among their children except Ma Ahmar Sein. (Before she completed her family, Daw Phwa Thin had had nine daughters and no sons.)

Other Relevant Observations

Given the idea that Ma Bo Ma had behavioral memories of the life of a European, probably an English person, it was reasonable to enquire about contacts that the family had had with Europeans. The answer was that they had had none. They also had not heard of any British officer who had died in the area. On this point U Kyauk Tin, who lived in Tatkon, said that there were no Europeans regularly in Tatkon, the nearest town to Nyaungnabin. British administrative officers were at Pyinmana, to the south, and at Yamethin, to the north.

Comment. U Kyauk Tin was addressing the question of British officers (or other Europeans) who *resided* in the area. His answer would not exclude the possibility of English businessmen (or administrative officials) who would come for brief visits or travel through the area, as did the Army officers who lost a trunk that fell off their automobile.

THE CASE OF CELESTINA UME-EZEOKE

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Celestina Ume-Ezeoke was born in Enugu, Anambra State, Nigeria, on September 10, 1960. Her parents were P. O. Ume-Ezeoke and his wife, Angela. Celestina was the tenth child in a family of altogether 12 children. P. O. Ume-Ezeoke was, during most of his professional life, an administrator in the Nigerian broadcasting service; after retiring from that, he owned and managed a small hotel in Enugu. He was a university graduate, as were several of his children. He and his wife were Igbos and Roman Catholics.

Celestina was an albino (Figure 22-43), but this was not considered remarkable, because two of her older sisters—twins called Ifeoma and Judith—had been albinos. (They had been born on August 9, 1958.) Thus the family, on genetic grounds, could have expected to have one or more additional albino children. Being educated persons, they did not show the rejection of albino children so common among the uneducated majority of Nigerians (Okoro, 1975).

There were no other known albinos in the family before the births of Ifeoma and Judith. I drew up a genealogy that extended back to Angela's great-grandparents, but on P. O. Ume-Ezeoke's side only to his parents. I did not learn of any known consanguinity in the family, but I did not ask specifically about this.

Ifeoma, the older of the albino twins, died of pneumonia at the age of 10 months in June 1959. What made Celestina's case noteworthy was her claim, expressed almost as soon as she could speak, that she had been Ifeoma. From the age of about 3, she said that she should be called not Celestina, but Ifeoma. Celestina's parents did not call her Ifeoma despite her requests that they do so; and she stopped asking them to do this when she was about 5 years old.

Celestina, in addition to her claim to be Ifeoma reborn, showed an unnatural eagerness to catch up academically with Judith, the survivor of her twin older sisters. Judith, 2 years older than Celestina, was naturally far ahead of Celestina in academic work. She was successful in her undergraduate studies at college, and in 1984 she was working toward an M.A. Celestina was already ambitious to obtain an M.A. degree herself. There seems to have been nothing nastily rivalrous in Celestina's wish to be on a level with Judith, only a sense that somehow she should be at the same stage. The case had no other features suggestive of reincarnation.

I learned of this case from Professor Anezi Okoro, a dermatologist on the faculty of the University of Nigeria Teaching Hospital at Enugu. Professor Okoro had made a special study of albinos in Nigeria. He had done much to alleviate their condition in Nigeria, where they are generally regarded as unde-

sirable and rarely given the protection they need from exposure to sunlight (Okoro, 1975). He also took a constructive interest in my investigations in Nigeria; hence his referral of this case to me. Although I learned about the case in December 1982, I was not able to meet Celestina and her parents until a later journey to Nigeria, on June 17, 1984. At that time I had a long interview (at their home in Enugu) with both of Celestina's parents and was able to examine and photograph Celestina. I was shown a photograph of Judith, but she was not at home, and I did not meet her.

The Attitude of Celestina's Parents toward the Case

As I mentioned, Celestina's parents were Roman Catholics. Her father was outspokenly critical of what he called the "pagan" belief in reincarnation of the traditional Igbo religion. "If I believed in it," he said, "I would think that my son Obi was the reincarnation of 'The Chief' [P. O. Ume-Ezeoke's paternal uncle]." Obi, as a young child, had said he should be called "Nang" (meaning father). "The Chief" had been called Nang, and Obi would answer to this name when called by it. He also resembled "The Chief" in other respects the details of which I did not learn. P. O. Ume-Ezeoke's attitude was thus typical of the religious syncretism that commonly occurs between the traditional religion of the Igbos and their formal adherence to Christianity. His rejection of the traditional belief in reincarnation as "pagan" was belied by his narration of the case of Obi and by his cooperation with my inquiries about the case of Celestina. As an educated man, however, he also had a respect for research and said that he wished to examine evidence with an open mind.

P. O. Ume-Ezeoke had for some reason a special desire, almost a craving, to have twins. He had prayed that he and his wife might have twins. The fifth and sixth children of the family were twins, but they both died within a few weeks of birth. They were followed by a singleton child, and then came the albino twins, Ifeoma and Judith. Ifeoma's death was a disappointment to her father, and he regarded Celestina's birth (an albino like Ifeoma) as a sort of compensation for Ifeoma's death.

Comment. P. O. Ume-Ezeoke's acceptance of Celestina as a substitute for Ifeoma may have contributed to her identification with Ifeoma. I do not think, however, that we can account for it with this factor alone. As I mentioned, although Celestina's family did not suppress her, neither did they accede to her wish to be called Ifeoma.

Celestina's Appearance

Figure 22-43 shows that Celestina (at the age of nearly 24) might have been mistaken for a European or a North American, although her full lips and broad

Figure 22-43 Celestina Ume-Ezeoke, as she appeared in June 1984, when she was almost 24 years old.

nose suggested an African Negro. Her complexion was pink, her hair was blond. It was curly, but not crinkly. Her irides were blue. She was sensitive to glare and had some nystagmus.

THE CASE OF NATHU RAM

On October 20, 1971, I was in the town of Bhiwani in the state of Haryana, India, when, as we drove through the town, I noticed a young albino man standing in the street. I persuaded Dr. Jamuna Prasad, who was with me, that we should stop the car, get out, and talk with this young man.

His name was Nathu Ram. He had been born in Bhiwani on June 27, 1952, and so was a little more than 19 years old. He was a student in a secondary school, then in the 11th grade. His parents were Chhotu Ram and his wife, Ram Devi. The family belonged to the Chamar caste, and Chhotu Ram worked as a cobbler.

Nathu Ram entered freely into what developed into a long interview. Later, I asked if we could meet his father, and he took us to meet Chhotu Ram in the bazaar.

Chhotu Ram said there had been no albinos in his ancestry of which he was aware. He himself had pigmentation normal for a person of northern India. He had had eight sons who had died in infancy, most of them albinos. Only Nathu Ram and one brother, 3 years younger than he, had survived infancy. The younger brother had normal pigmentation. There had been no daughters.

Nathu Ram had had no memories of a previous life. As a young child he had shown no unusual behavior, such as requests for special kinds of food or clothes. My question about food preferences amused Chhotu Ram, who pointed out that he was poor and could have provided no special food for Nathu Ram even if he had asked for such. "He eats what we provide," he said. "He does not ask for anything else."

Nathu Ram was wearing trousers, but there was nothing unusual about this. Most Indian students of his age wore trousers. (Chhotu Ram wore a dhoti.)

Nathu Ram liked to learn English and wished to be able to speak it. He also had some desire to travel to England and America. For a further career he was thinking of government service or trying to enlist in the Army or Air Force. (His poor eyesight would probably have excluded him from a military career.)

Nathu Ram's Appearance

Figure 22-44 shows Nathu Ram as he appeared in 1971. He had light brown hair and a pink complexion with little pigment. His irides were blue-green, and he had mild nystagmus. He was somewhat myopic. He said that he did not suffer from glare or from hot weather, although he preferred cold weather.

Comment

Nothing emerged from our interviews with Nathu Ram and his father that was in the slightest way suggestive of a memory of a previous life. Dr. Jamuna Prasad dismissed Nathu Ram's interest in a military career by pointing out that this was a common aspiration of many young men in India at the time.

Figure 22-44 Nathu Ram as he appeared in October 1971, when he was about 19½ years old. His irides, their color not seen in the photograph, were blue-green.

I will draw attention to the mildness of Nathu Ram's albinism compared with that of some albinos I have known, especially in Burma. Some authors writing about albinism have shown a tendency to describe it as a discrete trait that is either present or absent. That is in general true, but among albinos wide variations of pigmentation occur. "Of this imperfection there are all degrees" (Davenport and Davenport, 1910, p. 726).

DISCUSSION OF CASES WITH ALBINISM

INTRODUCTION

I will begin this discussion by outlining what I call the normal explanation of the cases. I will then draw attention to objections that may be raised against this explanation. After that, I will discuss two possible explanations including paranormal processes to both of which serious objections may also be raised.

In order to assist readers in the discussion that follows I have listed in Table 22-2 some of the principal features of the 10 cases of the albino subjects I have described in this chapter. I have taken as the proband subject the albino member of the family whom I (or U Win Maung) met and examined. In 6 of the 10 cases the proband subject was the first albino born in the family, but in the other 4 cases he or she had albino siblings who had been born earlier. Some had later-born albino siblings.

Table 22-2 **Summary of Associated Features of Albinos in India, Burma, and Nigeria**

Subject	*"Western" Features*	*Imaged Memories*	*Proband Subject the First Albino Born in Family*	*Blond/ Albino Siblings with "Western" Behavior*	*Subject or Dream Identified Later-born Albino as Relative or Companion of Proband*	*History of Airplane Crashing Near Family*	*History of Blonds/ Albinos in Parents' Families*	*Comments*
1. B. B. Saxena	"Western" behavior	Yes	Yes	Slight	Yes	No, but army cantonment nearby	No	
2. Maung Zaw Win Aung	"Western" behavior; large size at birth; Caucasian eyes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	
3. Maung Aye	"Western" behavior	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	
4. Ma Par	"Western" behavior	Yes	Yes	No	Not applicable	Yes	No	S (subject) had no albino siblings. Parents from same village. Sex-change case.

5. Maung Tin Soe	"Western" behavior; large size at birth; Caucasian eyes	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	S's parents were distantly related.
6. Maung Bo Gyi	"Western" behavior; Caucasian eyes	Yes	Yes	Slight`	Yes	Yes	No	S's father and sister had Caucasion eyes. S's parents were cousins.
7. Maung Sein Hla Tun	"Western" behavior; Caucasian eyes	Yes	Yes	No	Not applicable	Yes	No	S had no albino siblings.
8. Maung Tun Sein	"Western" behavior; large size at birth; Caucasian eyes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	

Table 22-2 *(continued)*

Subject	*"Western" Features*	*Imaged Memories*	*Proband Subject the First Albino Born in Family*	*Blond/ Albino Siblings with "Western" Behavior*	*Subject or Dream Identified Later-born Albino as Relative or Companion of Proband*	*History of Airplane Crashing Near Family*	*History of Blonds/ Albinos in Parents' Families*	*Comments*
9. Ma Ahmar Sein	Caucasian eyes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	S's parents were first cousins. S identified as reincarnation of albino sibling.
10. Celestina Ume-Ezeoke	Not applicable	Yes	No	Not applicable	Not applicable	Not applicable	No	S said she was a deceased albino sister reborn.

THE NORMAL EXPLANATION

An explanation along normal lines states that the subjects of these cases happen to be albinos born of parents heterozygous for albinism. At their birth, their families immediately interpret their fairness as derived from a previous life as a Westerner. If an airplane has crashed in the neighborhood, the killed airmen (one or more) are selected as the obvious deceased persons who have reincarnated. If one or several additional albinos are born in the same family, they are said to be either other airmen (companions of the firstborn albino) or members of the proband's family or circle of friends who have reincarnated in the same family in order to join him. The parents talk about the airplane crash, and they also offer the child Western food and clothes in an effort to accommodate its tastes and habits carried over from the presumed previous life. (Some of the parents have said that they have done this.) However, such indulgence—from the perspective of the parents—may really be a kind of imposition of a role, that of a Western airman or other Westerner, on the child. For the child, the role of a Western person may have some advantages. He or she is given a heroic past and, so far from being an outcast in the family, may receive favored treatment. The child comes to adopt his parents' belief that he was a Western airman (or other Westerner) in a previous life, and his belief leads him to express some behaviors that could be judged "Western."

This explanation seems so plausible that it may seem unwise—even perverse—to raise objections against it. Nevertheless, any comprehensive explanation must take account of all features and circumstances of the cases.

Obstacles to Acceptance of the Normal Explanation

Most of the blond subjects of Burma have external eyes that are of Caucasian form, not Mongolian. (This difficulty does not arise in the single Indian case in the group [B. B. Saxena's case], because Indians, although dark-skinned, are Caucasians; and their eyes [except in the frontier areas bordering Tibet, China, and Burma] are not, in external form, Mongolian.)

There may be a genetic linkage between albinism and eye form, but I have not found this anywhere claimed. However, if this is the case, why do not *all* our albino subjects in Burma have eyes of Caucasian form? In at least two subjects (Ma Par and Maung Aye), the external form of the eyes was not Caucasian, but Mongolian; and they were just as blond as the other subjects. A published photograph of an albino Cuna Indian (of San Blas, Panama) shows that his eyes had a Mongolian form similar to that of the eyes of a normally pigmented Cuna child (Fitzpatrick et al. 1991, p. 282).

A similar difficulty arises with the reports from three of the families that the albino children—said to be English in their previous lives—were heavier at birth than their normally pigmented siblings. (Unfortunately, in the other cases I either failed to enquire about the size of the babies at birth or, when I did, the available

informant did not know the answer to the question.) Again, I know of no claim of a genetic linkage between albinism and bodily size. English people and Americans, however, are, on average, appreciably taller and heavier than Burmese people.

Some account needs also to be taken of the birthmarks that figured in the cases of B. B. Saxena and Maung Aye. These cases like all the others of this group are unsolved, and we do not know that these birthmarks corresponded to wounds on a particular deceased person. They did resemble, however, similar birthmarks in other subjects for which we have verified a correspondence; and they fit harmoniously into what these subjects said about how they were killed in a previous life. I believe therefore that they deserve some weight in our appraisal of the cases in which they occurred.

We come next to the question of whether Burmese parents would even unconsciously wish to inculcate Western habits in their children.[27]

The Burmese had mixed attitudes toward the British. On the one hand, many of them appreciated the administrative efficiency of the British, their good policing, and their general incorruptibility. On the other hand, the British had deprived the Burmese of their national liberty, and many of them were openly contemptuous of Burmese Buddhist culture and racist in their attitudes toward the Burmese people. George Orwell's (1934/1967) *Burmese Days* is not a false satire of the attitudes of most of the British in Burma. Orwell also showed the low opinion many Burmese had of the British. At the beginning of World War II, as I stated in Appendix B, most Burmese political leaders sided with the Japanese, and they only changed sides at the end of the war when the Allies were winning.

Americans were little known in Burma before World War II except in the role of missionaries, sometimes medical ones. In general, the Burmese would regard them as Westerners, but perhaps less objectionable ones than the British.

In this connection we may bring into the discussion the cases of the some 20 Burmese subjects who claimed to remember the previous lives of Japanese soldiers killed during World War II or who were so identified because of their statements, unusual behavior, and (sometimes) appearance. (This work includes reports of 10 such cases.) By the end of World War II most Burmese intensely disliked most Japanese. The British, however, were only slightly less odious to the Burmese. Those who cannot imagine that a Burmese parent would train or guide his or her child to identify with a Japanese soldier will surely have almost as much difficulty in believing that a Burmese parent would train a child to identify with an Englishman or American.

One cannot therefore safely generalize about whether a Burmese parent would or would not wish to have a child identified as having been British or American in a previous life. Some parents might welcome this as conferring a lit-

[27]In the report of B. B. Saxena's case I discussed the improbability that his (Indian) parents would have tried to impose a "British personality" on him. This question did not arise in the case of Celestina Ume-Ezeoke. Further remarks in this section will therefore address the question of whether Burmese parents would impose a British or American personality on a child.

tle glamour on their lives; others, however, would find the idea uncongenial. Members of the second group would certainly not consciously engage in imposing a British or American previous life on their children.

Even if the Burmese parents had unconsciously wished to impose or encourage a child to identify with a deceased English or American flyer, we do not know to what extent they would succeed, if the child resisted. We know that sometimes—but so far as we know only very rarely—parents have seemed to force names and even whole identities on subjects of cases. (That of Kenedi Alkan provides an example.) This, however, is not the same as inculcating a range of behaviors such as preferences for certain food, clothes, and play. That, it seems to me, requires much more parental influence.

Accepting and indeed welcoming into the family a child who spontaneously claims to have been, in a previous life, a person of another country is also a different matter. This would include trying within the parents' limits to meet the child's unusual demands regarding food and clothing. Such responses would be part of a good Burmese Buddhist's recognition of the need to extend some assistance to a person who has undergone the shock of being reborn in an alien culture. In this respect, so far as I can tell, the Burmese parents were equally hospitable to the children who claimed to have been Japanese and to those who said (or indicated) that they had been English or American. Perhaps the mere acceptance of the children as reincarnated Westerners would have conveyed sufficiently to them the belief that they were Westerners in previous lives. If so, whether or not the parents inculcated specific Western traits in the children becomes less important than that of whether or not they transmitted to the children the belief that they had been Westerners. This suggestion would still leave unanswered the question of how extremely young children could have obtained information about Western traits unless they received some guidance from their parents.

Not to seem to pass over this topic too lightly, I will acknowledge the existence of cases in which a parent, disappointed in the sex of a child, has influenced it to assume the gender of the desired sex. These cases, however, are not immune to skeptical examination, because the records do not show the extent to which a child may have wished to conform to the parent's desire and influence. Boys, some of them later to become homosexuals, may exhibit effeminate behavior in early childhood before parental influence can be said to have fairly got going (Green, 1987; Green, Neuburg, and Finch, 1983; Zuger, 1984, 1988).

TWO POSSIBLE EXPLANATIONS INCLUDING PARANORMAL PROCESSES

I come now to two possible explanations for the cases that require paranormal processes. They suppose that somehow the albino subjects are the reincarnations of deceased Westerners, mostly airmen and soldiers. The first explanation suggests that the discarnate Western personalities *selected* albino bodies as suitable

ones in which to reincarnate. The second one suggests that the discarnate personalities *influenced* the embryos they would later tenant and interfered with the metabolism of melanin in these bodies to such an extent that they produced albinism.

Before discussing these two possible explanations, I will bring forward an important feature of the albino cases that needs to be taken into account in considering both these explanations. I refer to the obvious fact that, even if the presumed Westerners had been blonds in their previous lives, they could not have been albinos and also served in the armed forces of their country, as most of them claimed (or were thought) to have done. The ocular disabilities of albinism, such as myopia, photophobia, and nystagmus (which most of the subjects of this group had), would have precluded acceptance for military service. Therefore, any process of reincarnation must have included in their cases a worsening or "overshooting" of the presumed fairness (lessened pigmentation) of the previous life.

The Selection of Fair-Complexioned Bodies

Let us suppose that a discarnate British or American flyer or soldier was to reincarnate, but for him it was important to have a fair skin. In both Great Britain and the United States members of the officer class at the time of World War II were notoriously racist. The United States armed forces were not desegregated until 1948 (Robins, 1991). For a white British or American military officer avoiding a brown skin might have been a major preoccupation.

Nearly all the British left Burma soon after it gained independence in 1948, and by the 1950s and 1960s when our (Burmese) subjects were born, few Europeans were left, and there were only a handful of Anglo-Burmans. (During my numerous visits to Burma between 1970 and 1986, I met only two Anglo-Burmans.) Accordingly, the only adequately fair-complexioned bodies would be those of albinos. This explanation suggests that the discarnate Westerners somehow detected the albino-producing families and then incarnated in one of their albino bodies.

An examination of the pedigrees of the families of the proband albino subjects suggests that they conform to what we expect of a trait inherited as an autosomal recessive one. The following data help to show this. First, with one exception, every Burmese family having albino children and having four or more children had at least two albinos. The exceptional family was that of Maung Saw Khine, a subject of Pyinmana whose case U Win Maung and Daw Hnin Aye studied, but I have not. Maung Saw Khine had a few imaged memories of a previous life in a cold country, and he had "British" traits as pronounced as any of those of the subjects whose cases I investigated. He was the only blond (or albino) among nine children of his family.

Second, up to 1986 (when the research in Burma began to slow, before it eventually had to be interrupted), we had identified 124 offspring in 23 families having one or more albinos. (This total includes 15 families additional to the 8 reported here.) Among these, 52 (42%) were albinos and 72 (58%) had normal

pigmentation. This is a much higher percentage of albinos than the 25% that we should expect in an autosomal recessive disorder. It is probable, however, that our genealogies are deficient and that the informants remembered albino babies and forgot about normally pigmented ones, especially if they were stillborn or had died in infancy. Davenport and Davenport (1910, p. 724) counted the numbers of albino and normally pigmented children in families having one or more albinos, the parents being normally pigmented. Among 171 offspring in these families they found that 64 (37.4%) were albinos; and they attributed this excess over the expected 25% at least partly to the informants forgetting to mention normally pigmented children. When Davenport urged his informants to try to remember additional children, perhaps stillborn ones, they did so, and the children that they then recalled were always normally pigmented. Keeler (1964) also noted the same tendency of informants among the Cuna Indians to remember albino children more than their normally pigmented siblings.

The absence of a history of albinism in the ancestries of the subjects' families (as indicated in Table 22-2) is also harmonious with the hypothesis of inheritance of a recessive trait.

Obstacles to Acceptance of the Hypothesis of the Selection of Albino Bodies. This explanation—that discarnate personalities select albino-producing families and reincarnate in them—has important obstacles also, and I shall now mention two of them.

First, this explanation requires that the discarnate personality somehow detect which families will have babies, that is albinos, appropriate for the discarnate personality who wants to reincarnate with a fair skin. In 4 of the 10 cases listed in Table 22-2, albino children had been born in the family before the proband subject with (imaged and/or behavioral) memories of a previous life was born. In the other six families, however, the proband subject was the first-born albino of the family. I have difficulty believing myself—and am therefore reluctant to ask my readers to believe—that a discarnate personality could read the genomes of potential parents and tell which ones were likely to have an albino baby (and when) and which ones were not. And yet elsewhere I have speculated that a discarnate personality might be able to tell which embryos were male and which female and which were destined to have sickle cell disease and which not (Stevenson, 1987). If such clairvoyance is possible, it need not stop at detecting the potentiality of parents to have albino children. I return to these conjectures in Chapter 26.

Second, the "prior selection" hypothesis does not explain why most of the albino subjects with presumed Western previous lives had eyes of Caucasian instead of Mongolian form. I have already mentioned that I know no evidence suggesting that albinism and eye form are linked genetically. I have also mentioned that in a small number of the cases the albino babies were appreciably larger than their normally pigmented Burmese siblings. This observation, unfortunately restricted to a few families, is harmonious with the fact that British and American persons are markedly larger than Burmese ones.

The Possible Influence of Discarnate Personalities on the Production of Melanin

The second possible explanation for the association of a reincarnating fair-complexioned Westerner with a blond embryo and baby supposes that the discarnate personality somehow modifies the production of pigment in an embryo so that an albino baby is born.

This is not unthinkable given some of the evidence from relevant cases. I will mention several types of such evidence. First, the case that R. O. Mason (1891) reported strongly suggests that a maternal impression may act on the chemical processes that generate melanin. If we allow that a mother may, by thinking on it, influence the pigmentation of her babies, we have taken an important step toward believing also that a discarnate personality's thoughts may have a similar effect on an embryo.

Second, the 14 cases reviewed earlier in the first section of this chapter (10 listed in Table 22-1 and 4 others reported in some detail) suggest that discarnate personalities may have at least some influence on the pigmentation of gestating babies.

Third, the genetic distinction between tyrosinase-negative and tyrosinase-positive albinos seems less clearcut than was at first believed. Earlier in this chapter I cited the anomalous case reported by W.O.G. Taylor (1983) in which a tyrosinase-negative mother had given birth to four tyrosinase-positive children who showed increasing pigmentation as they grew older. I quoted Taylor's suggestion that some alteration in the cellular environment might explain the phenotypical variations in this family. "It is...known that human skin contains potent tyrosinase inhibitors" (Witkop et al., 1961, p. 1064). I am suggesting that discarnate personalities may affect tyrosinase inhibitors and, by blocking the production of melanin, produce phenotypical albinos.

Fourth, we should remember the 26 instances of birthmarks (corresponding to wounds on previous personalities) that showed hypopigmentation instead of the more common hyperpigmentation or normal pigmentation of birthmarks in these cases. The hypopigmented birthmarks, I suggested, could be regarded as instances of "topical albinism," and they make more credible the suggestion that some kind of mental influence affecting the entire skin could produce "total albinism."

Fifth, we have some other evidence of instability in the melanin-producing processes. On the side of increases in pigmentation we can note the familiar phenomenon of rapid tanning from exposure to light, especially ultraviolet light. Tanning "is associated with...increases in melanocyte population and activity [that is, in the production of melanin]" (Gange and Lim, 1991, p. 405). On the side of decreases in pigmentation, readers should refer back to the earlier sections of this chapter in which I reviewed the evidence that hair and skin may lose their pigment within a few hours under the influence of a severe psychological stress.

To conclude the arguments favoring the hypothesis of a direct influence by a discarnate personality on the production of melanin, I will refer readers to all or nearly all the cases already described in this work. The production of birthmarks

and birth defects must involve at the physical level an interference with biochemical or physiological (such as vascular) processes. The interference impedes normal development and produces a birthmark if it is mild and a birth defect if it is severe. To illustrate this point I will return to a fact about cleft lip and palate to which I drew attention in Chapter 16: In 62% of monozygotic twins when one twin has a cleft lip and palate, the other does not. Because monozygotic twins have the same genetic composition, we need to suppose in cases of discordance some environmental cause that affects one twin embryo more than another. Such a cause must interfere at the biochemical level with the amplification of the originally separated tissues which, after fusion, form the lip, maxilla, and palate. When fusion does not occur, a cleft lip or cleft palate results. That psychical factors may interfere with the process leading normally to closure of the lip and palate I have already suggested by describing the cases of Maung Htoo and Timothy Curran in Chapter 18, as well as the case of maternal impressions influencing cleft palate that I cited in Chapter 16 (W. T. Taylor, 1876). I am saying that if psychical factors can affect the metabolism of the facial tissues of an embryo, they can also affect the metabolism of the cells that will form its skin elsewhere in the body.

Obstacles to Acceptance of the Hypothesis of a Paranormal Influence on the Production of Melanin. The hypothesis that the discarnate personality influences tyrosine metabolism directly also has grave difficulties.

First, why did the previous personalities in the cases of albinos bungle the modification of pigment production such that instead of a reasonably European or American complexion these subjects became albinos with their accompanying ocular defects? We could perhaps attribute this mismanagement to the violence of the deaths of the concerned previous personalities. Although we have verified only two of the previous personalities' deaths, the subjects' statements or other indications from the other eight of the ten proband subjects suggest such a violent death. And violence, as I shall try to show in Chapter 26, seems to be an important facilitator of effects by a discarnate personality on the body of a baby who will remember the life of the presumably affecting deceased person. Yet a sudden violent death figured in the case of Archana Shastri; and Archana had a fair complexion, but was no albino. Several other subjects listed in Table 22-1 also remembered violent deaths and had only moderate degrees of unusual pigmentation.

The processes whereby tyrosine becomes converted to melanin may be ones that are easily put fully awry. Although I earlier listed examples of what seem to be fine gradations of pigmentation corresponding between subject and previous personality (listed in Table 22-1), an excessive strain on the system may produce albinos and nothing less. In the cases of swiftly developing vitiligo induced by stress or illness and, for that matter, in "ordinary" vitiligo, a *total* absence of melanin, not a partial one, occurs in the affected areas.

A more serious obstacle to the hypothesis of a paranormal influence on the production of melanin is the occurrence of albino siblings born before and after the proband albino who had the (always scanty) imaged memories of a previous life. We could suppose, as some of the subjects' statements, parents' dreams, or

other indices suggest, that the albinos born *after* the proband albino were relatives or companions of the proband albino who had come to join him or her and in doing so had exerted a similar influence on the pigmentation of an embryo, thus producing another phenotypical albino. In Chapter 16 I discussed the concept of multifactorial etiology, and it may be useful in considering the later-born albinos. In three of the families, announcing dreams or other predictions foretold the birth of another albino child. Such forecasts and the presence of one albino already in the family could have provided stimuli for a maternal impression. A desire to have additional blond children certainly affected Daw Kyin Htwe after her first albino baby (Maung Zaw Win Aung) was born. Other Burmese mothers may have also wished for additional blonds; this may have been true of Daw Aye Yin, whose husband was so embarrassed by the birth of Maung Tin Soe's first albino sibling that he separated from her for a year. The beliefs and wishes of some of the mothers to have blond children may have summed with the influence of a Western discarnate personality approaching reincarnation.

A more extreme explanation of these later-born albinos supposes that the firstborn one affected the genome of one or both parents such that a "founding" family was produced that generated children homozygous for albinism. With this explanation, however, we should also have to suppose some direct effect on an embryo from the discarnate personality in order to account for the Caucasian eyes most of the albinos of Burma had. Also, many of the later-born albinos had Western traits (even though these seemed less pronounced than those of the proband subject). It is simpler to suppose an influence of the previous personality on the embryo alone instead of on both the embryo and the parents.

These explanations would leave unaccounted for the three Burmese families (those of Maung Tin Soe, Maung Tun Sein, and Ma Ahmar Sein), who had albino children born *before* the proband albino. We could suppose that they also were Europeans trying to reincarnate, who had happened to die in infancy or childhood; but this would be unsupported conjecture, except in the case of Ma Ahmar Sein. These cases suggest that the subjects' parents were, to begin with, predisposed by their heterozygosity to produce albino children. This thought returns us to reconsider either the normal explanation, with which I began this discussion, or the other paranormal hypothesis: that the presumed discarnate personalities of our proband subjects were attracted somehow to parents who could produce albino children. Yet, as I stated and tried to show earlier, these explanations also do not account for all the facts of the cases.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

I think I have shown that no single explanation can account for all the features of all the cases. It is therefore possible that different explanations may apply to different cases. In this situation I find it consoling that authorities on vitiligo (a type of topical albinism), after reviewing several explanations for this condition,

conclude by saying: "None of these hypotheses is entirely satisfactory" (Fitzpatrick et al., 1991, p. 282).

It would be craven for me to offer no opinion of my own about the alternative explanations for the cases that I have described. I will therefore say that I reject the normal explanation if applied to all the cases; and between the two paranormal explanations I stand almost upright, but lean toward believing that the presumed previous personalities of the cases somehow affected the production of melanin in the embryos that became albino babies and then subjects of these cases. I favor this explanation for the cases of B. B. Saxena, Maung Zaw Win Aung, and Ma Ahmar Sein; about the others I remain in doubt.

Although I have not been able to reach any firm conclusion about these cases, I am glad that I finally decided to include them in this work. An intuition tells me that, if reincarnation occurs, and if the cases of at least some of the albino subjects are best interpreted by reincarnation, our successors in these investigations may learn more about its processes from cases of this group than from any other. I have tried to follow the advice of William Harvey, who wrote:

> Nature is nowhere accustomed more openly to display her secret mysteries than in cases where she shows traces of her workings apart from the beaten path; nor is there any better way to advance the proper practice of medicine than to give our minds to the discovery of the usual law of nature, by the careful investigation of cases of rarer forms of disease. (W. Harvey, 1687/1907, p. 200)

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Part VI

Other Aspects of Physical Appearance and Function

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23

Physiques, Postures, Gestures, and Other Involuntary Movements Related to Previous Lives

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I present a number of observations by informants of unusual physiques, postures, gestures, or other involuntary movements that corresponded to similar features of the persons whose lives the subjects remembered or with whom informants had identified them.

An awareness of the potential importance of these features came to me late in these investigations. I made notes of what informants told me and collected the names into lists of relevant cases from which I developed the contents of the chapter. At no time so far, however, have I made any systematic investigation of the physical aspects of the subjects with which I am here concerned. Indeed, nearly all of what I have here included was thrust on me (or, sometimes, on my colleagues) by informants who had a greater appreciation of the importance of such observations at the time than I had myself. This could be an instance of "Was man

weiss, sieht man" (We only see what we already know).[1] Be that as it may, I could not object if readers would regard this chapter and the next one (on faces) as providing little more than suggestions for future investigators.

In some of the cases I could observe for myself the subject's physique, gait, or other relevant feature. In other cases I could not do this, and my information about their characteristics came from the informants. All the information about the previous personalities necessarily derived from the informants.

I believe the resemblances that I describe in this chapter, although they may appear numerous when assembled together, occur with comparative rarity among all the cases. It has certainly often happened that when I have asked whether a subject and the person whose life he claimed to remember had resembled each other physically I was told that they had not.

Instead of organizing the reports in tabular form, I have grouped the cases under some major subdivisions and given a paragraph or more to each one. Full reports of many of the cases occur elsewhere in this work or in some other publication. When this work contains a detailed report of a case mentioned, readers can find its location by consulting Appendix D. To make it possible for readers to find the detailed reports without consulting Appendix D, I have added for nearly every case mentioned in this and the remaining chapters a parenthetical note giving the chapter in which the detailed report occurs. If a case has not been described in this work, but published elsewhere, I have added the indication "(Case report)"; and the reader can find the place of publication by consulting Appendix D or the Index of Cases. I have included several cases studied by my colleagues. Three of the cases warrant a fuller report in this chapter.

For the cases about which we obtained enough information for a detailed case report in this chapter or elsewhere, I can say confidently that either the subject was the only member of the family to show the feature in question or he showed it to a much greater degree than any other member of the family. We did not always obtain this kind of information for the cases that we investigated less thoroughly.

STATURE AND PHYSIQUE

Height and Overall Build

Stature (and body weight) show a normal (Gaussian) distribution in a healthy population: The majority of persons are close to the median height of members of their group with fewer persons farther away from the mean and

[1]Boyd (1966) attributed this aphorism to Goethe, but gave no source in Goethe's writings, and I have not been able to trace these exact words. Eckermann, however, quoted Goethe as having said: "...I am inclined to believe the old truth that we have eyes and ears only for what we know" (Eckermann, 1848/1895, vol. 3, p. 39; my translation).

very few indeed at the extremes of such a population. The heritable component of a feature distributed in this way in a population is polygenic, that is, it results from the summed activities of several or more genes (Nora and Fraser, 1989). When unusually tall parents marry, their children tend to be shorter than they, showing a regression to the mean, sometimes known as Galton's "law of filial regression" (Galton, 1886). Geneticists say that the tall parents were so because in the distribution of the genes from their parents they received, by chance, an unusually large number of genes for tallness. In the analogy of a deal in a game of bridge, they received a disproportionate number of court cards. When *their* genes were redistributed, however, their children would not receive so many genes for tallness (fewer high cards) and therefore would be shorter than the parents.

Is chance, however, a sufficient explanation for why some healthy persons are taller than others? Nutrition can certainly contribute to increased stature. For example, it seems to be the sole factor for an increase of about 9 centimeters in the mean height of Italian males between 1874 and 1960, a period of about 9 decades (Terrenato and Ulizzi, 1983). This, however, translates to an increment of about 1 centimeter per decade or only 1 millimeter per year, which is far from enough to account for the extent to which many children exceed their parents in stature. A small number of the cases of children who remember previous lives suggest that a person's stature (and other components of physique) may be influenced by corresponding features in a previous life.

Maung Zaw Win Aung and Other Burmese Albinos. I remind readers here of the reports by parents of three Burmese families with albinos who claimed previous lives as Europeans or Americans (or were identified by their parents as having had such lives) that the albino babies were appreciably larger at birth than their normally pigmented siblings. (Chapter 22)

Maung Aung Myint. The subject and previous personality, Maung Mya Maung, of this Burmese case were both said to be "stocky" in build. Figure 23-1 shows that Maung Aung Myint at the age of 4½ had a stocky physique. (Chapter 21)

Maung Than Htun Win. Maung Than Htun Win (the son of Burmese parents) said that he had been a Karen soldier in a life (unverified) that he remembered. Because he was somewhat stocky (as Karens tend to be) and also large, he was nicknamed "Karengyi," which means "big Karen." Figure 23-2 shows his stocky physique in February 1972, when he was 6 years and 3 months old. Nine months later his physique no longer appeared stocky, although he was tall for his age (Figure 23-3). (Chapter 19)

Sivanthie and Sheromie Hettiaratchi. These dizygotic female twins of Sri Lanka remembered the previous lives of two young men, Robert and Johnny, who had been insurgents killed in the uprising of April 1971. Robert had been shorter but heavier than Johnny, and Sivanthie, who remembered Robert's life, was appreciably shorter than Sheromie, who remembered Johnny's life (Figure 23-4). (Figure 25-2 also shows the difference in their

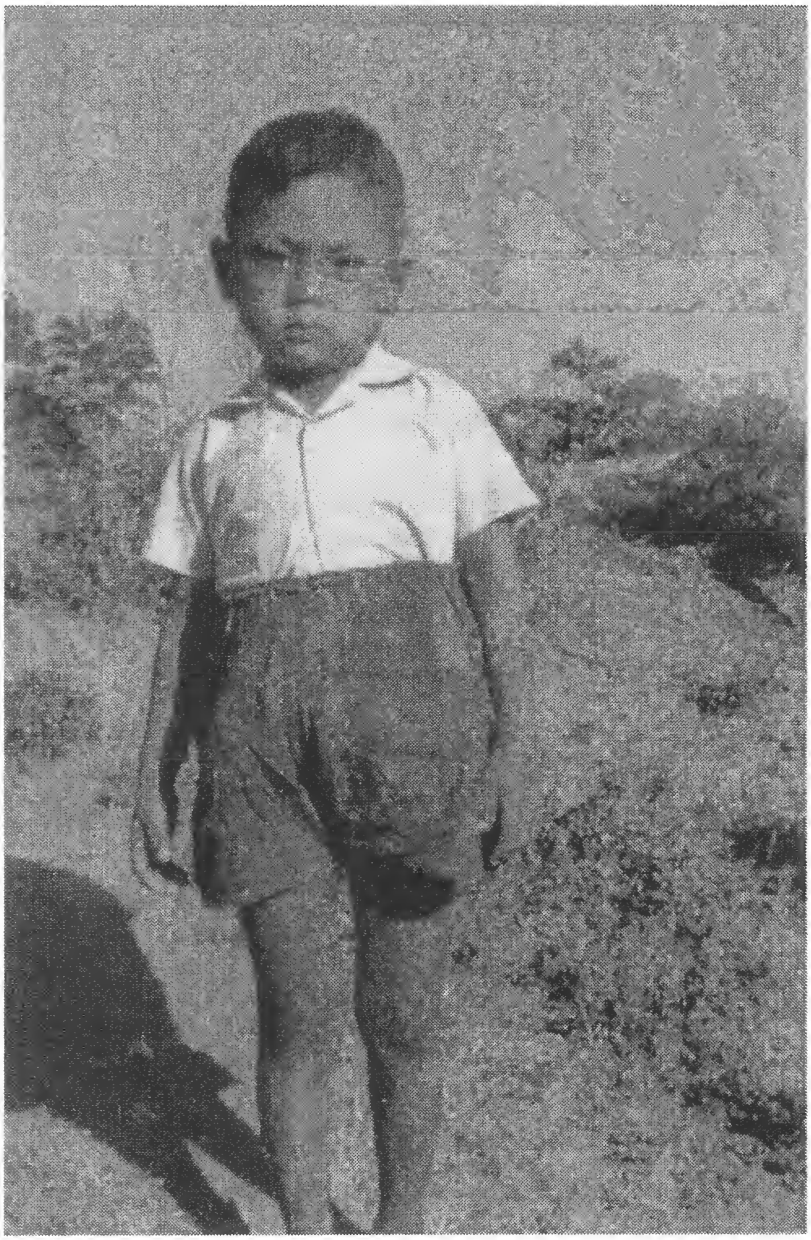

Figure 23-1 Maung Aung Myint in March 1972, when he was 4½ years old. His physique was distinctly stocky.

statures.) At birth, however, and later, except for a brief period during their infancies, Sivanthie was lighter in weight than Sheromie. The difference in the twins' heights was the important correspondence to the physiques of Robert and Johnny. (Chapter 25)

Vinod and Parmod Singh. These dizygotic male twins of India showed marked differences in physique. Vinod remembered the previous life of Soran, who was much more robust than Raghu, whose life Parmod remembered.

Figure 23-2 Maung Than Htun Win in February 1972, when he was 6 years and 3 months old. At this time his physique appeared definitely stocky.

Figure 23-3 Maung Than Htun Win in November 1972, standing with his mother, Daw Sein Myaing. This photograph shows that, although Maung Than Htun Win was still tall for his age (7 years), his physique no longer appeared stocky.

Figure 23-4 Sivanthie (left) and Sheromie (right) Hettiaratchi (with their father), as they appeared in October 1982, when they were just under 4 years old. Sivanthie was about 6 centimeters shorter than Sheromie.

Two informants remembered Raghu as having been taller than Soran, although Vinod stated (from his memories) that Soran had been taller than Raghu. Raghu had been somewhat frail. Vinod was appreciably taller and more robust than Parmod.

Other Correspondences between the Physiques of Twins and Those of Previous Personalities. In Chapter 25 I present reports of seven twin pairs for most of which I include information I obtained about resemblances in stature and physique between the twin subjects and their respective previous personalities. A study of that chapter will show that informants reported a concordance for physique (that is heavy/stocky versus light/thin) in twin cases for which this feature could be compared. A concordance for stature was also noted in most cases, but those of Ma San San Nyunt (with Ma Nyunt Nyunt San) and Ramoo Sharma (with Rajoo) were discordant.

Comment. The uterus of a multiple pregnancy is crowded, and one twin often emerges at birth more robust than the other. In view of this circumstance, the cases of twins are by no means the most suitable for the study of correspondences between the physiques of subjects and their respective previous personalities. Yet twins are not the only subjects who have shown discordances in physique between subject and previous personality, as I mention in the following section.

Other Discordances between Physiques of Subjects and Previous Personalities. Informants have sometimes drawn attention to differences between the physiques of a subject and the person whose life he remembered. In the case of Maung Aye Kyaw (Chapter 4), his wife, Ma Hla Myine, said that Maung Shwe (her first husband, whose life Maung Aye Kyaw remembered) was taller and thinner than Maung Aye Kyaw. Similarly, informants for the case of Thiang San Kla (Chapter 19) said that Phoh (whose life Thiang San Kla remembered) had been taller than Thiang was.

Anatomical Sex and Physique

Only rarely have informants drawn attention to differences in physique that seemed to derive from membership in the opposite sex during a previous life. I can say with certainty that at least some of the female subjects of sex-change cases who showed marked masculine behavior when young children had no major abnormality of endocrine or reproductive organs. I have known several of them who married and had children without the slightest difficulty. In this work Daw Tin Hla provides an example of this group, but she is only one of several similar women.

Ma Khin Ma Gyi and Ma Khin Ma Nge. These dizygotic Burmese twins remembered the previous lives of their maternal grandparents. Ma Khin Ma Gyi was thus remembering the previous life of a man and Ma Khin Ma Nge that of a woman. Figures 23-5 and 23-6 show a marked difference between their heights and also between the sizes of their legs. (Chapter 25)

Figure 23-5 Ma Khin Ma Gyi (right) and Ma Khin Ma Nge (left), as they appeared in November 1972, when they were 11 years and 9 months old. Ma Khin Ma Gyi was taller and markedly heavier than her sister.

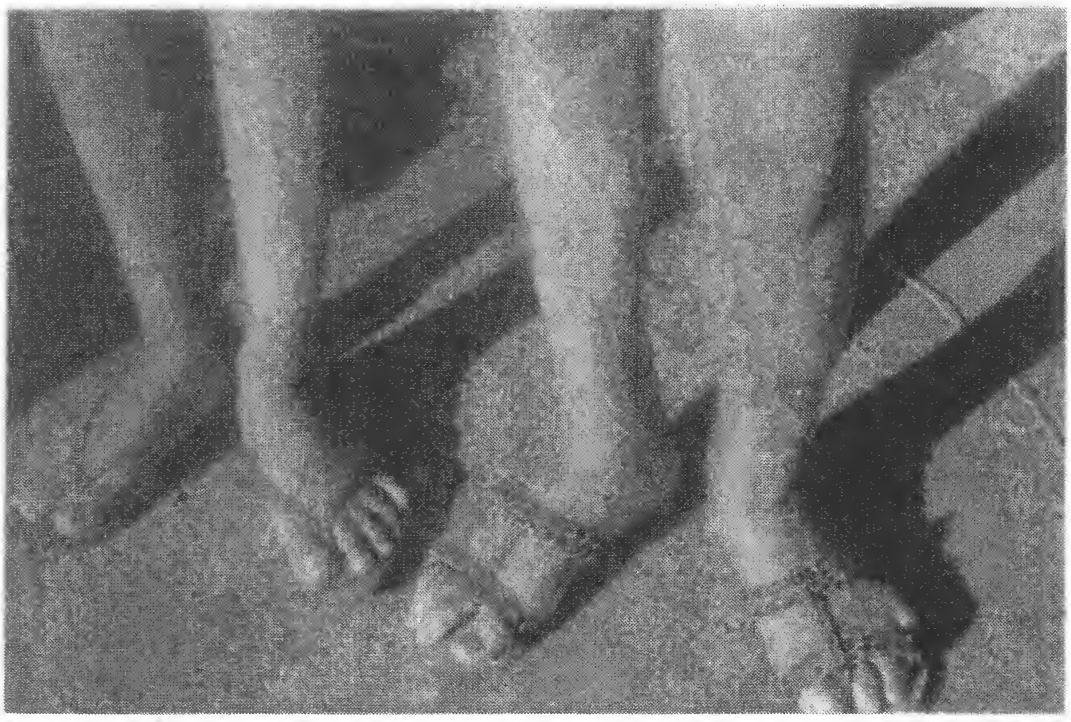

Figure 23-6 Legs of Ma Khin Ma Gyi (right) and Ma Khin Ma Nge (left), as they appeared in November 1972. Ma Khin Ma Gyi's legs were markedly stockier than her sister's.

THE CASE OF DULCINA KARASEK

Introduction

The origins of this case go back to the last half of the 19th century, and the subject had died 25 years before I began to investigate it. Nevertheless, I have decided to include a report of it here because of the subject's unusual physical abnormalities, which, together with her abundant statements, make the case one of the most remarkable in the group of sex-change cases with which I am familiar. In this report I omit much interesting detail and concentrate almost exclusively on the features of the case relevant to the subject's gender dysphoria, masculine physical features, and dystocia.

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Dulcina Karasek was born in 1919—there is some doubt about the year; she might have been born in 1918 or even earlier—in the town of Dom Feliciano, Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil. Her parents were Patrício de Albuquerque and his wife, Georgeta. Patrício de Albuquerque was a shopkeeper and hotelier. He and his wife had at least seven children, of whom Dulcina was the third youngest.

Dulcina was a frail child, but the masculine physical features that she later manifested seem not to have been noticed until her later childhood. She began speaking about a previous life at a somewhat older age than most subjects of these cases. The earliest age mentioned to me of her referring first to the previous life was 5, and one informant thought she might have been 7 when she first spoke about it. When she began, however, she had much to say. She insisted that she was a man called Zeca, and she narrated many details of the life of a relative of her father, Zeca Martins Ribeiro. At about the same time she showed markedly masculine behavior, and later she showed a distinctly masculine physique.

Dulcina repeatedly asked to be allowed to go to see her "other parents," and eventually her father, with delay and reluctance, took her to São Jerônimo, where Zeca's family lived. I pass over the remarkable statements and recognitions that informants said she made during the journey to São Jerônimo and when at the home of Eneas and Patrícia Martins Ribeiro, Zeca's parents. Dulcina was between 8 and 9 years old when the two families finally met—for the first time after the case developed. (I explain below that although they were related, they had been out of touch with each other for many years.)

I learned of this case from Waldomiro Lorenz during my first field trip to Brazil in July 1962. (Waldomiro was the older brother of Marta Lorenz and Paulo Lorenz, whose cases were the first that I investigated in Brazil.) Although Dulcina Karasek had died many years earlier, the details of her case seemed to justify my interviewing any informants for it who were still available. With Waldomiro Lorenz's assistance I was able to interview Dulcina's father, her paternal uncle, her older brother, and her older sister. Dulcina's father was born in 1883, and so

he was nearly 80 at the time I interviewed him, and Waldomiro Lorenz thought his testimony of little value. My notes do not support such a severe judgment, because although Patrício de Albuquerque lost the thread of what he was saying at times, what he did say to the point accorded well with what we learned from other informants.

In 1962 I interviewed only four members of Dulcina's family and met no member of Zeca's family. This did not leave the case without verifications, because Dulcina's family could verify much of what she said from their own knowledge. Patrício had known Zeca; he was about 14 years old when Zeca died in 1897. Nevertheless, in 1962 I did nothing further to investigate the case myself. I continued to think—and I might almost say to brood—about it, however; and in 1972, when I was in Porto Alegre for a follow-up visit with Marta Lorenz, I obtained some additional information about Dulcina from Marta, who was a near contemporary of Dulcina. They had been classmates at school, and Marta had known Dulcina well.

Between 1982 and 1984, Waldomiro Lorenz, who appreciated the potential importance of the case as much as I did, undertook on his own initiative to seek out members of Zeca's family. Zeca's only son, Davino Martins Ribeiro, had died in 1968, but two of his grandsons were still living, and, after some difficulty, Waldomiro Lorenz traced and interviewed them. One of them, Dejalmo Martins Ribeiro, said that he remembered Dulcina's first visit to his great-grandparents' home. This is plausible, because Dejalmo was born in the early 1920s, and if Dulcina was, say, about 8 years old when she went to meet Zeca's parents, that visit occurred in 1927; Dejalmo could have remembered it, perhaps particularly because of the startling statements and recognitions that informants said Dulcina had made on that occasion. From his independent investigations Waldomiro Lorenz compiled 15 pages of handwritten notes that he sent to me.

This report therefore includes information from my interviews of 1962, information that I obtained from Marta Lorenz in 1972, and further details that Waldomiro Lorenz sent to me in 1984. Except for some of the dates of events, the various testimonies agreed well with each other, and better than we sometimes find in cases investigated much sooner after the case develops than was possible in Dulcina's case.

Relationship and Acquaintance between the Two Families

The two families concerned were related. Dulcina's paternal grandfather was the brother of Zeca's mother, Patrícia. (There seems to have also been another relationship on the side of Zeca's father, but it was more distant.) The two families were not only related, but acquainted—up to a certain point. Both families had lived in the town of São Jerônimo, but Patrício de Albuquerque moved to Dom Feliciano in about 1912. Dom Feliciano is 55 kilometers from São Jerônimo, and the families effectively lost contact with each other when they lived so far apart. Patrício was certain that Dulcina had never heard him and his wife talk about

Eneas and Patrícia Martins Ribeiro before Dulcina started to claim them as her "other parents." Patrício said that he had not been back to visit his aunt and uncle for 15 years at the time, in about 1927, when Dulcina and he went there. Not surprisingly, he had forgotten the way to the farm they were trying to find; Dulcina had to show him the road.

Nevertheless, this is a same-family case in that Zeca was the first cousin of Dulcina's father; and, as I mentioned, much of what she said about the previous life was already known to her family.

The Life, Death, and Character of Zeca Martins Ribeiro

Zeca Martins Ribeiro was born in about 1872, probably in São Jerônimo. (Although his real name was José, he was universally known as Zeca.) His parents were Eneas Martins Ribeiro and his wife, Patrícia. Patrícia, as I mentioned earlier, was the sister of Dulcina's paternal grandfather.

When Zeca grew up, he became drawn into politics and—in the Brazil of the 1890s—that meant almost inevitable involvement in revolutionary activities. In 1893 he participated as a soldier in a rebellion. He and his younger brother Maneca were captured, but then escaped, and at one stage in their flight they asked for and received shelter in the home of their mother's brother, Francisco de Albuquerque. (Zeca's adventures during the rebellion of 1893 figured prominently in Dulcina's memories.)

Although not averse to fighting, Zeca had no desire to become a professional soldier, and he moved around from place to place in order to avoid being conscripted into the army. In the Brazil of those days the army obtained many of its soldiers by the methods of a press gang.

After the rebellion of 1893, Zeca established a business in Dom Feliciano, married Teodolfina de Moura Ribeiro, but then became ill. He moved back to his parents' home in São Jerônimo, where he died, in 1897, at the age of about 25. Our informants attributed his death to syphilis. When he died, his wife was pregnant, and his only child, a son called Davino, was born after his father's death.

We learned little about Zeca's personality. Our only informant who had known him personally was Patrício de Albuquerque. As I mentioned, he had been a youth when Zeca died; but he had known Zeca and remembered him. He said that Zeca seemed to him a light-hearted, extroverted person. Patrício could not remember anything effeminate about him.

Statements and Recognitions Made by Dulcina

Even if a skeptic were to discount as embellishment much of what Dulcina said about the previous life—which I myself am not prepared to do—much would remain. I will, however, pass over most of her statements and concentrate on those referring to her anatomical sex, of which she became painfully aware when still a young child.

One of Dulcina's earliest statements about the previous life occurred when, noticing that her mother had some money in her hand, she asked her for 5 cruzeiros. Her mother, Georgeta, said that was too much money for such a young girl. To this rebuff Dulcina replied: "If you don't give me the money, I will go away to my other parents, because there I used to have a purse full of money, and no one said it was too much." This stimulated Georgeta to ask Dulcina about these "other parents," and Dulcina then spoke at length about them and the substantial house and its furnishings that she remembered from a previous life. She said that she had been called Zeca.

On another occasion, Dulcina started speaking to her mother about being told to drink some medicine by her mother. Georgeta interrupted to say that she had never told Dulcina to drink any medicine. Dulcina said she was not referring to Georgeta but to the other mother whose name was Patrícia. She added: "At that time they called me Zeca, because I was a man."

From about this time on Dulcina asserted her maleness. She would say: "Do not call me Dulcina. I am Zeca, a man and married." She repeatedly denied that she was a woman and insisted that she was a man. Once Dulcina asked her mother: "Why did I change my sex? I was a man and now I am a girl." On another occasion, she looked at herself in a mirror and, turning to her mother, asked: "Why did my eyes change color?" (Zeca had had blue irides, but Dulcina's were brown.)

Dulcina's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

Circumstances and Manner of Dulcina's Speaking about the Previous Life. Many of Dulcina's statements about the previous life occurred when she saw someone she claimed to have known in that life or observed some event that resembled one of the previous life. (I have already given two examples of such stimuli.)

There was further revolutionary activity in Brazil in the early 1920s, and Patrício, who sided with the rebels, did not wish to be denounced to the government for having guns, of which he had two. Half-jocularly, and perhaps also so that in public he could refer obliquely to the guns, he had named the guns "Saint John" and "Saint Anthony." He prudently hid them in a chimney. It was summer, and he thought there would be no fire lit at that time. The weather turned unexpectedly cold, however, and someone lit a fire without knowing that the guns were in the chimney. The guns were burned before they were pulled out of the chimney. Dulcina listened to the family members as they deplored this event. She told them that she remembered having guns like these during a rebellion, but they did not call them by the same names, meaning after saints. She then narrated a detailed account of how Zeca and his brother had been made prisoners and escaped. She gave full details about how Zeca and Maneca had taken refuge with Patrício's father, Francisco de Albuquerque.

On another occasion—when Dulcina was about 7 years old—a man passed by the house where Dulcina, who was ill at the time, was sitting in her mother's lap. Dulcina pointed to the man and said: "When I was a big man, I knew this

Chiquinho." Asked where she had known Chiquinho, she said: "In the home of my other parents." Chiquinho had lived near the Albuquerques. He was in fact one of their cousins, and he later confirmed that he had known Zeca well.

Sometimes Dulcina spoke spontaneously without any obvious stimulus. She seemed to have vivid memories of illnesses from which Zeca had suffered and various medical treatments he received.

Dulcina's Masculine Behavior. As a young child Dulcina preferred boys' to girls' clothes. It was observed that when she mounted a horse, she did so as a man would instead of as a woman.

Dulcina's Phobia of Soldiers. Dulcina was observed to have a fascination with guns of all kinds. We obtained discrepant testimony on the question of whether she had a philia for guns or was afraid of them. Informants agreed, however, that she showed a fear of soldiers. During the rebellion of 1923, soldiers camped at Dom Feliciano. When the soldiers came to Patrício's house—searching for weapons—Dulcina "became very nervous and tried to hide."

Possible Extrasensory Perception on the Part of Dulcina

Zeca's wife, Teodolfina, was pregnant when Zeca died. Therefore knowledge of Zeca's having had a child could be inferred from the memory—whatever its origin—of Teodolfina's pregnancy. Dulcina, however, asserted that she had a *son* (not a girl), which suggests knowledge of events after Zeca's death—or a lucky guess. More remarkable was Dulcina's recognition, when she was about 9 years old, of Zeca's son, Davino Martins Ribeiro. At that time her father was taking her in a cart to another town for a medical consultation. Along the way they stopped for lunch and to rest the horses. A man completely unknown to Patrício approached the cart, apparently out of curiosity, and Dulcina, seeing him, said: "This is my son who came after I died." The man was, in fact, Davino Martins Ribeiro, who happened to be traveling along the road when Patrício had stopped the cart.

During the time, between the ages of 6 and 7, when Dulcina was importuning her father to take her to see her "other parents," Eneas and Patrícia Martins Ribeiro, she emphasized that if they did not hurry Patrícia would die before they got to São Jerônimo. Eventually, Patrício decided to make the long journey, moved partly by a wish to see his aunt Patrícia again and partly by Dulcina's nagging. Patrício said that before they left for the journey Dulcina said: "My mother [meaning Patrícia de Albuquerque] is already dead." (Dulcina's brother João said she had made this remark during the journey to São Jerônimo, but he did not go on the journey himself.) The journey—in a carriage on bad roads—took several days. Along the way they met a man who said that Patrícia had in fact died just recently.[2]

[2]In a note for the report of Sunita Khandelwal's case (Chapter 6) I list some other subjects who were said to have shown evidence of paranormal communication with a member of the previous family.

Dulcina's older sister, Delfina, said that Dulcina repeatedly told her that she (Dulcina) would never reach the age of 20. (As will be seen, Dulcina died at the age of about 18.)

Dulcina's Appearance and Physical Abnormalities

Dulcina was short in stature. Marta Lorenz said that she was "very muscular and quite masculine." After puberty she grew a great deal of hair, especially on her arms, legs and upper lip, where she had a noticeable moustache. Delfina said that she was "full of hair."

Three of our four informants on the matter said Dulcina's breasts were unusually small for a woman. On this point Delfina dissented and said that she thought Dulcina had breasts of appropriate magnitude for a person of her size. She also said that, so far as she knew, Dulcina's menstrual periods were normal.

As a young child, Dulcina was exceedingly frail and grew very slowly. Although it seems incredible, her brother João said that at the age of 9, Dulcina still weighed only 11 kilograms. Be that as it may, at that age she developed a serious infection in one leg.[3] Patrício decided to take Dulcina to a doctor, who operated on her leg with a resulting cure. During his search for an explanation of Dulcina's infection, he had an X-ray made of her pelvis. This showed that she had a distinctly small pelvic outlet. The abnormality impressed him so much that he said Dulcina would never be able to deliver a baby in the normal way, and he advised Patrício to have her sterilized.[4] Patrício decided not to act on this advice.

Other Relevant Medical Information. Dulcina's brother João said that four of Dulcina's sisters had married and had children. The other daughters of the family were all feminine in appearance; only Dulcina appeared masculine.

Dulcina's Death

After the operation on her leg, Dulcina's health improved, and she gained weight. In due course she matured sexually and became enamored of a young man, Felix Karasek. Her parents had some reason for objecting to her marriage, and so she forced their consent by pretending to be already pregnant. After her marriage she did become pregnant. The pregnancy ran beyond term into the 10th month. The abnormality of her pelvis had not corrected itself as she became older;

[3]Marta Lorenz remembered that the infection occurred at the site of a birthmark Dulcina had; and the birthmark corresponded to a bullet wound Zeca had received. No other informant, however, made this connection between the infection in Dulcina's leg and the previous life.

[4]This detail is credible. "Girls at birth already have a wider pelvic outlet, i.e. a wider opening at the bottom of the bony pelvis, which constitutes the narrowest part of the passage through which the baby has to pass when it is born. Thus the adaptation for child-bearing is present from a very early age" (Tanner, 1978, p. 72).

her pelvic outlet was still judged abnormally small. As the physician had predicted many years earlier, she was unable to give birth to the baby through the vaginal canal. She agreed to a cesarean operation. During it, or immediately afterward, both mother and baby died. As she felt herself dying, Dulcina said repeatedly: "Save the child. Save the child, and do not care about me."

She died on May 20, 1937, at the age of about 18.

Comment

Even though my late arrival at the scene of this case meant that its investigation has many undesirable deficiencies, I think there can be no doubt that Dulcina had abundant imaged memories of the previous life, marked behavioral memories with a strong identification with the previous personality, and masculine physical characteristics. The interval between Zeca's death in 1897 and the (probable) year of Dulcina's birth in 1919 is 22 years, which is one of the longer intervals in our collection of cases. (I have listed other examples of long intervals in Table 14-4.)

Localized Anomalies of Physique

Dipti Bhattacharya. This subject (of India) had flat feet, as had the woman, Uma, whose life she claimed to remember.

Mazid Sowaid. This subject (of Lebanon) remembered the life of a man, Afif Hatoum, who was markedly obese. Mazid was born with large fatty breasts that his mother thought derived from Afif's fatness. (I described the birthmark on Mazid's cheek in the section on maternal impressions in Chapter 3.)

Demet Kızıltan. This subject (of Turkey) was born with enlarged breasts. She remembered the previous life of a young woman, Besime Karlal, whose husband killed her when she was in the 7th month of a pregnancy. (Case studied by Dr. Jürgen Keil)

Under this heading the observed left/right asymmetry of breasts deserves mention. The left breast is, on average, more developed, larger, and heavier than the right one (Hyrtl, 1889; Leichtenstern, 1878). Hyrtl attributed this to the tendency of women who nurse their babies to hold the baby preferentially in the left arm (giving it the left breast) in order to keep the right arm free. Leichtenstern (citing an earlier edition of Hyrtl's monograph than the one I have examined) disagreed with this interpretation on the grounds that he had frequently observed the left breast to be larger than the right breast in males as well as in females; it was also larger in young children between the ages of 5 and 15. Bruce (1878-79) suggested that the asymmetry might be an example of the inherited effect of use, better known as Lamarckism. I shall not surprise readers of this work if I suggest that it might derive, at least in females, from greater use of the left breast for nursing (as Hyrtl emphasized) in a previous life. We could test this conjecture by observ-

ing whether the left/right asymmetry occurred more often in children who remember the previous life of a child-bearing woman compared with those remembering the life of a childless one.

DISTINCTIVE POSTURES

Samuel Helander. This subject (of Finland) had a habit of standing with one foot forward, often with one hand on a hip. He also tended to walk with his hands held behind his back. In both of these features he resembled an uncle, Pertti, whose life he remembered. (Case report)

Maung Htoo. This subject (of Burma) often put his hands behind his back. This had been a habit of U Paw Kywe, whose life Maung Htoo remembered. (Chapter 18)

Shilpa Mehta. This subject (of India) had a habit of sleeping on her side with the palm of a hand beneath her cheek. Her paternal grandmother, Lali Bai, whose life she remembered, had slept in the same manner.

Hair Kam Kanya. This subject (of Thailand) slept on her side with her hand under her cheek, instead of on her back. (Most Thais sleep on their backs.) The person whose life Hair Kam remembered, Sukanta, usually slept on her back, but during her terminal illness had slept on her side. Both Hair Kam and Sukanta also had a habit of linking their hands together behind the back. (Case report)

Maung Win Htay. This subject (of Burma) was identified, on the basis of an announcing dream, two statements, and several unusual behaviors, as being his maternal great-grandmother, Daw Hme, reborn. Up to the age of 5, he had the habit of sleeping with one of his legs over the knee of the other leg. Daw Hme had the habit of sleeping in a similar posture.

Mahes de Silva. This subject (of Sri Lanka) had a habit of sitting on a bed with his arms outstretched, as if to brace himself when having difficulty breathing. The person whose life he remembered, Jolly de Silva, had suffered from asthma and had put his arms out in the manner Mahes showed in order to aid his breathing. Jolly de Silva had also assumed this posture at some other times. (Case report)

Robert Black. The subject of this case was a Haida of British Columbia, Canada. His mother identified him as the reincarnation of Martin Black, her father-in-law (Robert's paternal grandfather), mainly on the basis of an announcing dream and a peculiarity of the fifth finger of the right hand. Martin Black had injured the fifth finger of his right hand so that it afterward remained extended from the rest of the hand. Robert's right fifth finger was noted to be extended abnormally even when he held a bottle while nursing as an infant. Later, it did not remain always extended, but was noticeably apart from the other fingers of the hand when he held an object, such as a cup.

Sivanthie and Sheromie Hettiaratchi. These twins (of Sri Lanka), already mentioned in this chapter, sometimes sat on chairs with one foot tucked under the buttock, as men, but not women, often do in Sri Lanka.

In addition, Sivanthie sometimes walked with her hands behind her back, as Robert, whose life she remembered, had sometimes done. (Chapter 25)

Sujith Lakmal Jayaratne. Sujith, subject of a case in Sri Lanka, who remembered the life of Sammy Fernando (an alcoholic), drew his legs up under his buttocks when he sat down to drink a beverage. His posture resembled that which Sammy Fernando had assumed when he drank alcohol. (Case report)

Ma Win Tar. This subject (of Burma) when a young child would sit on the floor with her knees forward and her buttocks resting on her heels. This is not a posture of Burmese people (except in some acts of worship), but is typical of Japanese people. Ma Win Tar said she remembered the previous life of a Japanese soldier (killed during World War II). (Chapter 17)

Maung Myint Aung. This subject, also Burmese, remembered a previous life as a Japanese soldier. And like Ma Win Tar, he had a habit of kneeling on his knees as Japanese people do, but Burmese rarely. (Chapter 4)

Jennifer Pollock. Gillian and Jennifer Pollock were monozygotic twins of England. When they were between 3 and 7 years old, they made some statements and recognitions suggesting memories of the lives of their own older sisters (not twins), who had been killed in an automobile accident about 17 months before their births.

The two dead older sisters were Joanna, who was 11 years old, and Jacqueline, who was 6, when they were killed. Gillian and Jennifer showed differences in the way they wrote that corresponded to differences between Joanna and Jacqueline.

Joanna, at 11, had been attending school for about 5 years, and she had learned to hold a pen or pencil properly. Jacqueline, however, had been going to school for only about a year or less when she was killed. She had adopted a way of holding a pen or pencil upright, enclosed in her fist. She appears to have persisted in this habit, and her schoolteacher had asked her parents to try to get her to stop holding a pencil upright in her fist. The teacher even advised them to slap Jacqueline's hand when she held a writing implement as she had been doing.

When Gillian and Jennifer first learned to write at the age of about 4½, Gillian immediately grasped the pencil properly. In contrast, Jennifer held the pencil upright in her fist, just as Jacqueline had done (Figure 23-7).

In 1967, when the twins were 9 years old, Florence Pollock, their mother, told me that Jennifer had learned to hold a pencil properly when she was about 7. However, in 1978 I learned that even at that time—she was then 20—she still occasionally reverted to holding a pencil or pen upright in her fist when she wrote. In 1982 John Pollock, the twins' father, told me that Jennifer—who was then 23 years old—would still sometimes unconsciously relapse into the old way of holding a writing implement in her fist. (Chapter 25)

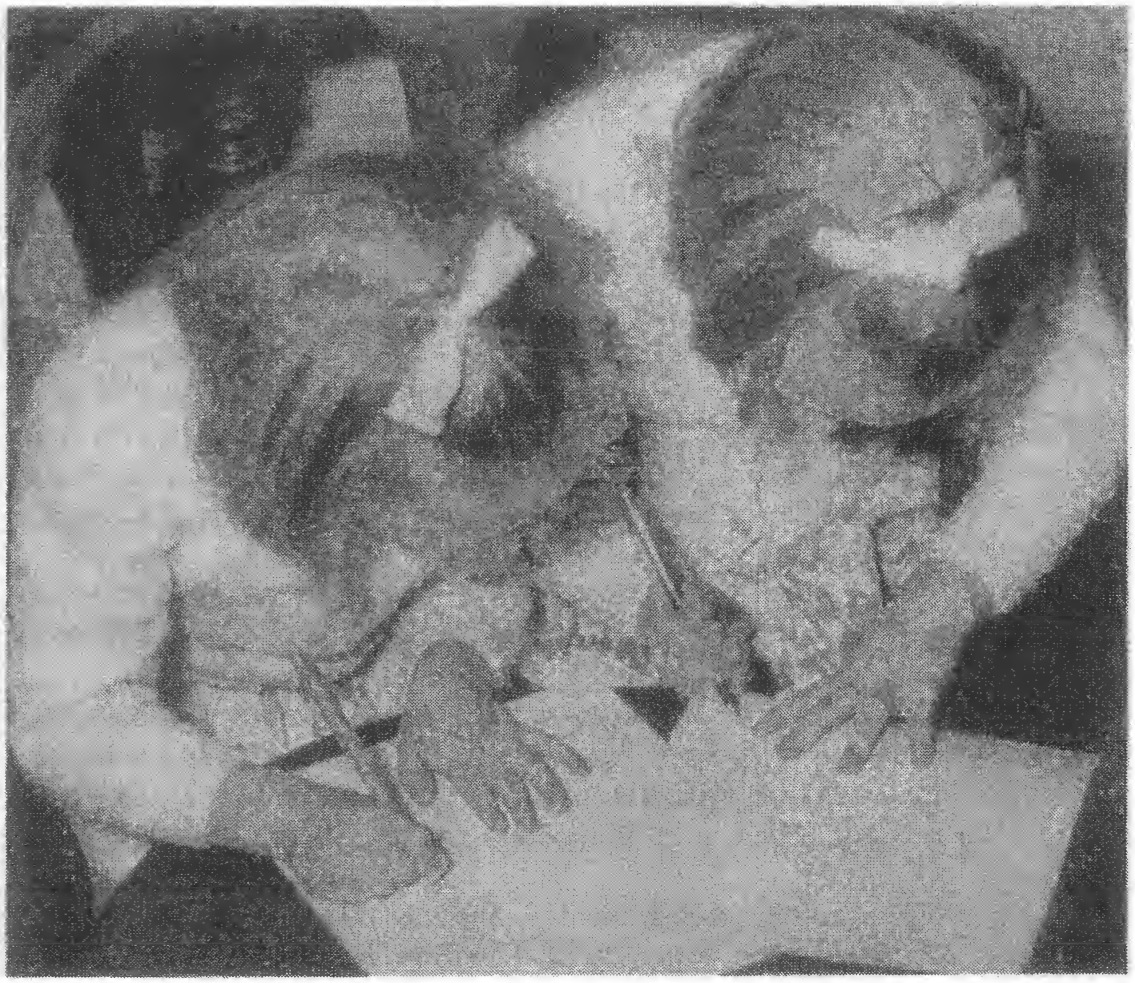

Figure 23-7 Gillian (left) and Jennifer (right) Pollock, at the age of about 4½ years. The photograph shows their different ways of grasping a writing instrument at the time they were first learning to write.

THE CASE OF JIM BAILEY

The subject of this case, a Tlingit, was a well-known person in Sitka, Alaska. He died in 1934, almost 3 decades before my first field trip to Alaska, in 1961. I therefore never met him, but I was fortunate in being able to meet and interview two persons who had known him well. These were John and Jennie Panamarcoff. John was of Russian descent, Jennie a Tlingit. What they told me, together with a newspaper obituary of Jim Bailey and a copy of his death certificate that I obtained, provided the sources for this report of the case.

I will first quote at length the obituary that appeared in *The Arrowhead*, published in Sitka on September 8, 1934. (The article was unsigned.)

> In 1851 a man drowned in the river near Yakutat. His name was Guthlieth (Ghu-khlee-ekh), and when the body was recovered it was bent nearly double as though with cramp, the arms were drawn up so that the hands hung stiffly at either side of the face. The man's body looked like a dancing bear.
>
> Shortly after that a child was born into a Thlinget [sic] family, and he was also named Guthlieth. He seemed a normal boy-child but as he grew older and neared the walking age, he appeared strangely crippled. So the 2nd Guthlieth seemed to take on the drowned body of the first, for the Indian soul never dies, but passes on into another life forever.
>
> Later, Guthlieth was given the Christian name of Jim Bailey, but through the years he has become known by most Alaskans and by many American readers as Dancing Bear or Jimmy the Bear Boy.
>
> His age was unknown and his ignorance of English led people to believe that his affliction affected him mentally; but the Thlinget people tell that he was 83 and normal. Often he told stories to children through the evening—legends that died with him.
>
> He was noted for his exceptional strength and his kindness. As a young man he could throw a whole seal into a sling and pack it on his back. In wrestling games no man could throw him who would get down with bent knees to make the game even. Until just a few days before his death we have all seen him packing loads of wood on his back that would have been burdens for a normal man.
>
> Jimmy shared his fish and his wood with his friends. He cared for children and did his share of work.
>
> As he grew old, the Bear Boy grew more upright, for in his youth he bent nearly to the ground. Until a month before he died he continued his heavy work of wood packing. Then he went to bed, and on August 27 [1934] he went to sleep.

John and Jennie Panamarcoff said that Jim Bailey had attributed his deformity to a cause different from that suggested by the newspaper. He said that he had died of drowning in the previous life and that sand flies had eaten his body so that the strength had gone out of his muscles making it impossible for him to stand erect. Jennie Panamarcoff said that she had heard this explanation both from the "bear boy" (as she herself called him) himself and from some of his relatives, including his niece.

The Panamarcoffs said that Jim Bailey supported himself chiefly by begging, but he maintained as much independence as his condition allowed and always cut his own firewood. He had some sensitivity about his appearance, and he particularly disliked having anyone watch him eat (perhaps because he could not sit at a table like other people).

The Panamarcoffs also described Jim Bailey's deformity to me, and I made two crude sketches that I forbear from reproducing here. Figure 23-8 gives an artist's rendition of Jim Bailey's appearance, drawn from my description (taken

Figure 23-8 Jim Bailey, the "bear boy of Sitka," as he probably appeared during his middle years, when he was more erect than he had been when younger.

from the article in *The Arrowhead* and the Panamarcoffs' statements). The sketch shows Jim Bailey as he appeared later in his life and therefore less deformed and more upright than he had been when young. The Panamarcoffs told me that "he walked at a very low position." They agreed with the newspaper article in saying that Jim Bailey's arms were freely flexible and very strong.

I obtained a copy of Jim Bailey's death certificate, which stated that he had been born at Yakutat in 1851 and had died at Sitka, aged 83, on August 27, 1934. His death was attributed to "hemorrhagic cystitis" and "malnutrition."

Comment

When Jim Bailey was born in 1851, he seems not to have shown the abnormal posture from which he afterward suffered; or, more likely, it was not noticed so long as he was lying in a cradle. According to the newspaper report, the deformity

only became apparent when he became old enough to walk. His body then came to have the shape in which the body of the drowned Guthlieth had been found. Yet Jim Bailey had been given the Tlingit name (Ghu-khlee-ekh or Guthlieth) soon after his birth and before adults noticed his abnormality. To explain this naming, I can only presume that someone in the family had had an announcing dream about Guthlieth which led to the baby's being identified with him.

Jim Bailey's explanation (according to the Panamarcoffs) of his deformity (as being due to sand flies having eaten Guthlieth's drowned body) does not seem to me the correct one.

The description of the contractures of Guthlieth's body (given in the article in *The Arrowhead*) suggests that Guthlieth, as he was drowning, developed cadaveric rigidity. This condition could have persisted for several hours or longer, up to the time when his body was pulled from the water. (We do not know the length of this interval.) Cadaveric rigidity usually develops when death occurs suddenly with great emotional tension at the time. Drowning provides such circumstances (Gordon and Shapiro, 1982). Although in most cases of cadaveric rigidity only one group of muscles is involved, "occasionally, in circumstances of extreme nervous tension, the whole body may go rigid at death" (Simpson and Knight, 1947/1985, p. 6).

Two Other Cases of Possible Cadaveric Rigidity

Two other cases have increased my confidence in the role of cadaveric rigidity in the case of Jim Bailey. The previous personalities in these cases also drowned. I give next brief summaries of these cases.

Ajith Priyasantha. This subject, a boy of Sri Lanka, remembered the life of another boy, Janaka, who had accidentally drowned in a well when he was 8 years old. Janaka was found missing one day, and members of his family at first thought that he had run away from his home. His body was not found in the well until the following day. When it was pulled out of the well, it was in a flexed position with the knees drawn up toward the trunk and the head flexed forward—virtually in a fetal position. From the age of between 2 and 3 years Ajith Priyasantha began sleeping in a curled up position resembling that of Janaka's body when it was taken out of the well. Ajith Priyasantha would also shout during his sleep: "Water, water." Upon awakening he would speak about the previous life. When he began speaking about the life of Janaka, at the age of about 3, he was asked about the posture he adopted in sleeping and said: "That is the way I was in the well." No other member of the family slept in this posture. Figure 23-9 shows the posture Ajith Priyasantha assumed when sleeping. In contrast to Jim Bailey, Ajith Priyasantha only assumed the posture of the drowned body of Janaka when he slept, not when he was awake; and by the age of 7 he was no longer assuming the posture shown in Figure 23-9 every night. Godwin Samararatne and I investigated this case during the years 1980-82; Tissa Jayawardene later furnished some supplementary information. (I described abnormalities in Ajith Priyasantha's teeth in Chapter 21.)

Figure 23-9 Ajith Priyasantha in the posture he assumed when he slept, the posture corresponding to that of the body of Janaka when it was found in a well.

Chhote Khan. This subject, a Moslem boy of India, was born in about 1978 in the village of Basai, which is in the Etah District of Uttar Pradesh. From early infancy he kept his head markedly flexed downward toward his chest. His parents said that when he began to move around "he crawled on his head."

Figure 23-10 Chhote Khan, at the age of about 15, imitating the posture that he had preferred during infancy and early childhood.

When Chhote began to speak, he said that he had been called Gullu and that he had been tortured, shot, and then thrown into a well. He gave sufficient particulars so that his statements clearly referred to the life and death of a Hindu youth called Jitender Deo, alias Gullu. The well into which his body was thrown was near Basai, and Chhote's father had seen the body as, or soon after, it was taken from the well. The dead youth's head was found flexed downward and his legs flexed upward in a quasifetal position.

At the age of about 1½ Chhote still could not hold his head fully erect. His father took him to a doctor who advised regular massage of the boy's head and neck. This seems to have helped, and between the ages of 3 and 4 Chhote's posture became normal.

G. S. Gaur sent preliminary information about this case to me in 1993. In January 1994, Dr. Satwant Pasricha and I went to Basai and interviewed Chhote's parents. At our request Chhote assumed the unusual posture that he had had during his infancy. Figure 23-10 shows his imitation of the posture. In February 1994 Dr. Pasricha obtained further information about the case, both in Basai and in Gullu's village.

Although Chhote said that he had been suffocated and also shot in the previous life before the murderers put his body in the well, Gullu may still have been living when his body was put into the water. I believe that his body showed a degree of cadaveric rigidity that somehow affected Chhote's posture in early childhood.

THE CASE OF JOSEPH CHUKWUNTA

Introduction

The subject of this case was born with a type of club foot (talipes equinovarus), which we could regard as a local postural deformity. His birth defect, like that of Jim Bailey, was attributed to a postmortem injury to the body of the person of whom he was thought to be the reincarnation. In this feature the case resembles the cases of Chamroon Kaochamnong and Ma Pyone Yi, which I described in Chapter 14.

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Joseph Chukwunta was born at Mgbowo, Anambra State, Nigeria, on January 9, 1959. His parents were Chukwunta Chukwu and his wife, Gharuolu. Joseph was the last of their five children. Chukwunta Chukwu was a farmer. He and his family were Igbos.

Joseph was born with severe deformities of both feet that I shall describe below. The deformities of his feet led him to be identified with a member of his family, Eyoukwu Okoroaziaja, whose feet had been turned inwards when, after his death, his body was forced into a coffin that was too small. Eyoukwu had predicted before his death that he would reincarnate as Gharuolu's child.

Joseph never spoke about the previous life he was thought to have had. His identification with Eyoukwu therefore rested on Eyoukwu's prediction of his rebirth, Joseph's congenital deformities, and some observations of similarities in behavior between Eyoukwu and Joseph.

Despite the deformity of his feet, which was not fully corrected until he was about 13 years old, Joseph attended school and graduated from secondary school. When I met him in 1984, he was working as a laboratory assistant. He was unmarried and living in Ndeaboh.

Nicholas Ibekwe learned about this case from Esom Odubuo, who was related to Joseph. On December 28, 1983, Nicholas Ibekwe obtained some preliminary information about the case from his father, Ibekwe Njoku, who was closely involved in the burial of Eyoukwu, and from Joseph's older brother, Emmanuel. On June 15, 1984, I met and talked with Joseph and also with Ibekwe Njoko and Esom Odubuo, both of whom had been witnesses of the forcing of Eyoukwu's body into his coffin. Dr. Nicholas McClean-Rice participated in the interviews, and Nicholas Ibekwe was our interpreter.

In December 1985 Nicholas Ibekwe obtained some additional information and clarifications of details from his father, Ibekwe Njoku.

The Life and Death of Eyoukwu Okoroaziaja

Eyoukwu Okoroaziaja was born in Mgbowo in about 1889. He was the son of Okoroaziaja and his wife, Mgborio. Okoroaziaja was a palm wine tapper. Eyoukwu, when he grew up, became a farmer. He married Nwamgbo Eyo, and they had four children. Joseph's mother, Gharuolu, was the second of their children. He was a notably brave person and enjoyed fighting in tribal warfare.

Two informants, Gharuolu and Ibekwe Njoku, remembered that Eyoukwu predicted his reincarnation as Gharuolu's child, because she was "his beloved daughter."

Eyoukwu died in Mgbowo on March 15, 1957, after a short illness. His death was attributed to "old age." He was about 68 years old when he died.

The Burial of Eyoukwu. Our principal informant for the burial of Eyoukwu was Ibekwe Njoku, who was an elder of the village of Azunkwo and Eyoukwu's second cousin. Ibekwe Njoku was the father of Nicholas Ibekwe, our principal interpreter in the region of Enugu, and I knew him for several years and came to respect his memory as well as his ability, when he did not remember some item of information, to say so frankly.

Ibekwe Njoku said that he was at Azunkwo, when he learned of Eyoukwu's death in Mgbowo, which is about 18 kilometers from Azunkwo. He and some companions were responsible for burying Eyoukwu, and they set out for Mgbowo. On the way they stopped at a place called Nwene and purchased a coffin. Unfortunately, they had forgotten how tall Eyoukwu was, and when they reached Mgbowo and tried to get Eyoukwu's body into the coffin, they found that it was too long for the coffin. They discovered, however, that the body could just be squeezed in if the feet were inverted at the ankles.

Esom Odubuo (Nicholas Ibekwe's first informant for the case) happened to be at Azunkwo when we interviewed Ibekwe Njoku about Eyoukwu's burial. He too was present at the burial and remembered that Eyoukwu's body could only be fitted into the coffin by bending his feet at the ankles.

Comment. I did not learn why the mourners had not bent Eyoukwu's knees to fit his body into the short coffin. This would have seemed a sensible thing to do, but one or other of two reasons may have ruled it out. First, if the coffin was shallow it might have been insufficiently deep to allow for the knees to be bent and a lid to be applied. It is also possible, although I think improbable, that Eyoukwu's knees had been stiffened by rigor mortis while adequate flexibility still remained in the muscles around the ankles to permit rotating the feet. I am unsure myself that an inversion of the feet at the ankles would in fact reduce the total length of the body. The important point, however, is that after some manipulation of the feet at the ankles Eyoukwu's body was forced into the undersized coffin his mourners had purchased.

To the question why the mourners did not exchange the short coffin for one of proper size one can think of several answers, but perhaps the most important one is that in the hot and humid climate of Nigeria a dead body begins to putrefy quickly. I think this provides rational grounds for the fairly quick "first burial" of the deceased in which his or her body is interred; this is then followed some months or even a year later by a "second burial" when the deceased is given a ceremonial farewell (Stevenson, 1985).

Joseph's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

During his preliminary inquiries, Nicholas Ibekwe learned that Joseph was thought to resemble Eyoukwu in being brave and in having a taste for fighting. He also showed pleasure when others called him by Eyoukwu's name.

Joseph's Birth Defects

By the time we investigated this case Joseph was 25 years old. Both his parents had died, and we were told that his older brother, Emmanuel, was too close in age to Joseph to be a reliable firsthand witness of the appearance of Joseph's feet when he was born. He had been operated on twice at the University of Nigeria Teaching Hospital in Enugu. Photographs of the appearance of his feet had been taken before the orthopedic corrections, but we learned that these photographs and Joseph's other medical records had been lost during the Biafran War.[5]

Accordingly, our information about the earlier appearance of Joseph's feet derives entirely from his own memories of how they were before he was operated on. The second of his two operations took place in 1972, when he was about 13. I think he was able to remember, in 1984, how his feet had been deformed before that operation and probably even earlier. Although we cannot reckon Joseph as a firsthand informant for the appearance of his feet at birth—paradoxical as this seems, because we are discussing *his* feet—it is unlikely that any significant change in the condition of his feet had occurred after his birth and before the orthopedic operations.

Joseph said that, before the operations, his feet had been inverted and his heels elevated off the ground, so that he walked on the outer side of the anterior parts of his feet (talipes equinovarus). The first operation corrected the inversion of the soles of his feet, and the second brought his heels down. The surgeon (or surgeons) achieved an excellent result. In 1982 Joseph's feet were somewhat flat, but he could walk well.

[5]We accepted Joseph's statement on this matter without trying to obtain his records at the Enugu Teaching Hospital. At the time of our search for a record there in the case of Jacinta Agbo, the Record Room Librarian told us that many of the hospital records had been lost during the Biafran War.

DISCUSSION OF CASES WITH SUBJECTS HAVING UNUSUAL POSTURES

In several of the preceding cases the subject and previous personality were members of the same family, and conceivably the subject might have inherited the peculiarity of posture noted. Inheritance, however, would not explain the imaged memories of the previous personality's life that most of the subjects had. The hypothesis of a transmission of imaged memories through inheritance has, so far as I know, no evidence supporting it apart from that in the cases of children who remember previous lives. In same-family cases the content of the imaged memories might reach the subject by normal communications; readers should reach a judgment on this possibility by studying the detailed case reports, where these have been published in this work or elsewhere.

GAIT

Gaits Corresponding to an Idiosyncratic Gait of the Previous Personality

Maung Sein Myint. This subject of a Burmese case showed as a young child the habit of walking with his body bent forward and his hands clasped behind his back. The gait closely resembled that of his maternal great-uncle, U Tun Pe, whose life he claimed to remember. Maung Sein Myint showed 11 other behavioral traits that were unusual in his family, but characteristic of U Tun Pe. I included a report of the case of his older brother, Maung Myint Soe, in Chapter 18.

Gillian Pollock. Gillian, the twin sister of Jennifer Pollock, had a splay-footed gait that resembled that of her deceased older sister Joanna, whose life she remembered. (Chapter 25)

Alli Kathat. One informant for this case (of India) said that Alli and Jora (whose life he remembered) had similar gaits; but we did not learn details of the resemblance. (Chapter 22)

Gaits Corresponding to Lameness of the Previous Personality

William George, Jr. William George, Sr. (the previous personality in this case, who was a Tlingit of Alaska) had injured his ankle severely when playing basketball as a young man. He afterwards walked with a limp and turned his right foot outward so that he had an unusual gait. William George, Jr. had a similar gait and also turned his right foot outward as he walked. (Case report, Chapter 10)

Sampath Hemachandra. Francis Kodithuwakku, the previous personality of this case (of Sri Lanka), had had a definite limp that had resulted from a vehicular accident. The subject, Sampath, limped on an occasion when he was taken to the office where Francis Kodithuwakku had worked. At other times his gait was normal. Two informants who had known Francis Kodithuwakku well said

that Sampath's gait had closely resembled Francis's gait. The subject and previous personality were distantly related.

Ashok Kumar. The previous personality of this case (of India), Kishen Behari, died after a short illness in which one leg had been paralyzed. (Presumably he had a cerebral hemorrhage or thrombosis.) The subject from time to time walked with an obvious limp; he was even observed to be limping before he could speak. When he did begin to speak and talked about the previous life of Kishen Behari, he often said to his parents: "I came limping, limping to your house" (Mills, 1989).

Gaits Corresponding to Presumed Gait of Previous Personality's Gender

Many children show during infancy—at least in rudimentary form—the gait that is typical of their sex in adulthood. This gait will not manifest, however, if the child has a tendency, for whatever reason, to adopt the gait of the opposite sex. Male children who later become homosexual often show early in life, sometimes in infancy, numerous traits of effeminacy. These include manifestations of a distinctly feminine gait by some boys of this group (Zuger, 1984, 1988). Boys as young as 4 years old whose peers and parents have identified as effeminate may show a distinctly feminine gait (Green, Neuburg, and Finch, 1983; Green, 1987).

Because so many of the subjects of sex-change cases showed marked behavioral traits of the sex of the previous life, such as cross-dressing and a preference for the special activities of that sex, I should have expected some of them to have shown the gait of the opposite sex. I did not reach some of the cases until after the subject had adapted fully to his or her anatomical sex. This may account partly for the paucity of observations of gait that I can include under this heading.

Ampan Petcherat. This subject (of Thailand) remembered the previous life of a young boy who had drowned about 4 years before her birth. Ampan showed markedly masculine behavior, such as cross-dressing. Observing her walk at the age of about 12, I thought that she had a definitely boyish gait, especially in the way she swung her arms as she walked. (Case report, Chapter 10)

Ma Myint Myint Zaw. This subject (of Burma) remembered the previous life of a boy who died after being bitten by a snake. Ma Myint Myint Zaw showed markedly masculine behavior, including cross-dressing, about which she was intransigent. In my report of her case, I noted that she was said to have had a boy's gait. I also disclaimed expertise in the matter of judging a gender-specific pattern for the gaits of Burmese people. Ma Myint Myint Zaw's gait did not impress me as being particularly boyish, as Ampan's had. (Chapter 12)

LEFT-HANDEDNESS

In 11 cases the subject has been left-handed, and informants stated that the previous personality had also been left-handed. In two of the 11 cases the testi-

monies of informants concerning the previous personality's handedness conflicted, and in three other cases we have no verification whatever, but only the subjects' statements that the previous personalities had been left-handed. Furthermore, in five of the cases, the subject and previous personality belonged to the same immediate or extended family. In these cases we cannot exclude a genetic component, for which there is some evidence as a factor in left-handedness (Chamberlain, 1928; Rife, 1940). Despite the foregoing limitations, I believe the cases whose subjects are left-handed suggest that a behavioral memory from a previous life may contribute to this condition in some instances.

Ma Khin Sandi. Ma Khin Sandi (of Burma) was identified, on the basis of a dream and two birthmarks, as the reincarnation of her maternal grandmother, Daw Khin Mya. Daw Khin Mya had suffered for many years from hypertension. She was right-handed. At the end of her life she had a stroke that left her right arm paralyzed, although she did recover some use of her right hand before she died. I myself observed Ma Khin Sandi's left-handedness as I watched her drawing with a pencil. I believe her left-handedness may have been a kind of behavioral memory derived from Daw Khin Mya's right-sided paralysis. (Chapter 7)

OTHER MUSCULAR HABITS AND INVOLUNTARY ACTIONS

Under this heading I include a variety of movements some of which might be described as tics, some as gestures, and others as involuntary or automatic actions. The first instance of such a feature that came to my attention was one that Charles Darwin published in *The Expression of Emotions in Man and Animals.* After first describing the complex muscular movements involved in a shrug (a gesture often used to communicate helplessness or despair), Darwin continued:

> Englishmen are much less demonstrative than the men of most other European nations, and they shrug their shoulders far less frequently and energetically than Frenchmen or Italians do. The gesture varies in all degrees from the complex movement, just described, to only a momentary and scarcely perceptible raising of both shoulders; or, as I have noticed in a lady sitting in an arm-chair, to the mere turning slightly outwards of the open hands with separated fingers. I have never seen very young English children shrug their shoulders, but the following case was observed with care by a medical professor and excellent observer, and has been communicated to me by him. The father of this gentleman was a Parisian, and his mother a Scotch lady. His wife is of British extraction on both sides, and my informant does not believe that she ever shrugged her shoulders in her life. His children have been reared in England, and the nursemaid is a thorough English-woman, who has never been seen to shrug her shoulders. Now, his eldest daughter was observed to shrug her shoulders at the age of between sixteen and eighteen months; her mother exclaiming at the time, "Look at the little French girl shrugging her shoulders!" At first she often acted thus,

> sometimes throwing her head a little backwards and on one side, but she did not, as far as was observed, move her elbows and hands in the usual manner. The habit gradually wore away, and now, when she is a little over four years old, she is never seen to act thus. The father is told that he sometimes shrugs his shoulders, especially when arguing with any one; but it is extremely improbable that his daughter should have imitated him at so early an age; for, as he remarks, she could not possibly have often seen this gesture in him. Moreover, if the habit had been acquired through imitation, it is not probable that it would so soon have been spontaneously discontinued by this child, and, as we shall immediately see, by a second child, though the father still lived with his family. This little girl, it may be added, resembles her Parisian grandfather in countenance to an almost absurd degree. She also presents another and very curious resemblance to him, namely, by practising a singular trick. When she impatiently wants something, she holds out her little hand, and rapidly rubs the thumb against the index and middle finger: now this same trick was frequently performed under the same circumstances by her grandfather.
>
> This gentleman's second daughter also shrugged her shoulders before the age of eighteen months, and afterwards discontinued the habit. It is of course possible that she may have imitated her elder sister; but she continued it after her sister had lost the habit. She at first resembled her Parisian grandfather in a less degree than did her sister at the same age, but now in a greater degree. She likewise practises to the present time the peculiar habit of rubbing together, when impatient, her thumb and two of her fore-fingers. (Darwin, 1872/1896, pp. 264-265)

Comment

Darwin attributed the "French shrug" that the two children showed to inheritance from their paternal grandfather, whom they had never seen. Readers of the present work may be willing to consider the possibility that the two children had had previous lives in France, possibly, but not necessarily, in the same family as their grandfather.

Darwin published another observation of behavior that he believed was not learned by imitation of other persons and for which he favored inheritance as an explanation. He attributed a tendency toward violence in boys compared with girls to heredity. Writing of one of his sons, he stated:

> When two years and three months old, he became a great adept at throwing books or sticks, etc., at anyone who offended him; and so it was with some of my other sons. On the other hand, I could never see a trace of such aptitude in my infant daughters; and this makes me think that a tendency to throw objects is inherited by boys. (Darwin, 1877, p. 288)

Comment

As with the French shrug, readers who appreciate the potential importance of the cases reported in the present work might interpret the tendency of Darwin's (and other) boys to throw objects when angry as an expression of a behavioral memory from a previous life. This work and some case reports published previously describe numerous examples of violence that corresponded to similar behavior in a previous personality or to behavior that the previous personality might have been expected to show. Some of these subjects, such as Cemil Fahrici, Sujith Lakmal Jayaratne, and Maung Aung Htoo, showed a tendency to violent behavior that seemed to reproduce a similar tendency in the persons whose lives they remembered. Other subjects, such as Semih Tutuşmuş and Salem Andary, showed violent behavior derived from attitudes of vengeance toward the persons who had killed the previous personality, sometimes extending to the entire class of such persons.

Readers convinced by the evidence that I reviewed in Chapter 3 that maternal impressions may sometimes influence the form of an embryo will be prepared to consider the possibility that such impressions may also influence muscular habits. Of such an effect, however, I know only one instance. Collyer (1871) wrote:

> In crossing the American plains (1850) from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast, a lady who was pregnant had ridden on a mule for over four months. A short time after delivery in San Francisco, the right arm of the child was continually in motion, as if in the act of using a whip, which corresponded with the motion of the mother's arm during her pregnancy, flogging the mule. This movement continued for two years. (p. 82)

The following instances of muscular habits and automatic actions have come directly under my observation or that of my colleagues.

Maung Aung Ko Min. The previous personality of this subject, Maung Thein Aung (of Burma), was thrown from a moving train (by hooligans) and was grievously injured. He was taken to a hospital, where his right foot and lower leg were amputated above the ankle. He remained ill and delirious for about a day before he died. During this time observers noticed that the stump of the amputated leg was twitching almost continuously up to the time of his death. Maung Aung Ko Min was identified as the reincarnation of Maung Thein Aung on the basis of a dream and a birth defect of his right leg at the site where Maung Thein Aung's right leg had been amputated. His right lower leg showed a marked trembling movement. I do not know how long this trembling movement persisted. I also have no information about whether, when he became able to speak, Maung Aung Ko Min expressed imaged memories of Maung Thein Aung's life. (Case studied, during Maung Aung Ko Min's infancy, by Daw Hnin Aye)

Figure 23-11 Shiv Shankar Sengar (in the arms of his father). The photograph was taken in November 1971, when he was 5½ years old. He was squinting his left eye, as he often did.

Myrtle Robin. The subject of this case, a Haida of British Columbia, Canada, remembered the previous life of a woman, Barbara Newman, who in the last years of her life was blind. She was able to move around her house by groping her way along the walls, and a friend had arranged a rope strung in her back yard so that she could move around in it also. Two informants told me that they observed Myrtle Robin as an infant walking around a room feeling her way along the walls like a blind person. She continued this behavior for 1 or 2 years. She could see perfectly well.

Alli Kathat. Both Alli Kathat (of India) and Jora, whose life he remembered, had the habit, when annoyed or otherwise emotionally troubled, of blinking their eyelids rapidly. (Chapter 22)

Shiv Shankar Sengar. The subject of this case (of India) and the person, Sampat, whose life he remembered, both had the habit of squinting or half closing their left eye. I took a photograph of Shiv Shankar that I hoped would show this tic, but foolishly took it so that the sun was on his left side, and he would naturally have had some tendency to close the left eye against the bright light coming from that direction (Figure 23-11). I hope readers will nevertheless accept my word that I observed Shiv Shankar squint with his left eye even when sunlight was not brightly falling on it.

Vasantha Karunaratne. This subject (of Sri Lanka) was observed to use the fingers of both his hands for eating. Nearly all Sinhalese eat with the fingers

of only one hand, but Wimalaweera, whose life Vasantha remembered, also used both hands when he ate. (Case investigated by Godwin Samararatne)

Maung Win Htay. This Burmese subject, already mentioned in the section on posture, was identified as being the reincarnation of his maternal great-grandmother, Ma Hme. She died at the age of 76. Toward the end of her life, Ma Hme had suffered from extruding hemorrhoids. From the discomfort they caused her, she had found relief by pushing the protruding hemorrhoids back into her rectum. When Maung Win Htay was an infant, he was observed making a similar gesture with his hand, as if he were trying to push something into his rectum. He did this when he was lying on a bed. He continued the habit until he was between 2 and 3 years old.

Edip Çelik. This Turkish subject remembered the previous life of a man called Hamit Balik, who earned his living as a seller of candies on the streets of İskenderun. Hamit Balik would have sat all day behind his vending stall. Edip had a preference for being seated while he was working. (Case studied by Dr. Can Polat and only partly verified)

Cuma Atar. The previous personality of this case, Ali Yılmaz (of Turkey), was killed by a shotgun wound in the throat. As a young child, Cuma Atar kept his hand on his throat almost continuously. He would cry when adults tried to take his hand from his throat. I do not know how long the habit persisted. He seems to have had no birthmark.

Sivanthie and Sheromie Hettiaratchi. These twins (of Sri Lanka, previously mentioned in the sections on physiques and postures) remembered the lives of two men. Between the ages of 3 and 4, they were observed trying to urinate in a standing position as men usually do. (Other female subjects who have remembered the previous lives of men have also shown this behavior.) (Chapter 25)

Eunice Fowler. The subject of this case, a Tsimshian of British Columbia, Canada, was identified, mainly on the basis of an announcing dream and apparent behavioral memories, as the reincarnation of an old lady called Sophie Turner. Sophie Turner had suffered from severe osteoarthritis that impeded her rising out of chairs. She found she could do this best by lifting up her bottom first. Eunice, as a young child, was observed, when she was rising from a chair, to lift up her bottom first, in a manner that closely resembled Sophie Turner's habit.

Mukul Bhausar. This subject (of India) was the son of Hindu parents. He remembered an unverified life as a Moslem and showed some notable "Moslem" behavior as a young child. Even before he could walk or talk, he would assume the posture for namaz, the standard position for prayer, with the buttocks first placed on the heels, followed by leaning forward until the hands and face are on the ground. Mukul continued to do namaz until he was about 8 years old. His father had observed that Mukul sometimes did namaz when he heard the muezzin of the community mosque. (The muezzin's voice, magnified by a loudspeaker, could be heard in Mukul's part of the village.) I summarized Mukul's case (because he was born without a foreskin) in Chapter 19.

Archana Shastri. This subject (also of India) was the daughter of Hindu parents living in Kashmir. As a young child she remembered the previous life of a pious Moslem woman, Tahira Khanam, who had been drowned in a flood. At about the time Archana began to refer to a previous life, at the age of about 2½, she also began to practice namaz, for which she carried out preliminary ablutions. Tahira had practiced namaz five times a day. Archana continued her ritual of namaz until she was between 5 and 6. (Chapter 22)

Subhash Singhal. This subject was born in a Hindu family of Uttar Pradesh, India. He remembered many details of an unverified previous life as a prosperous Moslem toy merchant. He showed many "Moslem" traits when he was young. Soon after he began speaking about the previous life, he said that he could offer prayers and then made the motions of a Moslem performing namaz. His family saw his lips moving, but he did not speak audibly. (Mills, 1993)

Gamini Jayasena. This subject (of Sri Lanka) was the son of Buddhist parents. He remembered the life of a young boy who had belonged to a Christian family (also in Sri Lanka). As a young child, Gamini showed an aversion toward Buddhist forms of worship and a preference for Christian ones. When he worshipped, he kneeled with his trunk fully upright (the usual position of Christians when praying in church), instead of allowing his buttocks to rest on his heels, as Buddhists do in some of their worship. By the age of 6, he had adapted to the Buddhist forms of worship practiced by the other members of his family. (Case report)

Itidal Abul-Hisn. This subject (of Lebanon) remembered the previous life of a woman called Selma, whose husband shot and killed her after she refused to give him money for gambling. Selma had had eight children, of whom the youngest, Ghandi, was said to have been 3 years old when she died, but might have been younger. (Because the murderer escaped to Syria, he was never apprehended; we could obtain no police record of the murder or otherwise learn a precise date for Selma's death.) As a young child Itidal held a doll to her breasts as if feeding it from them. When a neighboring family had a baby boy they named Ghandi, Itidal went to see him and said—more than once—that she wished to feed this Ghandi from her breasts. One informant said that Selma was no longer nursing her Ghandi at the time of her death. If Ghandi was younger than 3, however, and say only 2 years old, Selma might still have been nursing him or have only recently stopped doing so when she died.

Comment. Itidal's effort to nurse a doll (or another child) from her breasts approaches the feature of play related to the previous personality's vocation, which many subjects have shown. Examples in this work alone occurred in the play at soldier of Maung Sein Win, Maung Aung Htoo, and B. B. Saxena, and the play at teaching school of Chanai Choomalaiwong. Perhaps we can identify no clear boundary between some of the gestures the subjects show and some of the play in which others engage.

24

The Face as a Type of Birthmark or Birth Defect

INTRODUCTION

It may seem unfair and even, to some persons, rude to place a chapter about faces in a volume mainly concerned with birth defects. Yet some faces are shaped by birth defects. The faces of persons with that misfortune certainly belong here, and it does not seem inappropriate also to include in the same chapter examples of other subjects' faces apparently corresponding to faces of previous personalities that were not distorted by birth defects.

I propose to present the cases under four headings: a) faces modified by birth defects corresponding to wounds and diseases in a previous personality; b) faces showing features uncharacteristic of the subject's race or nation, but characteristic of another race or nation of which he or she claims to have been a member in a previous life; c) cases in which the subject's face, although not abnormal, showed a noticeable correspondence to the previous personality's face;[1] and d) similarities and differences between the faces of monozygotic twins. In this chapter I shall consider only modifications of the *form* of the face and not those variations in facial appearance due to birthmarks.

[1]In earlier chapters I drew attention to examples of such facial correspondences (asserted by informants) in the cases of Sanjeev Sharma, Maung Hla Win, Wijeratne, Alli Kathat, and Ma Win Myint.

Figure 24-1 Maung Htoo as he appeared in infancy before correction of his cleft lip. (Chapter 18)

WOUNDS AND DISEASES AS POSSIBLE CAUSES OF FACIAL FEATURES

In previous chapters I have described (with photographs) several subjects whose faces showed deviations from normal—usually asymmetries—that corresponded with wounds in the previous life. Examples occurred in the cases of Maung Htoo (cleft lip), Semih Tutuşmuş (hemifacial hypoplasia), and Ma Hmwe Lone (facial asymmetry due to paralysis of the seventh facial nerve). To assist readers I reproduce here the photographs of the faces of these three subjects (Figures 24-1, 24-2, and 24-3). To these cases I will now add three additional instances of facial abnormalities corresponding to wounds or defects in a previous life.

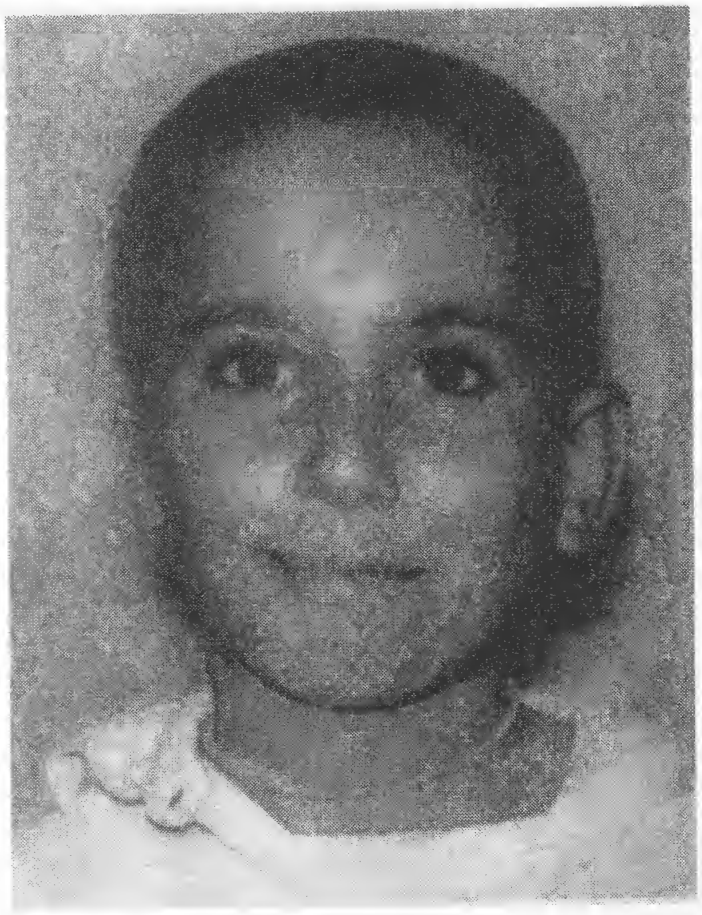

Figure 24-2 Semih Tutuşmuş as he appeared in November 1967, when he was 9 years old. The photograph shows right-sided hemifacial hypoplasia in addition to the defect of the right ear. (Chapter 18)

Figure 24-3 Ma Hmwe Lone as she appeared in 1980, when she was 27 years old. A definite facial asymmetry was present, due to laxness of the muscles on the left side of the face. (Chapter 18)

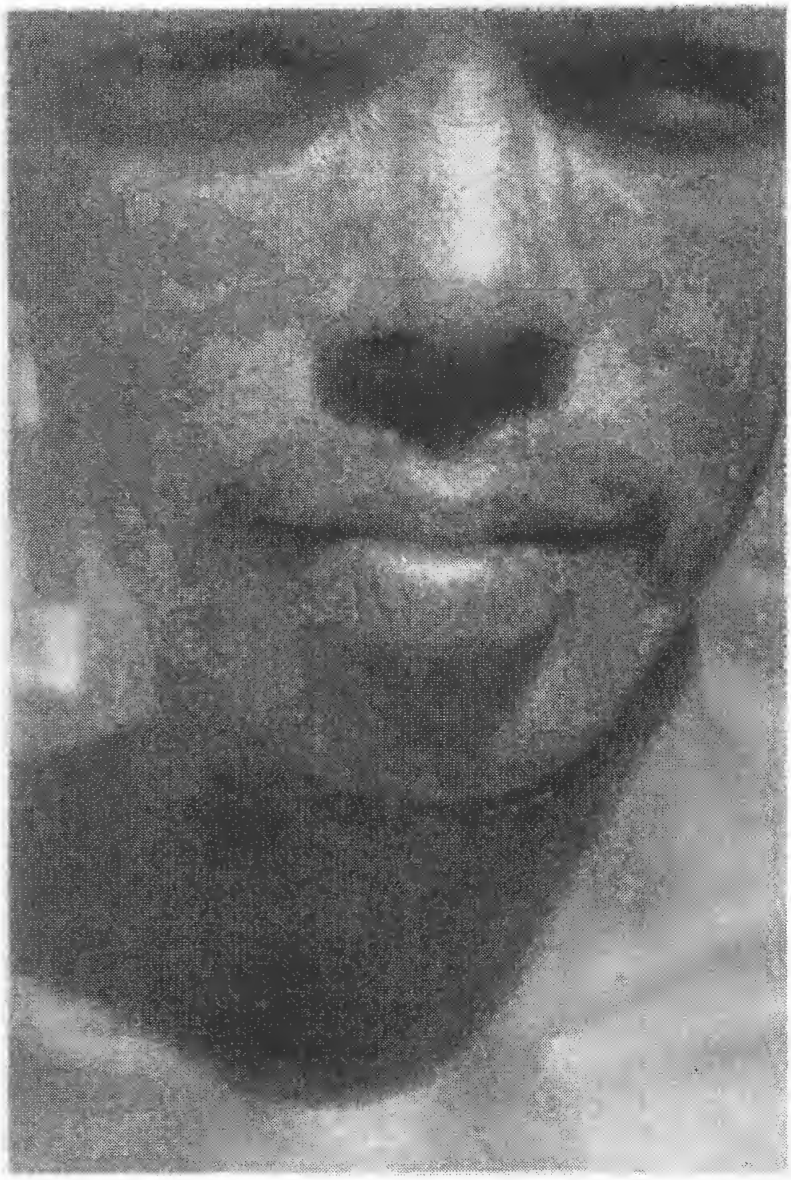

Figure 24-4 Lower part of the face of Maung Mhat Tin, as it appeared in March 1977, when he was just over 32 years old. The lower lip was abnormally large.

THE CASE OF MAUNG MHAT TIN

In Chapter 9 I gave a detailed account of the case of Maung Mhat Tin, who remembered the previous life of Maung Aung Su, a Burmese villager executed by a firing squad of the Japanese Army for killing a Japanese soldier. Maung Mhat Tin said that just before the soldiers fired at Maung Aung Su, he had bitten his lip in order to control any expression of fear that could be seen by the Japanese or the numerous other observers. U Win Maung and I interviewed some persons present at the execution, which the Japanese had wished to make a public spectacle in order to increase its deterrent effect. The persons we interviewed, however, had all

Figure 24-5 Profile view of Maung Mhat Tin's face as it appeared in December 1980, when he was not quite 35 years old. This photograph shows the protrusion as well as the enlargement of the lower lip.

been so distraught that they had averted their eyes from Maung Aung Su, and none could say that they had seen him bite his lower lip. This detail therefore remains unverified.

If nevertheless we accept Maung Mhat Tin's account of what Maung Aung Su did (and believe his case best explained by reincarnation), we have a satisfactory explanation for the pronounced abnormality of his lower lip (Figures 24-4 and 24-5).

U Thein Maung, Maung Mhat Tin's cousin and one of our informants for the case, told us that no other member of the family had an enlarged lip.

THE CASE OF MAUNG SOE TUN

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Maung Soe Tun was born in Magwe, Upper Burma, on August 28, 1965. His parents were U Kyaw Nyunt and his wife, Daw Khin San Tint. They had one other child, a daughter younger than Maung Soe Tun. U Kyaw Nyunt was a government officer in the Cooperative Department. He worked in Nga-Zun, in the Sagaing District of Upper Burma. His family, however, lived in the town of Myinmu, and Daw Khin San Tint worked there as a schoolteacher.

When Maung Soe Tun was still a young child (I do not know how old), he was cared for by his mother's maternal aunt, Daw Mu. I also did not learn the reason for this fostering, but it was possibly due to the work of Maung Soe Tun's mother as a schoolteacher. Later, Daw Khin San Tint resumed full maternal charge of her son.

Maung Soe Tun had birthmarks on his earlobes, but although his mother noticed these, they did not lead her to identify her son with any particular deceased person. When I met Maung Soe Tun in 1975, he was just over 10 years old, and at that time the opening of his right eye was slightly smaller than that of his left one (Figure 24-6). I did not learn when this slight difference was first noticed.

Maung Soe Tun had another mark on his right leg, which he said (in 1975) was a birthmark. His mother appears to have given it no attention and may indeed never have noticed it before 1975. However, I learned at second hand that Maung Soe Tun's adoptive mother, Daw Mu, had noticed this mark soon after his birth. It made no sense to her until Maung Soe Tun became able to speak and explained it as derived from moxibustion treatment in the previous life he was remembering.

No one had had a dream prior to Maung Soe Tun's birth that seemed to indicate who he might have been in a previous life.

When Maung Soe Tun was only about 7 months old, he was observed pointing to a photograph of a deceased friend of his mother called Daw Soe and then patting himself on the chest. This stimulated people to ask him: "Are you Mother Soe?" These questions seemed to please him.

He started to speak coherently when he was about 18 months old and began to make more direct references to a previous life when he was about 2. He talked about the relatives of Daw Soe in Nga-Zun, where he had never been. However, he seems not, at that age, ever to have directly claimed that he was Daw Soe.

When Maung Soe Tun was about 4 years old, he was taken to Daw Soe's family, with whom he recognized persons and objects familiar to Daw Soe.

Maung Soe Tun's father, U Kyaw Nyunt, who (as I mentioned) worked in Nga-Zun, was our first informant for his son's case. U Win Maung's son also

Figure 24-6 Maung Soe Tun as he appeared in November 1975, when he was 10 years and 4 months old. The right palpebral fissure was slightly narrower than the left one.

worked in Nga-Zun at this time, and U Win Maung learned of the case during one of his visits there.

In May 1973, U Win Maung went to Myinmu and recorded a full statement from Daw Khin San Tint. More than 2 years later, in November 1975, he and I went to Myinmu together. At this time, we talked with Maung Soe Tun and his mother and also with two members of Daw Soe's family.

Persons Interviewed during the Investigation

In Myinmu we interviewed:

Maung Soe Tun
Daw Khin San Tint, Maung Soe Tun's mother
Daw Phwa Nyet, Daw Soe's second daughter
U Yar Toe, one of Daw Soe's grandsons

Unfortunately, we did not meet Daw Mu, who had been Maung Soe Tun's adoptive mother. Another of Daw Soe's daughters, Daw Hla Khin, was away from Myinmu on the day of our visit.

Relevant Facts of Geography and Possibilities for Normal Means of Communication between the Two Families

Myinmu is a town in the Sagaing District of Upper Burma. It is about 60 kilometers west of Mandalay and is on the west side of the Irrawaddy River. Nga-Zun is another town of the same district, located about 15 kilometers east of Myinmu, toward Mandalay. It is on the east side of the Irrawaddy River, as is Mandalay. (Nga-Zun has figured in earlier cases in this work: those of Maung Aye Kyaw, Maung Hmat Tin, and Daw Tin Hla.)

The two families concerned in the case were not related, but they had been well acquainted before the case developed. Indeed, Daw Khin San Tint had a special relationship with Daw Soe. This came about when Daw Khin San Tint's father, U Tun Tin, took a "lesser wife," while his principal wife, Daw Ohn Shein, was still living. Daw Soe, learning of this, afterward took a special interest in Daw Khin San Tint; she probably feared that the young girl would be neglected in the enlarged ménage that U Tun Tin had established.

The Life, Death, and Character of Daw Soe

Daw Soe was born in Mandalay in about 1887. Her parents were U Aung Dun and his wife, Daw Thu Kha. She had at least one sibling, U Shwe Gaing, and may have had others. When she grew up, Daw Soe married U Mya, and they had five children. She and her husband conducted a general trade in Myinmu, and their business was still being continued in 1975 by their daughter Daw Phwa Nyet.

In her early 60s Daw Soe developed cataracts in both eyes and became blind. An operation for cataract was recommended, and in 1951 one of her eyes was operated on successfully at a private clinic in Mandalay. (This clinic had since closed, and it was not possible to obtain records from it.) The operation was successful, and for the rest of her life Daw Soe, using spectacles with thick lenses, could see well with the operated eye. Daw Phwa Nyet did not remember which of her mother's eyes had been operated on.

Daw Soe died in Myinmu at the age of 78 after a brief illness of only 2 days. Daw Phwa Nyet had noted the date of her mother's death on a calendar as February 22, 1965, and I think we can accept this as accurate.

Daw Soe does not appear to have had any distinctive personal characteristics. When I enquired about these, I could only learn that she enjoyed smoking cheroots made from corn leaves and that she liked to meditate.

Statements and Recognitions Made by Maung Soe Tun

I mentioned earlier that when Maung Soe Tun first referred to the previous life, as a very young child, he never said directly that he was Daw Soe. He did, however, speak about Daw Soe's relatives in Nga-Zun, where he had never been.

Later, at the age of 7, he pointed to a photograph of Daw Soe and said that it was of him, meaning in the previous life. (We did not learn whether this was the same photograph to which he pointed when still a baby crawling on the floor.)

When Maung Soe Tun was 4, he was taken to Daw Soe's house, and there he pointed out the room and the bed in which Daw Soe had slept. At Daw Soe's house he was put to the test of recognizing one of Daw Soe's longyis that was mixed in with other longyis belonging to her daughters. He was able to do this. He also correctly picked out items of jewelry, such as gold bangles, necklaces, and rings that belonged to Daw Soe's children, even though these were presented to him with other items of similar sizes and shapes.

Maung Soe Tun was also said to have recognized persons known to Daw Soe, and he did not identify persons presented to him whom she had never known. Daw Khin San Tint said that he spontaneously recognized Daw Soe's brother, U Shwe Gaing, whom he called by his familiar name "Ant Maung." (Daw Soe would have called him by this name.) He recognized U Shwe Gaing at a religious ceremony that was being held at Daw Soe's house.

Maung Soe Tun's Statements about Experiences after Daw Soe's Death and before His Birth. Daw Khin San Tint overheard Maung Soe Tun and other children of his age talking sometimes about ghosts, spirits, and goblins. During these conversations, Maung Soe Tun would say: "As for me, I never tried to frighten anybody when I was a spirit. I had plenty to eat."[2]

Maung Soe Tun's Statements in 1975. When U Win Maung and I talked with Maung Soe Tun in 1975, he confidently told us that he remembered that he had been Daw Soe in a previous life. He said, however, that his memories of the

[2]Other subjects *have* said they remembered that while they were in a discarnate state they threw stones at living people or otherwise frightened them. The case of U Tinn Sein provides an example.

Maung Soe Tun's reference to not being hungry (as a discarnate spirit) derives from the belief among Buddhists that the lower type of "earth-bound ghosts," called by them pretas, suffer from hunger. I have given further details about pretas in several other case reports: those of Chanai Choomalaiwong, Tong In Songcham, the Ven. U Sandimar (in this work), and that of the Ven. U Sobhana (Stevenson, 1983).

previous life were then fading. He could not remember how Daw Soe had died, but he said that he did remember that her *right* eye had been operated upon.

Maung Soe Tun himself drew our attention to the mark on his leg, which he said was a birthmark derived from a type of moxibustion treatment Daw Soe had had. Maung Soe Tun explained to us that the treatment had not been real moxibustion, which involves burning some material on the skin. Daw Soe, he said, had received medication pushed through the skin with needles; the procedure was like tattooing, but medicines were introduced instead of pigments.

Comment. I cannot tell whether Maung Soe Tun was remembering this information from the life of Daw Soe or had learned it normally. (Daw Phwa Nyet did not remember that her mother had ever had such a treatment; but she did not deny the possibility either.)

Maung Soe Tun's Behavior Related to the Previous Life

Maung Soe Tun was interested in meditation as Daw Soe had been. Unlike her, however, he had no wish to smoke cheroots.

Maung Soe Tun had no feminine attributes. In particular, he did not try to dress like a girl when he was a young child, and he did not show a preference for girls' games. Nor did he have any other traits that might be described as girlish.

Maung Soe Tun's Eyes and Birthmarks

When I examined the lobes of Maung Soe Tun's ears, I could see nothing abnormal. Daw Khin San Tint said that there had never been holes in the lobes of her son's ears, only marks, which had since faded.

The birthmark on the outer aspect of Maung Soe Tun's right leg was of irregular shape and reddish in color. Since I did not meet Daw Mu, who was said to have noticed this birthmark soon after his birth, I cannot say whether it had changed in appearance or location since then.

Figure 24-6 shows that the palpebral fissure of Maung Soe Tun's right eye was fractionally narrower than that of his left eye. Maung Soe Tun said that an object at which he looked with his right eye appeared "fuzzy," but was clear when he looked at it with his left eye. He also said that at times he had a dull pain in his eyes, especially the right one. (Otherwise his health was good.)

Comment

Daw Khin San Tint was a person of more than average education who worked as a schoolteacher, and I think we can accept as accurate the birthdate she gave for Maung Soe Tun. I have already said that I think the date we have for Daw Soe's death is also accurate. This case, therefore, falls into the group in which the subject was conceived before the previous personality had died. There were no complications of Daw Khin San Tint's pregnancy with Maung Soe Tun, and if we

assume that it extended over the usual 9 months of gestation, she was 3 months pregnant when Daw Soe died.

That Maung Soe Tun showed no feminine traits need not surprise us, if we remember that our gender identities have less strength at the two ends of life than they have during the middle years, which are those of greatest sexual activity. Daw Soe was 78 when she died, and I do not think it would be unfair to say that at that age she would have thought of herself as a person more than as a woman. Among the cases of the sex-change type that I have investigated, the subjects who have shown behavior appropriate for the sex of a previous life have nearly all remembered lives that ended during the usual years of greatest sexual activity. Ampan Petcherat and Sanjeev Sharma were exceptions to this general rule. As young children they both showed behavior appropriate for the sex of the previous lives they remembered. The former remembered the life of a boy who died at the age of about 4 and the latter that of a woman who was 100 years old more or less when she died.

THE CASE OF MAUNG WIN HLA

Maung Win Hla was born in 1972 in Shawphyukine village, Pyawbwe Township, Upper Burma. His parents were U Ohn Shwe and his wife, Daw Hla Thaung. He was the fourth of their four children. U Ohn Shwe was a farmer.

Daw Hla Thaung was away from Shawphyukine village, attending to some business in the town of Pyinmana, when she dreamed that a young woman called Ma Sein Tint appeared to her and said that she was coming to stay with her. Ma Sein Tint was a long-time employee of the family (as a laborer), and she worked so conscientiously and was so devoted to U Ohn Shwe's family that they almost regarded her as a member of the family. So far as Daw Hla Thaung knew, there had been nothing wrong with Ma Sein Tint when she had left for Pyinmana; but after having the dream about her saying she was coming to stay with them, Daw Hla Thaung asked herself whether something had happened to Ma Sein Tin while she had been away. Something *had* happened; Ma Sein Tint had become ill with a high fever and had died within 10 days of being apparently well. She was 25 years old and not married. Daw Hla Thaung learned about her illness and death when she returned to Shawphyukine village. She became pregnant in the month of dreaming about Ma Sein Tint.

When Maung Win Hla became able to speak, he identified himself as "Sein Tint Gyi." He recalled that as Ma Sein Tint he had been bitten by a dog, and he drew attention to a birthmark on his right thigh (Figure 24-7) that he said corresponded to the site of the dogbite. He remembered that the husband of a cousin had smeared the site of the bite with soot from a frying pan. Maung Win Hla showed behavior closely similar to that of Ma Sein Tint.

Maung Win Hla also had birthmarks on his ears corresponding to holes for earrings. I have included this brief account of his case here because in both Ma

Figure 24-7 Birthmark on the right thigh of Maung Win Hla. It was a roundish area of hyperpigmentation about 1 centimeter in diameter.

Figure 24-8 Maung Win Hla, as he appeared in December 1984, when he was about 12 years old. His left palpebral fissure was distinctly narrower than his right one.

Sein Tint and Maung Win Hla the palpebral fissure of the left eye was narrower than that of the right eye. Figure 24-8 shows this slight difference between Maung Win Hla's eyes. I do not know the reason why Ma Sein Tint's palpebral fissures were unequal. The two families were not related.

Daw Hnin Aye investigated this case in December 1984, and I have not met Maung Win Hla or his mother, who was the sole informant for the case.

We cannot be too vigilant in trying to avoid the common error, to which I drew attention in Chapter 13, of confusing left and right. I will therefore mention that in her notes Daw Hnin Aye had written that the right eye (of the subject and the previous personality) had the narrower palpebral fissure, whereas the photograph clearly shows the left eye to have had the narrower fissure. I am not aware of her having made such a mistake in any other case.

FACIAL FEATURES CHARACTERISTIC OF THE PREVIOUS PERSONALITY'S RACE OR NATION

In Chapter 22 I mentioned and gave examples of Burmese subjects who were identified as having been Englishmen or Americans in previous lives and who had eyes of Caucasian instead of Mongolian form.

I have also earlier mentioned Burmese subjects who remembered previous lives as Japanese soldiers and who, informants and sometimes my interpreters said, seemed to have Japanese rather than Burmese faces. I disclaimed sufficient expertise to distinguish a "Japanese face" from a "Burmese face." I do not deny, however, that the peoples of these two nations may have distinctive facial characteristics; a significant difference may exist, even though I cannot discern it and others who say they can discern it cannot describe it. To stimulate further reflection on this topic I include here photographs of four Burmese subjects who remembered previous lives as Japanese soldiers and who were said to "look like Japanese persons" (Figures 24-9 through 24-12). Interested readers may compare the faces of these subjects with those of other Burmese subjects who remembered previous lives as Burmese persons. This chapter includes photographs of several such subjects. Chapter 22 contains additional photographs of the faces of Burmese persons, some of them included there to illustrate the form of the Mongolian eye.

Maung Nyunt was the subject of another international case, and I should mention his facial appearance here. In Chapter 8 I described what he told us about a previous life that he remembered as an Indian driver of a pony-cart. In addition to birthmarks corresponding to holes for earrings that Indians (but not Burmese) people would wear in the helices of the ears, the form of his eyes conformed more to the Caucasian type than to the Mongolian one. This is not well brought out in my photograph of him (Figure 24-13). His left palpebral fissure (the only one visible) actually appears narrow.

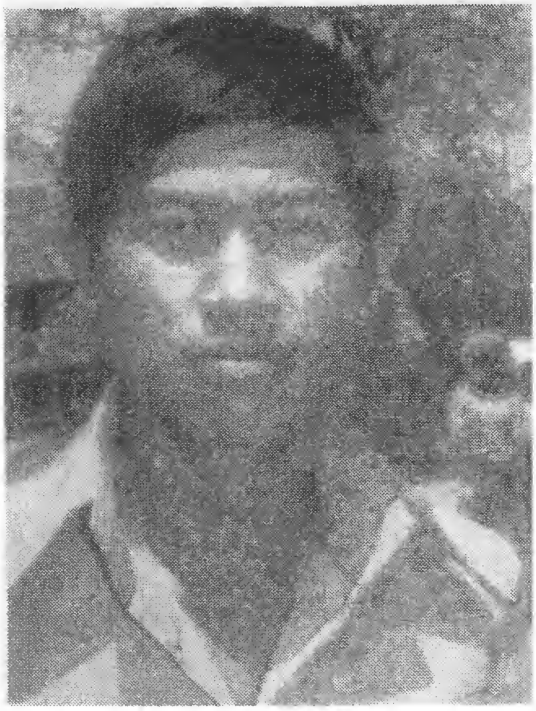

Figure 24-9 Maung Sein Win, a Burmese subject who remembered the life of a Japanese soldier. (Chapter 4)

Figure 24-10 Ma Win Yee, a Burmese subject who remembered the life of a Japanese soldier. (Chapter 17)

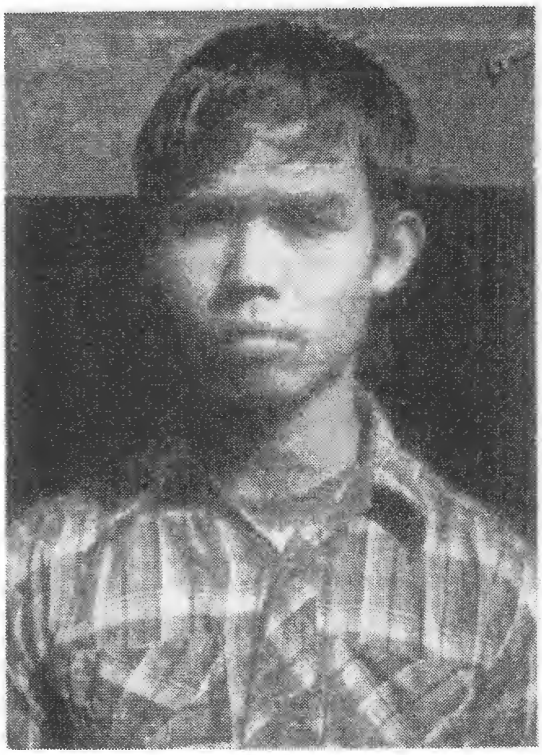

Figure 24-11 Maung Aung Htoo, a Burmese subject who remembered the life of a Japanese soldier. (Chapter 17)

Figure 24-12 Maung Japan, a Burmese subject so named because he was identified from two announcing dreams as having been a Japanese soldier in a previous life. He later communicated imaged memories of such a life. (I have not included his case history in this work. He was the son of U Sein, whose life and death U Win Aung remembered, as described in Chapter 9.)

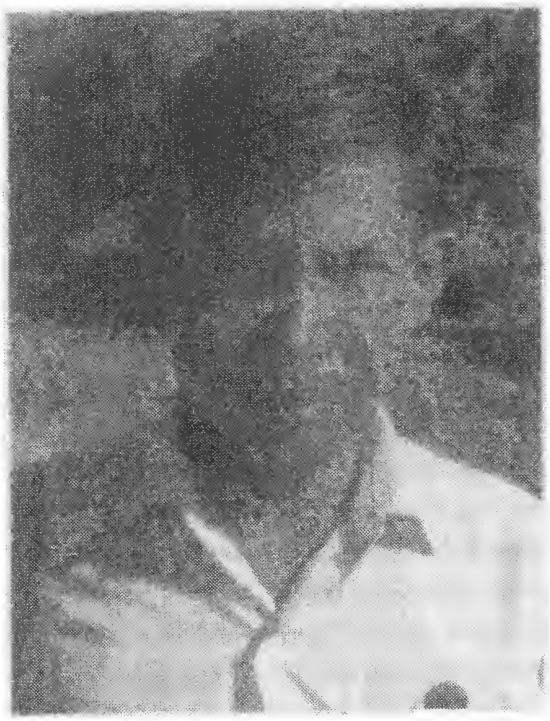

Figure 24-13 Maung Nyunt, a Burmese subject who remembered the (unverified) life of an Indian pony-cart driver. The photograph, taken when he was 35 years old, does not show well that he had eyes of Caucasian form. (Chapter 8)

OTHER CORRESPONDENCES OF FACIAL FEATURES BETWEEN SUBJECT AND PREVIOUS PERSONALITY

One of the tacit dimensions of our knowledge, to use Polanyi's (1966) expression, is the ability we have to recognize faces without being able to describe precisely what elements of the face enter into a correct recognition. Some faces, however, have distinctive features that are at least partly describable, and accordingly I divide the cases I shall next present into those with describable features and those that informants said showed appropriate correspondences that they could not (or did not) adequately specify. The boundary of describability is blurred, and for the "undescribable cases" I have hazarded an attempt at specification of the resemblances.

Facial Correspondences with Describable Features

Alli Kathat. This subject (of India) was said to have resembled Jora (whose life he remembered) not only in eyes, complexion, and gait, but also in

facial features. Their noses were said to be similar, but I did not learn details of the resemblances of the noses. (Chapter 22)

Ma Win Myint. As I mentioned in the report of Ma Win Myint's case, I learned some details about the similarity of her face to that of Paul Taylor, of whom she was believed to be the reincarnation. In addition to having in common such physical features as a fair complexion, freckles, (some) blond hair, and color blindness, both Ma Win Myint and Paul Taylor had pointed noses. A pointed nose is rare among the Burmese; their noses are nearly always more or less flat. (Chapter 22)

Ma San San Nyunt and Ma Nyunt Nyunt San. These twin sisters were born in Yanaung, Upper Burma. They remembered the previous lives of two elderly women who were sisters (not twins) and distant cousins of their father. These women were called Daw Aye Phyu and Daw Sapai. I give a detailed report of this case in Chapter 25. Here I wish only to draw attention to the facial resemblance of each twin to the deceased sister whose life she remembered. I was able to obtain and copy photographs of Daw Aye Phyu (Figure 24-14) and Daw Sapai (Figure 24-15). Readers should compare their faces with those of the twins (Figure 24-16). I am confident that nearly every reader will see a resemblance between Ma Nyunt Nyunt San and Daw Aye Phyu and one between Ma San San Nyunt and Daw Sapai. The most obvious describable feature of the correspondences is the palpebral fissures, which were narrower in Daw Aye Phyu and Ma Nyunt Nyunt San than they were in Daw Sapai and Ma San San Nyunt. I also see a similarity in the lower forehead and root of the nose in the faces of Daw Sapai and Ma San San Nyunt. They both have a slight frown that is absent in Daw Aye Phyu and Ma Nyunt Nyunt San.

Maung Zaw Zaw Naing. This subject was born in 1981 in Shawphyukine village, Pyawbwe Township, Upper Burma. His parents were U Htoon Sa and his wife, Ma Pyar. He was the second of their three children. U Htoon Sa was a farmer.

When Maung Zaw Zaw Naing was little more than one year old, he found his way to the home of two other villagers, U Pho Shin and Daw Taw. He somehow communicated to them that he was their son Ko Thaung. They asked him why Ko Thaung had died, and he replied that he "became sick and had to die." U Pho Shin and Daw Taw had had a son called Ko Thaung, who, at the age of 17, had died "of a fever," in about 1975.

Maung Zaw Zaw Naing showed a marked attachment to Ko Thaung's family. He was especially fond of one daughter of the family, Ma Yin Htay, who had been Ko Thaung's favorite sister.

I have included this brief report of the case here because Ma Pyar said that Maung Zaw Zaw Naing resembled Ko Thaung in facial features. They both had large heads and "fanlike" ears. Figure 24-17 does not permit a judgment about the relative size of Maung Zaw Zaw Naing's head, but his fanlike ears are obvious. The two families were distantly related, but the relationship was so remote that Daw Pyar could not specify it.

Daw Hnin Aye investigated this case in December 1984 (at the time of studying that of Maung Win Hla). Maung Zaw Zaw Naing was then 3 years old and still visiting Ko Thaung's family. He sometimes stayed with them for 2 or 3

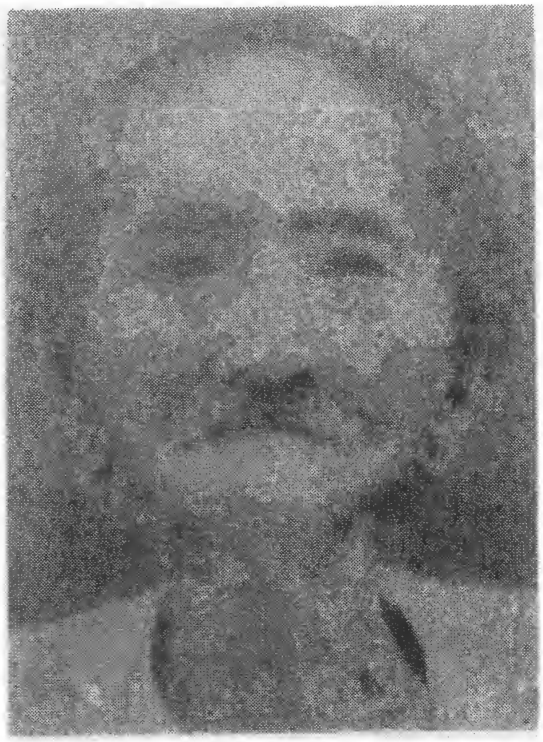

Figure 24-14 Daw Aye Phyu, taken toward the end of her life.

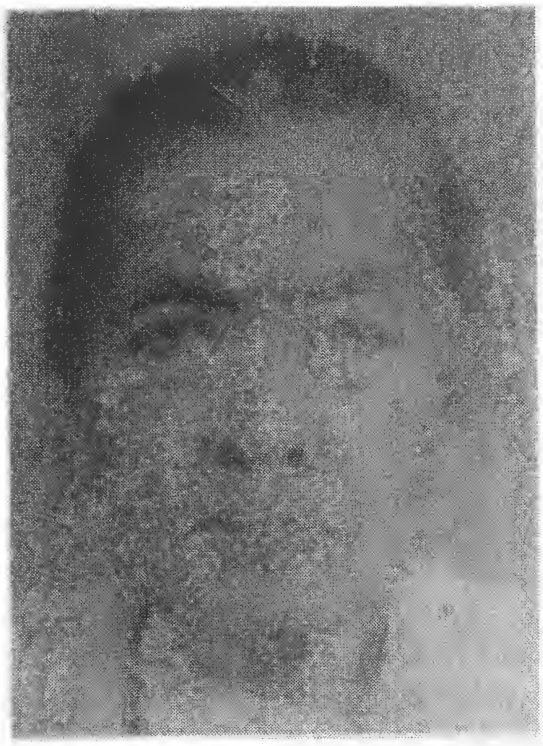

Figure 24-15 Daw Sapai, taken toward the end of her life.

Figure 24-16 Ma Nyunt Nyunt San (left) and Ma San San Nyunt (right), as they appeared in March 1978, when they were about 14 years old. Ma Nyunt Nyunt San remembered the life of Daw Aye Phyu and Ma San San Nyunt remembered the life of Daw Sapai.

Figure 24-17 Maung Zaw Zaw Naing, as he appeared in 1984, when he was about 3½ years old. The photograph shows his fanlike ears. It does not show the relatively large size of his head, which another photograph (not reproduced here) does show. (The light areas on the boy's face and head are places where the sun-screening and cosmetic thanaka paste has been applied.)

months. I have not met Maung Zaw Zaw Naing or his mother, who was Daw Hnin Aye's sole informant for the case.

Alessandrina Samonà. I have already referred to the subject of this Italian case in Table 21-1, and I include it among the twin cases that I analyze in Chapter 25. Alessandrina was born on November 22, 1910, in Palermo, Sicily. She and her twin sister, Maria Pace, were probably dizygotic. She had some fragmentary memories of their deceased sibling, who was also called Alessandrina. The girls' father, Dr. Carmelo Samonà, published the first reports of the case (Samonà, 1911, 1913); and Lancelin (c. 1922) published information about the twins' later development that he obtained from Dr. Samonà.

As a medical man, Dr. Samonà was qualified, I believe, to observe similarities and differences between the two Alessandrinas. He said that both had an asymmetry of the face.

Figure 24-18 shows Alessandrina I at the age of 3 years and 8 months. The principal feature of her facial asymmetry was shorter distance of the left eye, compared with the right one, from the center of the bridge of the nose (unilateral hypotelorism). In addition, the left labial commissure was closer to the midline than the right commissure. Figure 24-19 shows Alessandrina II (left) with her twin

Figure 24-18 Alessandrina (I) Samonà at the age of 3 years and 8 months. She had a slight asymmetry of the face. Her left eye was closer to the bridge of the nose than her right eye, and the left side of her mouth was shorter than the right side. (From Samonà, 1913.) (Courtesy of Biblioteca Bozzano-DeBoni, Bologna, Italy.)

Figure 24-19 Alessandrina (II) Samonà and her twin sister, Maria Pace, when they were 2 years old. Alessandrina II had a facial asymmetry similar to that of Alessandrina I. (From Samonà, 1913.) (Courtesy of Biblioteca Bozzano-DeBoni, Bologna, Italy.)

sister, Maria Pace, when they were 2 years old. Alessandrina II had the same type of facial asymmetry as Alessandrina I; the left eye was appreciably closer to the bridge of the nose than the right eye; and the left labial commissure was closer to the midline than the right commissure.

Facial Correspondences with Indescribable Features

Manoj Kumar. This subject was born on August 30, 1964, in the village of Bhaderi, District Bhind, Uttar Pradesh, India. His parents were Kalyansingh and his wife, Dulari.

When Manoj was about 5, he began speaking about a previous life. He said that he had been called Nawabsingh, and he stated numerous correct details about the life of a man called Nawabsingh, who, after a period in the army and then as a millworker, turned to dacoity and was killed (in February 1964) in a shoot-out with the police.

I investigated this case in 1971 and again in 1973. I am satisfied that the two families concerned in it were not related or even acquainted.

I was able to obtain and copy a photograph of Nawabsingh (Figure 24-20), which readers may compare with that of Manoj Kumar (Figure 24-21). I am much impressed myself by the resemblance between Manoj Kumar and Nawabsingh without being able to say why. I venture to suggest, however, that in both faces the eyes and the eyebrows are prominent, and both had well identified upper and lower eyelids.

Indika Ishwara. In Chapter 25 I give a detailed report of the cases of Indika Ishwara and his twin brother, Kakshappa. Indika remembered the previous life of a youth, Dharshana Samarasekera, whose father believed that Indika closely resembled Dharshana in facial features. Dharshana's mother thought that Indika resembled Dharshana "to some extent," but that Kakshappa did not. I am not fully convinced of the resemblance myself. It does not seem obvious in the only photograph of Dharshana that the Samarasekeras were able to give me. I will say, however, that both the boys show widely open eyes and their ears seem similar. The families concerned were not related. Figure 24-22 shows Dharshana at the age of about 9 years, and Figure 24-23 shows Indika as he appeared in November 1979, when he was 7 years old.

Suzanne Ghanem. This subject was born on March 21, 1972, in Choueifat, Lebanon. Her parents were Shaheen Ghanem and his wife, Munire. They were Druses.

I plan to include a detailed report of Suzanne's case in some future work. Suffice it to say here that she holds the record among cases I have studied for the number of proper names correctly placed in relation to the person, Saada Hatoum, whose life she remembered. The families concerned were not related.

Persons who had known Saada and who had seen Suzanne said that there was a strong facial resemblance between them, and I believe this myself. Figure 24-24 shows Saada at the age of 20 in her bridal dress, and Figure 24-25 shows

Figure 24-20 Nawabsingh, when he was about 25 years old.

Figure 24-21 Manoj Kumar, who remembered the life of Nawabsingh, as he appeared in April 1973, when he was about 9½ years old.

Figure 24-22 Dharshana Samarasekera, as he appeared in a group family photograph when he was about 9 years old.

Figure 24-23 Indika Ishwara, who remembered the life of Dharshana Samarasekera, as he appeared in November 1979, when he was 7 years old.

Figure 24-24 Saada Hatoum in her bridal gown at the age of 20.

Figure 24-25 Suzanne Ghanem, who remembered the life of Saada Hatoum, as she appeared in February 1979, when she was not quite 7 years old.

Suzanne at the age of nearly 7. The resemblance that I see seems to be chiefly in the mouths and chins.

Sujith Lakmal Jayaratne. This subject (of Sri Lanka) remembered the life of Sammy Fernando, sometimes known as "Gorakana Sammy," who was killed when, being drunk, he stepped into the path of a speeding lorry. Sujith made numerous statements that were correct for events in the life of Sammy Fernando. In addition, he showed a syndrome of unusual behaviors that were either characteristic of Sammy or conjecturable for him. (In this last group I place Sujith's phobia of lorries, one of which had killed Sammy.) Sammy's mother told me that Sujith looked like Sammy. To another informant (but not to me) she mentioned that their ears were similar.

Figure 24-26 shows Sammy Fernando as a young man. I do not know his exact age at the time this photograph was taken, but estimate him to have been about 30 years old at the time. Figure 24-27 shows Sujith at the age of nearly 9½. I do not see any marked resemblance between the two faces, although both have somewhat deep-set eyes and wide mouths. (Case report)

SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE FACES OF MONOZYGOTIC TWINS

One of the deepest mysteries in biology is that of how the faces of most monozygotic twins come to be so closely similar as to be indistinguishable to all but members of the twins' families and the most perceptive outside observers. (As great a mystery is that of how their faces come to be different from the faces of everyone else, except the co-twin.) Galton, in the paper in which he first advocated the study of twins as a means of understanding "the relative powers of Nature and Nurture," gave numerous vividly described anecdotes of how parents and others confused identical twins so that "the one is sometimes fed, physicked, and whipped by mistake for the other" (Galton, 1875, p. 393). Gedda (1961) published numerous photographs of the faces of monozygotic twins that show extremely close resemblances. In many instances the similarities remain into late adulthood.

Yet, as I will explain in more detail in Chapter 25, as many as 5% of monozygotic twins do *not* look alike. I therefore include in this chapter photographs of two pairs of monozygotic twins: one pair (the Pollock twins) who appeared identical and one pair (the Ishwara twins) who did not. I have already referred to the case of the Pollock twins in Chapter 23 and to that of the Ishwara twins earlier in this chapter. I give detailed reports of both these twin cases in Chapter 25.

Gillian and Jennifer Pollock. I believe these twins closely resembled each other when they were about 4 years old (Figures 24-28) and about 4½ years old (Figure 24-29). In young adulthood they were much more distinguishable in their facial features.

Figure 24-26 Sammy Fernando as a young man of age estimated at about 30.

Figure 24-27 Sujith Lakmal Jayaratne at the age of nearly 9½.

Figure 24-28 Jennifer (left) and Gillian (right) Pollock with their mother. (I do not have a date for this photograph, but believe it was taken when they were between 3 and 4 years old.) Their faces seemed closely similar and could be described as "identical." (Courtesy of Syndication International, IPC Services Ltd., London, England.)

Figure 24-29 Gillian (left) and Jennifer (right) Pollock as they appeared in early 1963, when they were about 4½ years old. This photograph also shows the close similarity of the twins' faces. The birthmark on Jennifer's forehead is faintly visible. (Courtesy of Syndication International, IPC Services Ltd., London, England.)

Figure 24-30 Kakshappa (left) and Indika (right) Ishwara as they appeared in November 1979, when they were just over 7 years of age. Their faces seemed easily distinguishable.

Indika and Kakshappa Ishwara. These twins at the age of 7 did not resemble each other in facial features (Figure 24-30). Figure 25-6 also shows the dissimilarity of their faces.

CONCLUDING REMARKS ABOUT FACIAL RESEMBLANCES BETWEEN SUBJECTS AND PREVIOUS PERSONALITIES

Although informants for these cases often comment spontaneously on facial resemblances that they say they see between the subject and previous personality, they just as often do not offer such a comment or they deny that there was any resemblance between the two persons. Someone particularly well placed to make such a comparison was Ma Hla Myine, who believed that her third husband, Maung Aye Kyaw (whose case I reported in Chapter 4), was the reincarnation of her first husband, Maung Shwe. She said that Maung Aye Kyaw had the same character as Maung Shwe, but looked quite different.

The informants for the cases have also sometimes remarked that the subject resembled the previous personality at a certain age, but did not show this resemblance earlier or later.

During the 1960s to 1980s, what we might call personal photography had developed very little in Asian villages. We counted ourselves fortunate if we were shown—as was often the case in Burmese homes—paired photographs, always carefully posed, of the father and mother of the family. These had been taken—it seemed—in young adulthood, perhaps at the time of their marriage. I thought myself lucky when on rare occasions I could borrow and have copied a reasonably satisfactory photograph of the previous personality showing features that I could compare with those of the subject. There was no question of a choice of photographs of the previous personality at all ages, such as we may obtain from many families in the West.

This deficiency does not prevent me from asking, if I *could* have my choice, at what age of the previous personality I would like to have his or her photograph to have been taken. My first choice—made unthinkingly—fell on having a photograph of the previous personality when he or she was the same age as the subject when we photographed him or her. Now, however, I think this choice was wrong. As I thought about the matter further, I decided that it would be much better, if we can do so, to compare a photograph of the subject when he or she is at the peak of volubility in talking about the previous life—say between the ages of 2 and 5—with a photograph of the previous personality taken as soon as possible before death.

I have acknowledged the difficulty of describing verbally any resemblances of facial features on which all observers would agree. Polanyi (1966) has persuaded me that, in his words, "we can know more than we can tell" (p. 4), and we can often recognize faces and facial resemblances without being able to say in words how we have done this. This failure does not mean, however, that we are powerless to introduce more objective methods of deciding whether a significant resemblance does or does not exist between two faces. As a step in this direction I have begun collecting and assembling photographs for a test of blind matching by an independent judge. Because photographs of subjects and previous personalities are so much easier to obtain now than they were formerly, we could ask the judge to select the face among five faces of subjects offered to him or her that showed the closest resemblance to a photograph of the target previous personality. The photographs of the five subjects from which one was to be matched should preferably have been taken at about the same age—between the ages of 2 and 5.

"It is the common wonder of all men, how among so many millions of faces, there should be none alike; now contrary, I wonder as much how there should be any." So wrote Sir Thomas Browne (1643/1940, p. 68), thus posing a question that we still cannot answer.

Part VII

Twins

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25

TWINS WITH MEMORIES OF PREVIOUS LIVES

INTRODUCTION

Like faces, twins may seem an inappropriate subject to subsume under birth defects. Yet some authorities regard multiple gestations as a type of birth defect, and twins, apart from being twins, have a higher incidence of birth defects than have singletons (Benirschke, 1984; J. Little and Bryan, 1986). Some teratogens have even been implicated as causes of multiple gestations, at least in mice (Kaufman and O'Shea, 1978). The investigations here reported lend no support to conceiving the process of twinning as a defect, at least on the psychological side of life. On the contrary, they suggest that intense and (usually) loving relationships in one life may generate births as twins in another, thus making twinning a kind of (usually) happy creative act.

The suggestion first made by Galton (1875) that the study of twins could help in distinguishing the "relative powers" of what were then called "nature and nurture" ultimately led to much research on twins, especially within the last few decades of this century (Hrubec and Robinette, 1984). In modern terms the opposed influences have been called "genes" and "environment," but only two factors in human development are still taken into account. I try to show in this chapter that twins who remember previous lives can widen the inquiry and help us to appreciate the importance of a third factor.

During the course of our investigations, my colleagues and I have investigated 40 twin pairs. In the first part of this chapter I present an analysis of various features in the series of twins. (As I shall explain, the analysis included 42 twin pairs.) In the second part I give reports of seven twin pairs whose cases I have

studied. I have published elsewhere a detailed report of an eighth twin case, that of Ramoo and Rajoo Sharma; and I described their birthmarks in Chapter 12.

I hope it will help my readers if I here state briefly the most important results of our studies of twins. In 86% of the cases the subjects remembered lives in which the previous personalities had had a verified or claimed close relationship; the twin found to be dominant in relation to the other twin remembered the previous life of a person who was dominant in relation to the other previous personality; monozygotic twins may show differences of behavior and physical appearance that are explicable in relation to previous lives but inexplicable by genetic factors.

ANALYSES OF THE PRINCIPAL FEATURES AMONG 42 TWIN PAIRS

Overview of the Sample of Twin Cases

The 42 pairs of twins came from seven different countries. Two-thirds of the sample, however, came from Burma (28 cases); and the other 14 twin pairs came from India (6 cases), Sri Lanka (3 cases), Nigeria (2 cases), Lebanon (1 case), Italy (1 case), and England (1 case).

The large number of twin cases from Burma derives partly from the large number of cases (787) of all kinds from Burma in our collection. Yet this alone cannot account for the large number (28) of twin cases from Burma in the series, because among 423 cases in India we have only 6 twin cases. A higher incidence of twinning in Burma also does not seem the right explanation. I have not found a published figure for the incidence of twinning in Burma, but Dr. Khin Maung Thaw, a thoracic surgeon of Rangoon, told me in 1980 that the incidence of twinning in Burma was 12.5 per thousand births. This incidence is not appreciably different from that in the United Kingdom of 11 per thousand births (Harrison et al., 1988) or the incidences found in other European countries, which vary between 9.1 per thousand in Spain and 12.4 per thousand in East Germany (before the unification of Germany) (Bulmer, 1970). It is possible that being a twin in Burma somehow facilitates the emergence of memories of a previous life, but I cannot think why this should be so. The large contribution of Burmese cases to the sample makes it particularly important to avoid any temptation that may occur to generalize the results of the following analyses to cases elsewhere.

In the investigation of 18 cases I played a principal part. My colleagues, associates, and assistants investigated the other cases. In Burma these were principally U Win Maung and Daw Hnin Aye. For some of the cases that they studied by themselves they obtained only a little information during a single visit. For most of these cases, however, we have sufficient data for the analyses that follow.

For these analyses I have added to the series of 40 cases that we investigated ourselves 2 cases published by earlier investigators. These are the cases of

Alessandrina and Maria Pace Samonà (Samonà, 1911, 1913; Lancelin, c. 1922) and of Maung Gyi and Maung Nge (Fielding Hall, 1898).

The Zygosity of the Twin Pairs

In six cases we were able to determine the twins' zygosity by analysis of blood groups and subgroups. In several other cases, the similarity of the twins' faces, amounting almost to indistinguishability, inclined me strongly to place a pair in the category of monozygotic twins. In a study of 200 twin pairs conducted in Sweden, twin pairs judged to be "as like as two peas" were confirmed as monozygotic by serological tests with almost 100% accuracy; but some twins (18%) who were serologically monozygotic were not judged to have been "as like as two peas" (Cederlöf et al., 1961, pp. 344-46). Replications of this method, using similar but slightly different questionnaires, showed lower percentages of serologically monozygotic twins to have been judged dizygotic on the basis of their similarity or dissimilarity in physical appearance. Thus Nichols and Bilbro (1966) found 10% of monozygotic twins misjudged from questionnaires. Magnus, Berg, and Nance (1983) reported an error of 4% in judging monozygotic twins to be dizygotic, and Kasriel and Eaves (1976) found an even lower incidence (2.5%) of such confusion. Another investigation of this general type compared the "global impression" of zygosity that an experienced investigator and observer of twins obtained from the appearances of 53 twin pairs. Her judgments were compared with results from bloodtyping. She obtained 94-96% accuracy. In 5 cases she called for the laboratory tests to be repeated, which showed that she had been right and the laboratory in error on the first test (Segal, 1984).

Despite the variability of the results described in the last paragraph, it is clear that a significant proportion of monozygotic twins do not look alike. According to Eaves, Eysenck, and Martin (1989): "It is accepted that the questionnaire approach to zygosity diagnosis is correct in about 95% of cases" (p. 78). This means that it is wrong in about 5% of cases. (Indika and Kakshappa Ishwara were monozygotic twins having dissimilar appearances, and I drew attention to this difference in Chapter 24 [Figure 24-30]; Figure 25-6 also shows the dissimilarity of their faces.)

The placentation in twin pregnancy (examined grossly) provides some guide to zygosity, but is far from adequately dependable. Some dizygotic twins have fused placentas giving a gross appearance of being a single placenta, and some monozygotic twins may have separate placentas (Cameron, 1968; Strong and Corney, 1967). A histological examination may be necessary to determine the details of placentation.

The correlation of fingerprint ridge counts is much higher in monozygotic twins (0.95) than in dizygotic twins (0.49) (Holt, 1961a, 1961b). Even so, the fingerprints of monozygotic twins are not identical. Fingerprint comparisons lack the precision—the near certitude—of serological tests in determining zygosity. Determinations based on the analysis of DNA were not feasible for this project.

Although we determined monozygosity in only two twin pairs, we can be reasonably certain that our series contains other monozygotic twins. Early in this century Weinberg (1901, 1909) proposed a method for estimating the expected frequency of monozygotic and dizygotic twins in a sample of twins of whom only the sexes were known. The method assumes that twinning is independent of sexual determination and that equal numbers of male and female zygotes will occur. All twin pairs of unlike sex must be dizygotic. Because dizygotic twins may also be of the same sex, a number of twins of like sex equal to the number of unlike sex will also be dizygotic. The remainder (obtained after subtracting the estimated number of dizygotic twins from the total in the series) will be monozygotic (and of the same sex). Boklage (1987) has severely criticized the Weinberg formula for unvalidated assumptions, but I believe it has adequate usefulness for present purposes.

Applying Weinberg's formula to the 42 cases of the present series, we begin with the 12 pairs of unlike sex; these are dizygotic. We then assume that an equal number of dizygotic pairs would be of like sex, which gives a total of 24 dizygotic twin pairs. The remaining 18 pairs would be monozygotic. Their percentage (43%) of the total is considerably higher than the 28% found in the series Cameron (1968) studied and higher even than that (39%) that R. S. Wilson (1970) found. On the other hand, Potter (1963), in a study combining the analysis of blood groups and examination of the placentas in 293 twin pairs, concluded that 42.8% were certainly or probably monozygotic. Unfortunately, the assumption that our series contains numerous instances of monozygotic twins contributes little useful information, because we do not know with assurance—except in two cases—which twins were in fact monozygotic.

In the cases for which we have not made serological examinations, I may offer an opinion about zygosity based on the twins' physical resemblance (or dissimilarity) to each other, but I do so without claiming any certainty for my judgment.

To conclude this section on the zygosity of twins I will remind readers that although monozygotic twins are genetically identical they may have significantly different uterine environments (Phillips, 1993; B. Price, 1950). I am not therefore claiming that all differences between monozygotic twins derive from previous lives; I am only suggesting that some of these differences may.

Sex of the Twin Pairs

Cameron (1968) studied the zygosity of 668 twin pairs born in Birmingham, England; he used a combination of serological and histological techniques (the latter for distinguishing monochorionic and dichorionic septa). He found that in this series 28% of the twin pairs were monozygotic and 72% dizygotic. From these data we can derive some information about the sexes of the twin pairs. All the monozygotic pairs would be of like sex, and half the dizygotic twins would be of like sex. There would therefore be 28 + 36 = 64% of like sex and 36% of unlike sex. This information tells us what to expect in another series, such as the 42 pairs being here considered. In Table 25-1 I list the sexes of the 42 twin pairs of our

Table 25-1. **Sex of Subjects in Twin Pairs** (N = 42)

	Present Series	*Expected (from Cameron, 1968)*
Same Sex Twin Pairs	30 (71%)	64%
Males 13		
Females 17		
Different Sex Twin Pairs	12 (29%)	36%

Table 25-2. **Sex of Subjects and Previous Personalities in Twin Cases** (N = 84)

	Sex of Subjects	
	Male	*Female*
Subject and Previous Personality of Same Sex	34	25
Sex-change Cases	2	16
Missing Data	2	5

series and the expected sexes, based on Cameron's data. In our series an excess of same sex female twin pairs makes the series deviate from the proportions expected from Cameron's data. This in turn seems related to the high incidence of sex-change cases in Burma, particularly those of a female remembering the life of a male. Among 787 cases in Burma 208 (26%) were of the sex-change type. Within the group of 208 cases, 62 (30%) were male subjects who remembered a previous life as a female and 146 (70%) were female subjects who remembered a previous life as a male.[1] The same disproportion of female subjects remembering the lives of males occurs in our series of twin cases. There were 16 female subjects who remembered a previous life as a male and only 2 male subjects who remembered a previous life as a female. Table 25-2 shows these data. The missing data in this table derive from cases in which a member of a twin pair said nothing about a previous life and was not placed in such a life by a co-twin who spoke about a previous life and also was not identified by adults as being any particular deceased person reborn.

Statements Made by the Subjects

I give the data on this feature next because it obviously bears on the solving of the cases, which usually requires that the subject state specifying proper names or at least much other detail that fits the life of only one person.

Table 25-3 shows the varying amount of statements about the previous lives that different groups of subjects made. In 25 (60%) of the cases one twin was

[1]I have considered elsewhere possible explanations for the disproportion between these two subgroups of the sex-change cases in Burma (Stevenson, 1983).

Table 25-3. **Amount of Speaking by Subjects about the Previous Lives** (N = 42)

1. Both twins spoke to the same extent		10
2. One twin said much more than the other twin		12
3. Only one twin spoke about a previous life; the other said nothing		13
a) The twin who spoke said nothing about a previous life of the silent twin	7	
b) The twin who spoke placed the silent twin in his or her previous life	6	
4. Both twins said nothing about a previous life; identification with previous personalities made from dreams, birthmarks, and behavior		2
5. No information on this feature		5

either the only one of a pair to say anything about a previous life or said much more than the second twin.

In the cases in which neither twin spoke about a previous life (Category 4 of Table 25-3), adult informants identified the subjects with previous personalities on the basis of dreams, unusual behavior, birthmarks, or combinations of these features.

In 6 of the 13 cases in which one twin said nothing, the twin who spoke located the silent twin as a person the speaking twin had known in his or her previous life.

For example, U Ba Hlaing (of Burma) said that he remembered that he had been an officer in the British Army and that his twin (who said nothing) had been his batman (servant) in the Army. U Ba Hlaing's twin showed subservient behavior toward him that was harmonious with the status U Ba Hlaing said he had had in the previous life.

Daw San Yee, another Burmese subject, said that she and her stillborn male twin had been brothers in a previous life and that they were both shot during an attempted dacoity.

In a third case of this type, also in Burma, the twins' mother dreamed, about 1 month before her pregnancy with them, that a relative, Ko Than Aung (who had died 3 months earlier), said that he was coming to live with her and was bringing a companion with him. One of the later-born twins, Maung Kyaw Myint Naing, spoke about memories of the life of Ko Than Aung, but his brother said nothing. When Maung Kyaw Myint Naing was about 7 years old, he told his family that in the discarnate realm, where he (as Ko Than Aung) found himself after death in the previous life, he had seen one U Saing, and he called to him to come along with him (to be reborn as his twin). U Saing, an inhabitant of the same village (but not a relative of the family), had died some time before Ko Than Aung. (This is one of five cases in which an announcing dream foretold the birth of twins.)

Relationships of the Previous Personalities

Table 25-4 shows that in 31 (74%) of the cases both the cases of a twin pair were solved. And among these cases the previous personalities had had some rela-

Table 25-4. **Relationships of Previous Personalities to Each Other in Twin Cases** (N = 42)

A. *Cases of both twins solved* (N = 31)			31
Previous personalities were acquainted			
Spouses		5	
Siblings		11	
Brothers	6		
Sisters	3		
Siblings of opposite sex	0		
Twins	2		
Other family relationship		6	
Friends, acquaintances, business associates		9	
Previous personalities were strangers		0	
B. *One case solved, one unsolved* (N = 5)			5
Subject said previous personalities were acquainted		1	
No information		4	
C. *Cases of both twins unsolved* (N = 6)			6
One or both twins said previous personalities knew each other		4	
Spouses	2		
Brothers	1		
Master/Servant	1		
No information		2	

tionship, often a close one of being spouses or siblings. They were not strangers to each other in a single one of these cases.

In the remaining 11 cases in which one or both cases were unsolved, a relationship of some kind between the previous personalities was claimed in 5 cases.

If we add to the 31 cases in which the previous personalities had a verified relationship of some kind the 5 cases in which one twin claimed a relationship with the co-twin (although this was unverified), we find that some kind of relationship had existed between the previous personalities or was claimed for them in 36 (86%) of the cases.

The foregoing suggests the importance of personal bonds between the previous personalities of a twin pair. There were nevertheless some exceptions. In the case of Indika and Kakshappa Ishwara (which I report in detail later in this chapter), Indika remembered the verified life of a schoolboy, whereas Kakshappa remembered the (unverified) life of an insurgent. The previous personalities could not have been acquainted.

In a Burmese case of which Ma Htay Kyi was the principal subject, her father, U Thein Maung, dreamed that his deceased first wife, Ma Shwe Kyi, came to him and said that she wished to be reborn as the daughter of the dreamer and his recently married second wife. U Thein Maung was in the act of protesting—in the dream—that this proposal was inappropriate because she was dead and he had remarried, when he woke up. The following night U Thein Maung had another

Table 25-5. **Relationship or Acquaintance between Previous Personalities and Subjects' Parents in Twin Cases** (N = 84)

Subjects' parents and previous personalities were related (immediate or extended families)	26
Subjects' parents were not related to previous personalities, but they were friends or acquaintances	26
Subjects' parents and previous personalities were strangers	15
Previous personalities of unsolved cases who may or may not have been strangers to subjects' parents	17

dream in which a deceased resident of the village whom he had known, U Sai Gyi, came to him and said that he had come to live with U Thein Maung and his wife. U Thein Maung's second wife became pregnant that month. The later-born twins (Ma Htay Kyi and Maung Htay Aung) spoke about equally about the previous lives of Ma Shwe Kyi and U Sai Gyi. As residents of the same village Ma Shwe Kyi and U Sai Gyi would have known each other, but without special attachment. Each, however, would have been attached, in different ways, to U Thein Maung.

In another Burmese case one twin, Daw Kyi, remembered the previous life of an Indian dancer who had been murdered by the person, U Po Ka, whose life her twin brother, Maung Ohn Cho, remembered. An uncle of the twins had later killed U Po Ka.

The detailed case reports that follow will show other kinds of relationships between the previous personalities of twin pairs.

Relationship or Acquaintance between Previous Personalities and Subjects' Parents

Among the 84 verified or presumed previous personalities of the cases, 52 were relatives or acquaintances of the twins' parents. Only 15 previous personalities were definitely known to have been strangers to the subjects' parents. The 17 previous personalities of unsolved cases may or may not have been strangers to the parents. Table 25-5 shows these data.

Among the previous personalities known to have been strangers to the subjects' parents, the parents in 6 cases had some knowledge about them, even though they had not known them personally. Examples of such knowledge occurred when the parents had heard of the previous personalities' accidental drowning or had gone to see the bodies of robbers killed by the police.

Death in the Previous Life

Table 25-6 shows the incidences of violent and natural death in cases where this was known or stated by the subject. The data from the twins can be compared

Table 25-6. **Mode of Death of Previous Personalities in Twin Cases**

	Solved		*Unsolved*		*Total*	
	Twin Cases	*All Cases*	*Twin Cases*	*All Cases*	*Twin Cases*	*All Cases*
Violent	37 (55%)	274 (51%)	10 (59%)	172 (91%)	47 (56%)	446 (62%)
Natural	23 (34%)	262 (49%)	0 (0%)	17 (9%)	23 (27%)	279 (38%)
Unknown	7 (10%)		7 (41%)		14 (17%)	
TOTAL	67	536	17	189	84	725

Note: Data from "All Cases" are from Cook et al., 1983, Table 8, p. 128.

with those from a large series of cases (Cook et al., 1983). The overall incidence of violent death among the twin cases was almost the same as that for the larger series of cases. Among the solved twin cases, the incidence of violent death was about the same as in the larger series. Among the unsolved cases, however, the incidence of violent death in the twin cases was somewhat lower compared with the larger series. (I have no explanation to offer for this variation.)

In 34 of the cases we were able to learn whether the previous personalities had died at the same or different times. We had no or insufficient data for this feature in 8 of the 42 twin pairs.

In 21 (62%) of the cases for which we had information, the previous personalities had died on the same occasion (such as in a vehicular accident), but not necessarily at the same moment. In 17 of these 21 cases, both cases of the twin pair were solved, so we could be adequately sure that the deaths had occurred at, or nearly at, the same time. In the other 4 cases both cases of a twin pair were unsolved, but one twin or both twins said that they had died together in previous lives.

In 13 (38%) of these cases, the previous personalities had died separately, sometimes at widely separated intervals. The length of the interval ranged between 3 days and 30 years; the median interval was 4 years.

Dominance of One Twin Over the Other

We cannot assign the quality of dominance to one of two persons in a relationship without difficulty; this arises because each member may dominate in one sphere and submit in another. A wife will decide what she will cook, but her husband may decide how much she is to spend on whatever she cooks. Nevertheless, observers of the relationship between two people will often agree that one or the other makes the more important decisions and that we should, therefore, regard that person as the dominant member of the pair. When our informants for the twin cases knew both of the previous personalities, they could sometimes offer us judgments about which one had been dominant. Failing such information we made the assumptions that older siblings would be dominant over younger ones and (in Asia and Africa) husbands would be dominant over wives. For the subjects the question of dominance was more easily answered, because both twins of a pair

Table 25-7. **Dominance Versus Submissiveness in Subjects and Previous Personalities of Twin Pairs**

A. Maintained (Dominant PP = Dominant S)	11
Reversed (Dominant PP = Submissive S)	0
B. Dominant PP = Firstborn S	14
Dominant PP = Secondborn S	10

S = Subject
PP = Previous Personality

had the same parents (and perhaps older siblings) who could tell us, and who usually agreed, about which of the twins was the dominant one. Partly because some of the twin subjects were young when we investigated their cases, we obtained more information about dominance versus submissiveness for the previous personalities than for the subjects.

Table 25-7A shows our appraisals of the correspondences between dominance in the previous lives (assessed by our criteria) and dominance observed in the subjects' behavior toward each other. Although we obtained adequate data for this assessment in only 11 twin pairs, they show without exception that the subjects manifested the behavior of dominance or submissiveness that the previous personalities had shown.

Examples of this apparent carry-over of a dominant/submissive relationship occurred in several of the cases that I describe in detail later in this chapter.

A feature of dominance is assertiveness, and I thought that the birth order of twins might reflect dominance in the relationship in the previous lives. We had data for this analysis from only 24 cases. Table 25-7B shows that in 14 cases the subject remembering the previous life of a dominant person was born first, and in 10 cases was born second. The tendency shown was not statistically significant.

CASE REPORTS

THE CASE OF SIVANTHIE AND SHEROMIE HETTIARATCHI

Introduction

The subjects of this case were dizygotic female twins of Sri Lanka. Their father was slightly acquainted with the two young men whose lives the twins remembered; he was a fellow employee (in a factory) of one of them, and both of them had attended his wedding. The men had both been killed by the police during the insurgency that broke out in Sri Lanka in April 1971; and the general circumstances of their deaths were widely known in the Galle District, where all three families concerned lived. Accordingly, the statements the children made about the previous lives they remembered have less importance than unusual

behavior they showed that corresponded to the behavior of the two deceased insurgents. One of the twins also had a pertinent birthmark. In addition, they differed from each other in certain physical features that accorded with similar features in the deceased young men (Figures 25-1 and 25-2).

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Sivanthie and Sheromie Hettiaratchi were the twin daughters of Amarapala Hettiaratchi and his wife, M. P. Yasawathie. The youngest of six children in the family, they were born in Galle on November 3, 1978. Sivanthie was born 5 minutes before Sheromie.

Amarapala Hettiaratchi was employed in a factory at Galle that produced frames for spectacles. However, the family lived in Pitadeniya, a village about 14 kilometers from Galle.

Sivanthie was born with a prominent hyperpigmented nevus on her upper abdomen (Figures 25-2 and 25-4). A nurse at the hospital (in Galle) where the twins were born immediately drew Yasawathie's attention to the birthmark by saying that the older of the twins was the one with the birthmark. At that time, however, the twins' parents attached no special significance to the birthmark; and neither twin was identified with any particular deceased person before Sivanthie, at 2½ years of age, began to refer to another home where she said she had a father, mother, and younger sister. Sivanthie made many detailed statements about the previous life and, in particular, described how she had been shot while jumping into the sea. She asked to go to "my home," and she also spoke about a temple at a place called Yatigala, which is about 10 kilometers from Pitadeniya.

When Sivanthie was about 3½ years old, her mother took her to the temple at Yatigala, and there she made some further statements about the previous life she was remembering. At about this time she said that her name in the previous life had been Robert. During the insurgency of 1971, the police had shot a young man named Robert as he was trying to escape from them by jumping into the sea; and Sivanthie's statements corresponded to these events.

A youth, P. Saman Kuruppu, who happened to be attending school in Pitadeniya, mentioned what Sivanthie had been saying in a letter that he wrote to his family in the village of Unawatuna. From them information about Sivanthie's statements spread to Robert's family (who lived in that area) and then to the family of another young man called Johnny, who had been Robert's closest friend. Johnny had also been an insurgent, and he too had been killed by the police, on the same day as Robert. A younger brother of Johnny, A. K. Gnananadasa, heard about Sivanthie's remarks and went to Pitadeniya to meet her. Up to this point Sheromie had said nothing about a previous life. When Sheromie saw Gnananadasa, however, she said: "My younger brother has come." Then she too began to talk about a previous life. (She thus began to speak about the previous life she remembered more than a year after Sivanthie had begun speaking about the one that she remembered.) Other members of both Robert's and Johnny's fam-

ilies subsequently met the twins, and the twins recognized some of them. These meetings took place during May and early June in 1982.

The apparent reincarnation of two insurgents could not be kept a secret in Sri Lanka, and on June 13, 1982, a report of the case appeared in the Sinhalese newspaper *Lankadipa*. The following day another newspaper, *Rivirasa*, also published a report. The case quickly came to the attention of Tissa Jayawardene, who informed Godwin Samararatne about the case, and they soon began its investigation. Between June 30 and July 4 Godwin Samararatne interviewed 11 informants for it. He also arranged for the twins to visit places and meet persons known to Robert and Johnny to see if they could recognize them under his observation.

I was planning another field trip to Sri Lanka when this case came to our attention, and I put it on the schedule for that trip. I worked on the case for 5 days during October 1982, conducting interviews with members of all three families concerned. On the last day we obtained samples of blood from the twins and members of their family for tests of the twins' zygosity. With Godwin Samararatne as interpreter, I interviewed 14 informants, most of them members of the three families directly involved in the case. Of these, Godwin Samararatne had already interviewed six. In my interviews with them, I tried to focus on particular details not fully covered in the previous interviews; and in my interviews with new informants I tried to ask questions that would correct or supplement what we had already learned. By the end of our study of the case my assistants or I had interviewed three of the more important informants three times. In the remainder of this report I shall not usually distinguish the information that I obtained during my interviews from that obtained a few months earlier by Godwin Samararatne and Tissa Jayawardene.

In November 1985, Godwin Samararatne returned to the area of the case and obtained some additional information filling in gaps in what we had learned in 1982. In the following month Tissa Jayawardene returned to Pitadeniya in order to obtain some information about the twins' heights and weights.

On June 11, 1990, Dr. Erlendur Haraldsson with Godwin Samararatne and Tissa Jayawardene visited the twins and their mother in Pitadeniya. They obtained information about the twins' further development that I have included at the end of this report.

Persons Interviewed during the Investigation

In Pitadeniya I interviewed:

Amarapala Hettiaratchi, father of Sivanthie and Sheromie
M. P. Yasawathie, mother of Sivanthie and Sheromie
Dusantha, the twins' oldest brother
Ajith Damiantha, an older brother of the twins
H. M. Katherina Hamy, the twins' maternal grandmother
P. Saman Kuruppu, schoolboy, resident of Unawatuna

In Yaddehimulla, Unawatuna, I interviewed:
K. L. A. Piyasena, Johnny's brother-in-law
M. Mary Nona, Robert's mother
M. Indrani, Robert's cousin
M. Harry, M. Indrani's father and Robert's uncle

In Unawatuna I interviewed:
S. K. Sisel Hamy, Johnny's mother

In Haburaduwa I interviewed:
Kottawa Sirisena, headman of the village

In Akmeemana, Unawatuna, I interviewed:
Chandra Palliyaguru, Robert's younger sister
A. Chandrapala, Robert's younger brother

Earlier in 1982, Godwin Samararatne had interviewed six of the persons listed above and, in addition, several other members of the families concerned whom I did not meet. The more important of the latter persons he interviewed were:

M. P. Premawathie Muthuthantrie, the twins' maternal aunt
A. Dharmasena, Robert's father
T. Anulawathie, Johnny's younger sister
A. K. Gnananadasa, Johnny's younger brother
Wilson Karunaratne, Robert's paternal uncle

In addition, Godwin Samararatne interviewed at the Yatigala Temple:
Ven. M. Hemarathane

He also interviewed A. Robert, an elderly fisherman distantly related to Robert, who was to some extent a firsthand informant concerning Robert's death.

Johnny's father, A. K. Pedric Appuhamy, died when Johnny was a child.

During the investigations, we also met Sivanthie and Sheromie, but I have not listed them as informants, since they were then just under 4 years old.

Relevant Facts of Geography and Previous Acquaintance between the Two Families

Galle, one of the oldest cities of Sri Lanka, is located at the extreme southeastern part of the island. Formerly a place of military significance, it is now chiefly important as a commercial port and trading center for a large district. All the places figuring in this case lie within the Galle District.

The Hettiaratchi family lived in the village of Pitadeniya (in an area known as Gonamulla), which is about 14 kilometers north of Galle. It is north of the main

highway that runs along or close to the coast between Galle and Matara, a city east of Galle and also on the coast.

The village of Unawatuna to some extent straddles the main highway, but parts of it extend south toward the coast, which is about 2 kilometers away. Robert and Johnny lived in a part of Unawatuna known as Yaddehimulla. Their houses were in sparsely inhabited remote sections of the area, and Johnny's house could be fairly described as in the jungle. (I saw its ruins in 1982.) It was located on a hill known as Romassala Hill. The sea there lies beneath cliffs of rock, although a little farther east the shore becomes flat and there is a sandy beach.

The Yatigala Temple is about 3 kilometers north of the Galle-Matara highway, but reached by a different road from that between the highway and Pitadeniya. The road to Yatigala leaves the main highway about 1.5 kilometers east of the road to Pitadeniya.

After the police arrested Robert and Johnny, they took them first to the police station at Galle and then to the police station at Haburaduwa, on the Galle-Matara Highway, about 8 kilometers east of Unawatuna.

Amarapala Hettiaratchi had known Johnny and Robert for about 5 years before their deaths. Johnny was a fellow employee in the small factory where Amarapala worked. They did not work at the same place, but they often met during the lunch interval or after hours. Amarapala met Robert when he came to visit Johnny at the factory. Although Amarapala had never exchanged social visits with Robert and Johnny, Johnny was one of only four among the 30 employees of the factory whom Amarapala invited to his wedding; Amarapala also invited Robert. The wedding took place on October 20, 1966. Thus he had had a definite friendship with Johnny and, to a lesser extent, with Robert.

The Lives, Deaths, and Characters of Robert and Johnny

Robert and Johnny were such close friends that I almost believe I could write their biographies as if *they* were twins; but they were not, and I shall tell something of the history of each individually and then describe their friendship, some of their common interests, and how they died.

Akmeemana Palliyaguruge Robert (known to everyone as "Robert") was born in 1946 in Unawatuna. He was the oldest child of A. Dharmasena and M. Mary Nona, and he had two younger brothers and two younger sisters. His parents were extremely poor, and, if I may judge by the small clay house in which they lived, they remained so after his death. Robert, for reasons we never learned, had a poor relationship with his father. A. Dharmasena told Godwin Samararatne that he and Robert "were always aloof. Robert and I would hardly talk to each other." In contrast, Robert had an affectionate friendship with his mother.

Robert left school after reaching the ninth grade. Thereafter, he did odd jobs, repairing houses and working as a mason; but he seems not to have had, at least at the time of his death, any paid position in steady work. In effect, he lived mainly on the earnings of other members of his family.

Robert never married and indeed had no interest in girls whatever. On the other hand, he was not effeminate in his manners and attitudes. He was excellent at such masculine activities as climbing trees (an important skill for the harvesting of coconuts) and swimming.

A. K. Nandadasa, alias Johnny, was born in 1945 in Unawatuna, and was thus about a year older than Robert. His parents were A. K. Pedric Appuhamy and his wife, S. K. Sisel Hamy. Johnny was the third of their five children; he had an older brother, an older sister, a younger brother, and a younger sister. Johnny left school after finishing the fifth grade.

Johnny also had no interest in girls and never married. He did, however, become regularly employed in a factory in Galle where spectacle frames were made, and it was there that he became acquainted with Amarapala Hettiaratchi.

Like Robert, Johnny was skilled at climbing trees and in swimming.

Although Johnny never married, he did establish himself in a separate house whose ruins I mentioned earlier. It was located in the jungle on the hill known as Romassala. The house must have been an extremely small and modest dwelling.

Robert and Johnny had been at school together and were close friends from childhood. It was generally known that each was the other's best friend. They did many things together, such as playing cards and swimming in the sea.

Given their complete lack of interest in women, the question arose in our minds of whether Robert and Johnny had been homosexuals. Johnny's brother-in-law, K. L. A. Piyasena, told Godwin Samararatne that they were. I asked Kottawa Sirisena, who had been headman of Haburaduwa for 20 years, about this matter, and he said that it was well known in the village that Robert and Johnny had been homosexuals.

Both Robert and Johnny were Buddhists, and both frequented the temple at Yatigala. Of the two, Robert attended more often and, according to the Ven. M. Hemarathane, was the more devout. Alms were given in Robert's name 7 days after his death, 3 months after it, and annually thereafter on the anniversary of his death.

Robert and Johnny belonged to the underemployed segment of Sri Lankan youth from which the insurgency movement of the early 1970s obtained most of its recruits (Arasaratnam, 1972; Obeyesekere, 1974; Politicus, 1972). The army and police were not completely uninformed about the development of plans for an insurgency, but the insurgents managed to conceal themselves, and they also succeeded in keeping details of their plans secret. Thus, when the rebellion actually erupted on April 5, 1971, it caught the government to some extent by surprise. The insurgents raided police stations with a view to neutralizing the police and capturing more arms. The police and the army then reacted; many insurgents and some police were killed (Alles, 1977). Politicus (1972) estimated that 1200 persons lost their lives during the insurgency. Alles (1977) cited an official estimate stating that "total deaths do not exceed 1,200" (p. viii, Appendix III), but popular estimates of the killed were much higher, although perhaps exaggerated.

Among the insurgents of the Galle area, Johnny was the leader and Robert the second in command.

During the insurgents' preparation for their revolt, some of them hid themselves while they trained and tried to collect arms and make bombs. Others, however, continued at their regular work while making quiet efforts to enlist new recruits. Johnny engaged in this latter kind of endeavor, and Amarapala Hettiaratchi, for example, knew about his activities in this connection. Robert, on the other hand, seems to have been discreet about his involvement with the insurgents; the Ven. M. Hemarathane, who said he knew Robert well, had had no idea whatever that Robert was a member of the insurgency movement until he learned of his death.

Partly because of the leadership of Johnny and Robert and partly because of the secluded nature of Romassala Hill, it became in 1970 a center for the developing insurgency movement. Training classes for the insurgents were held there, and food was stockpiled in Johnny's house. As the time for the insurgents' revolt approached, Johnny and Robert went into hiding. After the insurgency began, the police began to arrest persons suspected of being insurgents, and they surrounded and searched Romassala Hill. Johnny and Robert were there, but easily able to conceal themselves in the many crevices between the rocks.

For some unknown reason, they decided, after a couple of weeks, to come out of hiding and leave Romassala Hill, perhaps to join other insurgents elsewhere. Someone tipped the police about their movements, and Robert and Johnny were arrested at the bus station in Galle.

We were not able to meet any firsthand witness of the deaths of Robert or Johnny in the hands of the police. The following account derives mainly from the testimony of Kottawa Sirisena, the headman of Haburaduwa. He was at Haburaduwa at the time and spoke with police officers soon after Robert and Johnny died. He also saw Johnny's body hanging by the feet in the police station. His testimony was supplemented by two other informants who saw Robert being led handcuffed by policemen near Romassala Hill, and by another who also saw Johnny's body hanging up after he had been killed. The account that follows also accords with rumors in the community about the deaths of the two men. Amarapala Hettiaratchi did not see Johnny's body (Robert's fell or was cast into the sea), but like everyone else in the District he was aware of how they had died.

At the police station in Haburaduwa, Robert and Johnny were first interrogated. The police were naturally interested in learning about caches of arms and munitions, such as bombs. Apparently intending to escape somehow, Robert told the police that he would show them where the insurgents kept a store of bombs on Romassala Hill. He was therefore allowed to lead a group of five or six policemen to the cliffs by the sea at Romassala Hill. M. Indrani, from her house by the road in Yaddehimulla, saw Robert being led along this road toward Romassala Hill with his hands handcuffed behind his back. Several policemen were with him. This was at about 10:00 a.m. About 15 minutes later she heard a single shot and, still later, saw the policemen returning without Robert (and not carrying a body). An elderly fisherman, A. Robert (who was a distant relative of Robert), independently confirmed her testimony. He said that he had seen Robert with his hands

handcuffed behind his back accompanied by five policemen in the area of Romassala Hill. The policemen, as they passed, stopped and asked A. Robert whether he had seen any bombs. After this A. Robert went to the shore and began fishing. He said that he was fishing when he heard shots (he did not say how many). This was at about 10:30 a.m. From where he was then located he could not see the shooting, but only heard the shots.

Kottawa Sirisena, the headman of Haburaduwa, said that he had learned from police officers that Robert had led the policemen to the rocks just above the sea at Romassala Hill. He then kicked one of the policemen, tried to butt another with his head, and was going to jump into the sea and escape. (This was, in principle, a clever and feasible plan. I went to this rock cliff in 1982 and could easily see that one could jump directly into the sea from it; Robert was an excellent swimmer and might have got away, even with his hands restrained behind his back.) At this point one of the policemen shot him, and his body then fell, or was pushed, into the sea.

The policemen returned to Haburaduwa Police Station, where, it was said, their anger over being nearly tricked by Robert led them to beat Johnny more ferociously than they might otherwise have done. Johnny died of the beating at about 1:00 p.m. His body was then hung up by the feet for a time. Johnny's younger brother, A. K. Gnananadasa, said that he saw Johnny's body hanging from a beam in the police station at Haburaduwa. A few days later petrol (gasoline) was poured on Johnny's body and it was burned, the remains being then buried.

Robert and Johnny died on April 19, 1971.

We went to the police station at Haburaduwa in the hope of finding some records or perhaps a policeman who could confirm (as a firsthand witness) the accounts our informants had given us. We learned that policemen at the station in 1971 had been transferred elsewhere, but we obtained the names of some of them who might have been eyewitnesses of the deaths of Robert and Johnny. Unfortunately, our efforts to trace and interview these firsthand witnesses have been unsuccessful. Godwin Samararatne approached one of them several times, but he always said that he was "too busy" to talk with him. The insurgency was repressed by the police (and by the Sri Lanka Army) with much brutality; and a policeman who participated in cruelties—or even observed them—might not wish to answer questions about exactly how individual insurgents had died.

Statements and Recognitions Made by Sivanthie and Sheromie

As I have mentioned, Sivanthie spoke at some length about the previous life she remembered before Sheromie said a word about the one she remembered. In Tables 25-8 and 25-9 I give their statements in separate tabulations.

I am not confident that I know the exact order of all Sivanthie's statements, and I have given them a grouping for the convenience of the reader that they may not have had when she made them. Their mother overheard a few of the statements when the twins spoke to each other about the previous lives.

Table 25-8 **Summary of Statements and Recognitions Made by Sivanthie**

Item	*Informants*	*Verification*	*Comments*
1. She was called Robert.	H. M. Katherina Hamy, the twins' maternal grandmother Ajith Damiantha, an older brother of the twins	M. Mary Nona, Robert's mother	
2. Her mother was called "Mary Akka."	H. M. Katherina Hamy	M. Mary Nona	*Akka* means older sister in Sinhalese. That name must have been given to Mary Nona in childhood and stayed with her as a nickname in adulthood.
3. Her father was called "Kalu Mahattaya."	H. M. Katherina Hamy	M. Mary Nona A. Chandrapala, Robert's younger brother	*Kalu Mahattaya* is another nickname and means "dark-complexioned master."
4. She had a *Sudu Nangi*.	M. P. Yasawathie, the twins' mother Ven. M. Hemarathane, monk of Yatigala Temple H. M. Katherina Hamy Ajith Damiantha	Chandra Palliyaguru, Robert's younger sister	*Sudu Nangi* is another familiar name that would be used within a family or perhaps a small circle of friends. It means "fair-complexioned younger sister." Robert addressed his sister Chandra in this way. When the Ven. M. Hemarathane gave Sivanthie (at the Yatigala Temple) two mangoes, she said that she wanted to give one of them, or part of one, to Sudu Nangi. Another Sudu Nangi also figures in the case. (See items 16, 17, 21, and 22.)

5. Her home was in Galle.	M. P. Yasawathie	Doubtful; see comment	The statement was not correct if Sivanthie meant that she (in the previous life) had lived in the *city* of Galle. However, if she meant to convey the idea that Robert's home was nearer to Galle than is Pitadeniya, she was right, because Yaddehimulla is much closer to Galle than Pitadeniya is. It would be natural for persons from Yaddehimulla to say, loosely, that they are from Galle.
6. The monk at Yatigala was offering merit for her.	M. P. Yasawathie	M. Mary Nona Ven. M. Hemarathane	Almsgiving for the benefit of the deceased Robert was occurring at the usual prescribed intervals at Yatigala Temple. See text for discussion.
7. Yatigala Temple is on the way from Galle to Matara.	M. P. Yasawathie	I verified this myself by going to Yatigala Temple.	To reach this temple from Pitadeniya one must go south to the Galle-Matara highway, turn left and go east along the highway for about 1.5 kilometers, and then turn onto a side road leading north to the temple.
8. You have to take a turn to the left [in order to reach the temple].	M. P. Yasawathie	I verified this also by going to the temple.	If one is going to Yatigala Temple from Pitadeniya, two left turns must be made: one on reaching the Galle-Matara highway and another onto the side road leading to the temple.
9. There are steps leading to the temple.	M. P. Yasawathie	I verified this also by going to the temple.	The item is not specific, since I have noticed that many temples in Sri Lanka are placed on hills, and thus have steps leading up to them.

Table 25-8 *(continued)*

Item	*Informants*	*Verification*	*Comments*
10. Karune Uncle [name mentioned].	M. P. Yasawathie	M. Mary Nona	M. Mary Nona said a man called "Karune Uncle" had been a member of the insurgent group.
11. Sumanatissa [name mentioned].	M. P. Yasawathie	Unverified	Chandrapala, Robert's brother, thought Sumanatissa might have been the name of an insurgent.
12. Dasuna [name mentioned].	M. P. Yasawathie	Unverified	Chandrapala thought there might also have been an insurgent called Dasuna.
13. They were hiding in caves in the dark.	M. P. Yasawathie	M. Mary Nona A. Chandrapala	This and the following items were part of Sivanthie's description of the period when Robert and Johnny were hiding at Romassala Hill. This item, and items 11 and 12, were overheard by Yasawathie as the twins talked together. She did not specify which twin had said which of the items, but Sivanthie was the more talkative of the twins, and I have attributed the statements to her.
14. They ate bread together.	M. P. Yasawathie	Unverified	The item is, however, probably correct.
15. They ate mangoes that had been half eaten by crows.	M. P. Yasawathie	Unverified	Because of Robert's and Johnny's circumstances while they were hiding from the police, this item is certainly plausible.

			Mangoes grow in the jungles of the area, such as that where Robert and Johnny were hiding.
16. They hid under the root of a Bo Tree, and their Sudu Nangi [fair younger sister] brought rice to them there.	M. P. Yasawathie	Unverified; partly incorrect	Neither of the two women known as "Sudu Nangi" took rice to Johnny and Robert while they were hiding. T. Anulawathie carried rice to them. She was Johnny's nangi (younger sister), but she was not known as "Sudu Nangi."
17. Once Sudu Nangi sent clothes to him in a bucket.	Ajith Damiantha	M. Indrani, Robert's cousin	M. Indrani was the Sudu Nangi concerned in this item. M. Indrani was generally known just as "Nangi," although in one interview with Godwin Samararatne, she said that Robert had addressed her as "Sudu Nangi." When Robert was in hiding, he would bathe at the well at M. Indrani's house. (There was no well at his house, and he probably did not wish to go out of the village.) After washing his clothes, he would leave them behind to dry. M. Indrani then sent or took the dried clothes to him. On one occasion she sent the clothes in a bucket that belonged to Robert.
18. They were caught and handcuffed.	M. P. Yasawathie	Kottawa Sirisena, headman of Haburaduwa	Robert and Johnny were arrested at the Galle bus station. The detail of their being handcuffed there was not verified, but is almost certainly correct.

Table 25-8 *(continued)*

Item	*Informants*	*Verification*	*Comments*
19. She went with Johnny.	M. P. Yasawathie	Kottawa Sirisena	It seems that Sivanthie may not have used the name "Johnny" before she described the arrest of Robert and Johnny. She pronounced the name "Johnia."
20. She was handcuffed with her hands behind her back.	M. P. Yasawathie	M. Indrani	
21. Sudu Nangi watched me go by with the police.	M. Indrani	M. Indrani	There is no doubt that M. Indrani is the nangi referred to in this item, because she saw Robert being led past her house (on the road between Yaddehimulla and Romassala Hill) with his hands handcuffed behind his back, whereas Chandra, Robert's real sister and the other Sudu Nangi, did not see him in this situation.
22. She wanted to send a message by Sudu Nangi, but could not do so.	Ajith Damiantha M. Indrani	Unverified, but probable; see comment	In the days before the insurgents openly revolted, Robert had sent messages through M. Indrani. M. Indrani said that as Robert was being led past her house by the police, he might perhaps have wished to leave a message with her. This is probable. If Robert had thought of sending a message through her, however, he could not have spoken to her without the police (who were with him) overhearing.

23. She was shot while jumping into the sea.	M. P. Yasawathie H. M. Katherina Hamy	Kottawa Sirisena	
24. She was shot at Gomassala.	H. M. Katherina Hamy	Kottawa Sirisena	I am not sure whether the word *Gomassala* is a slip on my part (in taking notes) for *Romassala* or a mispronunciation by Sivanthie. Yasawathie, when asked about mispronunciations by the twins, said that both had initially called the place *Rumatta,* but later they learned (or remembered) how to pronounce the name correctly. They only got the pronunciation right in early 1982.
25. She was shot in the chest.	M. P. Yasawathie H. M. Katherina Hamy	Unverified	Sivanthie pointed to her birthmark when she said where she had been shot.
26. Recognition of an alteration at the Yatigala Temple	M. P. Yasawathie Ven. M. Hemarathane	Ven. M. Hemarathane	Since Robert's death in 1971, a new wing had been built at the temple. The Ven. M. Hemarathane was a secondhand informant for the item; he heard about it from Yasawathie and confirmed its correctness.
27. Recognition of Wilson Karunaratne	Wilson Karunaratne, Robert's paternal uncle		I do not know where this recognition occurred. Wilson Karunaratne asked Sivanthie whether she knew him, and she replied: "Yes, you are my *Loku Thatha*." *Loku Thatha* means, literally, "big father." It was appropriate for Robert's relationship to Wilson Karunaratne, who was the older brother of Robert's father, and it was the form of address Robert had used for this uncle.

Table 25-8 *(continued)*

Item	*Informants*	*Verification*	*Comments*
28. Recognition of the way to the place where Robert was shot	Godwin Samararatne		This item occurred on July 4, 1982, when Godwin Samararatne (with Tissa Jayawardene) took Sivanthie and Sheromie to Yaddehimulla and Romassala Hill in order to observe any places or persons they might recognize there. At the end of the motorable road, the twins were set on the footpath to Romassala Hill and asked to show the way to the homes of the previous lives. Sivanthie then led the way not to Robert's house, but to the rocks above the sea where Robert had tried to escape and been shot. Asked what had happened there, Sivanthie remained silent. She did not show any noted emotional reaction at the site. Although a large crowd surrounded the twins, Godwin Samararatne was confident that Sivanthie was ahead of the crowd and led the way to the rocks above the sea without guidance from other persons. The path (which I myself followed later in the year) is long and has many turns. There are so many rocks that in places I found it difficult to see that a path existed.

Items 1-12 were certainly among the first statements Sivanthie made, and I think she made all of them at her home or at the Yatigala Temple before anyone from Robert's or Johnny's family had met the twins. This is true also of one of the three recognitions she made: the one she made at Yatigala Temple (item 26).

Items 1-3, Sivanthie's statements of the proper names of Robert and his parents, were almost certainly not her first statements. Initially, as I shall explain later, she referred simply to having a father, mother, and younger sister without giving their names. However, I think she gave the proper names, either at the Yatigala Temple or soon after she had gone there.

M. P. Yasawathie said that on the day after the visit to the temple at Yatigala, Sivanthie had mentioned three more names, but without placing them in the previous life. (These are items 10-12 of Table 25-8.)

Items 13 to 25 are all concerned with the last days in the lives of Robert and Johnny when they were first in hiding and then, after leaving their hiding place, were arrested and killed.

After carefully studying our records of all the recognitions that our informants had attributed to Sivanthie, I could finally credit only three of them sufficiently to feel justified in listing them in Table 25-8. One was her remark about the new wing built at the Yatigala Temple (item 26). Item 27 seemed to merit listing because, according to Wilson Karunaratne, Sivanthie had correctly stated his relationship to Robert, using a mode of address that would have been appropriate for Robert. I listed item 28 (Sivanthie's leading the way to the rocks above the sea where Robert had tried to escape and had been shot), because Godwin Samararatne was sure that Sivanthie had found her way to the rocks where Robert was shot in advance of the surrounding crowd; and the path to the rocks was long, tortuous, and ill-defined, as I myself later saw.

Sivanthie did not achieve any other noteworthy recognitions. She could not lead the way to Robert's house (unlike Sheromie, who did show where Johnny's house had been, as I shall describe below). When asked if she recognized a member of Robert's family, she would sometimes say only "Yes"; then if asked where she had known this person, she might reply "Galle," or even just smile silently. This would be generally accurate but hardly sufficient as an identification of the person to be recognized, because Sivanthie and her family would have known that the people concerned were all from near Galle.

Sheromie, who made fewer statements about the previous life than Sivanthie, did better at recognizing members of Johnny's family than Sivanthie had done when she met members of Robert's family. In Table 25-9 I have listed the statements and recognitions that Sheromie made. All her statements, as I have said, were made after Sivanthie first spoke about the previous life. Sheromie made her first recognition and statements at the time of Gnananadasa's visit to Pitadeniya (item 16 of Table 25-9).

As I mentioned earlier, Sivanthie had been speaking about the previous life that she remembered for a little more than a year before Sheromie began referring to the life of Johnny. During this interval, Sivanthie was not heard to say anything

Table 25-9 **Summary of Statements and Recognitions Made by Sheromie**

Item	*Informants*	*Verification*	*Comments*
1. Her name was Johnny.	H. M. Katherina Hamy, the twins' maternal grandmother Ajith Damiantha, an older brother of the twins	S. K. Sisel Hamy, Johnny's mother	
2. Her house had thatched coconut leaves.	T. Anulawathie, Johnny's younger sister	T. Anulawathie	This and the following two items refer to the house at Romassala Hill, of which we could see only the ruins.
3. There was a well at it.	T. Anulawathie	T. Anulawathie K. L. A. Piyasena, T. Anulawathie's husband	
4. There was a flight of steps to the house.	T. Anulawathie	T. Anulawathie K. L. A. Piyasena	K. L. A. Piyasena said there were a couple of small steps to the house, not really a "flight."
5. They had eaten bread together in a hotel.	T. Anulawathie	Unverified	By "they" Sheromie meant Robert and Johnny.
6. They were traveling together in a bus when they were arrested by the police.	T. Anulawathie	Partly verified at second hand by Kottawa Sirisena, headman of Haburaduwa	Kottawa Sirisena told us that Robert and Johnny had been arrested at the bus station in Galle. Robert and Johnny had not actually left Galle, and I do not know whether they had actually boarded a bus when they were caught. A secondhand informant told us that one of them

			was actually inside a bus and the other still outside when they were arrested. (See item 9.)
7. They were caught together.	H. M. Katherina Hamy T. Anulawathie	S. K. Sisel Hamy	S. K. Sisel Hamy was a secondhand verifier for this item.
8. The *billo* came in a van.	M. P. Yasawathie, the twins' mother	Unverified, but probably correct	The Sinhalese word *billa* (plural: *billo*) means roughly "bogey man," but it was occasionally used by some groups as a vulgar designation for the police. (Cf. the similar use of the word *pig* in the United States.)
9. The billo said: "Pull that fellow out."	M. P. Yasawathie	Unverified	As I mentioned in the comment to item 6, a secondhand informant told us that either Johnny or Robert had actually boarded a bus when they were arrested.
10. She was taken to a house where she saw dead bodies of billo in sacks.	M. P. Yasawathie	Unverified	Police were killed during the insurgency, and it is possible that their bodies were sometimes transported in sacks.
11. She was taken to another house where the body of a dead monk was hanging.	M. P. Yasawathie	Unverified; probably incorrect	Some monks were suspected of involvement in the insurgency movement, and some were arrested and questioned. I have heard that a few were killed in other parts of Sri Lanka, but learned of none killed in the area of Galle.
12. Then she was tortured and hanged.	M. P. Yasawathie	Kottawa Sirisena A. K. Gnananadasa, Johnny's younger brother	K. Sirisena and A. K. Gnananadasa were not firsthand witnesses of the torturing; but they both saw Johnny's body hanging in the police station after his death.

Table 25-9 *(continued)*

Item	*Informants*	*Verification*	*Comments*
13. She had pain in the neck.	M. P. Yasawathie	Unverified	This allusion to pain probably does not refer to the hanging, because available evidence indicates that Johnny died of being beaten up and that his dead body was then hanged by the feet, not the neck.
14. There was blood on the bench.	M. P. Yasawathie	Unverified	
15. Something was put on her body and it was burned.	M. P. Yasawathie	Kottawa Sirisena	Petrol (gasoline) was poured on Johnny's body before it was burned.
16. Recognition of A. K. Gnananadasa	A. K. Gnananadasa		This recognition occurred at the Hettiaratchi home in Pitadeniya. Gnananadasa had gone there to see Sivanthie (Sheromie having said nothing until then about a previous life), but Sheromie, when she saw him, said: "My younger brother has come."
17. Recognition of S. K. Sisel Hamy	S. K. Sisel Hamy		This recognition occurred when T. Anulawathie went to Pitadeniya with her (and Johnny's) mother, S. K. Sisel Hamy, to visit Sheromie. Sheromie said, on seeing S. K. Sisel Hamy: "She is my mother."
18. Recognition of T. Anulawathie	T. Anulawathie		When Sheromie saw T. Anulawathie, she called her "Nangi" (younger sister). T. Anulawathie was younger than Johnny.

19. Recognition of house where Johnny had lived	Godwin Samararatne	This recognition occurred on July 4, 1982. After Sivanthie had led the way to the rocks above the sea where Robert had died, the twins were again asked to show the houses of the previous lives. Sheromie now took the lead and led the way to the site of the house Johnny had occupied on Romassala Hill. She stopped near the ruins of a house. It had completely disintegrated in the years since Johnny's death, but the foundations could be clearly seen. (I visited the site myself in October 1982.) Sheromie's parents asked her whether this was the house of the previous life, and she said "Yes," but seems to have made no further comment. The ruins of Johnny's house were on a path that forked off the path leading to the place where Robert had tried to escape. The ruins were at least 100 meters from the fork, and I do not think Sheromie could have inferred from any clues on the ground where she should turn to reach Johnny's house or where she should stop when she got to the ruins. (There were one or two other houses around.) There was, however, a sizeable surrounding crowd, and she might have heard whispered comments from some of its members.

suggesting that she had recognized Sheromie as having been Johnny before Sheromie spoke about Johnny's life. Afterward, they often spoke to each other about the previous lives with complete acceptance of each other's previous identity as Robert and Johnny.

Some of the most impressive features of these cases occur in spontaneous remarks the subjects make from time to time. I think that informants sometimes overlook such remarks; they accept them as normal in the light of the child's other statements and do not think them worth mentioning to us. In the present case, we learned of one remark of this type that deserves noting. The informant for it was not otherwise an important witness, and I have not listed her among our principal informants. At the time of the insurgency she was one of the few persons in her area who owned a radio, and Robert and Johnny would come to her house to listen to it for important announcements as the insurgency was developing. (At one point she became afraid that she would be suspected of sympathy for the insurgents, and for a time she sent her radio to another house.) On the day (July 4, 1982) when Sivanthie and Sheromie went with Godwin Samararatne to Yaddehimulla, they passed this informant's house in the village. She had been informed of the twins' claim to be Robert and Johnny reborn; and as they went by, she asked them: "Aren't you coming to listen to the radio?" She said that they replied: "We will come in the night." Robert and Johnny had come to listen to this woman's radio *at night*, when their movements would not have been easily observed.

Sivanthie and Sheromie each made one statement relating to events occurring after their deaths. Sheromie referred to the burning of Johnny's body after petrol had been poured on it (Table 25-9, item 15). Sivanthie's statement about merit-making[2] for Robert (Table 25-8, item 6) requires comment. The idea of merit-making for the deceased would normally be beyond the understanding of a child about 3 years old. We cannot be certain about the date when Sivanthie made this remark, but it was one of her first references to the previous life, and she definitely made it before Yasawathie took her to the Yatigala Temple, which we can

[2]Buddhists believe that the chanting of their scriptures is one way in which a person can earn merit for himself, that is, hasten his liberation from the otherwise ceaseless cycle of reincarnation, often called by them "the wheel of rebirth." One can earn merit by giving gifts to monks to chant, or by otherwise supporting them. Also, one can transfer merit to a living or a dead person. In the case of a dead person the process resembles the Roman Catholic ceremony of masses that are said for the dead in purgatory; in both rituals the dead person's condition is thought to become ameliorated by the merit transferred to him. It is customary for a family that can afford to do so to engage monks to chant for a deceased person at specified intervals after the death: 7 days, 3 months, and annually on the anniversary of the death.

Families unable to afford the considerable cost of engaging monks to chant may earn merit for a deceased person by giving food to monks, and this is what Robert's family had been doing on the anniversaries of his death.

I have elsewhere provided a fuller discussion of Buddhist practices with regard to merit-making for the benefit of deceased persons (Stevenson, 1983, pp. 209-210).

date reasonably to May or June 1982, when Sivanthie had already been talking about the previous life for about a year.

Sivanthie's and Sheromie's Behavior Related to the Previous Lives

Circumstances and Manner of the Twins' Speaking about the Previous Lives. It is not uncommon for the subjects of these cases to have their first utterances about a previous life stimulated by some difference they notice between their present situation and the previous life or by some cause for discontent with the present life. The present case provides an illustration of the second type of stimulus. Yasawathie said that Sivanthie's first statements about the previous life occurred when she was about 2½ years old. She was walking with her mother and nagged her mother to carry her. Yasawathie then impatiently said: "Stop being a nuisance or I will beat you." At this Sivanthie said: "If you beat me, I will go home." Yasawathie asked her where her "home" was, and she said "Galle." Yasawathie paid little attention to this remark, but the next day Sivanthie made further statements in which she referred to having a father, mother, and younger sister. Sivanthie obviously had a mother and father, but she had no younger sister (apart from Sheromie). A little later Yasawathie observed Sivanthie lying on a bed with her face to the wall and with her arms folded and her palms together in an attitude of Buddhist worship. When asked what she was doing in this position, Sivanthie replied: "The monk at the Yatigala Temple is offering merit to me." Yasawathie asked Sivanthie how she knew anything about the Yatigala Temple (where she had never been), and Sivanthie then gave the directions and description that I have included among her statements listed in Table 25-8 (items 7-9).

After Sheromie had joined Sivanthie in speaking about a previous life, their mother overheard them talking about the previous lives between themselves. They seemed at times to be comparing and supplementing each other's memories. Thus Sheromie said to Sivanthie: "Your hands were also tied," and Sivanthie replied: "Your hands were also tied. Can you remember our bus ride together?" They seemed to prefer to discuss the previous lives with each other rather than with other persons.

The twins' parents did not mention that they showed strong emotion when talking about the previous lives; however, T. Anulawathie (Johnny's younger sister) thought that Sheromie seemed to be on the verge of tears as she described to her (T. Anulawathie) how she (as Johnny) had been beaten by the police.

Sometimes the twins supplemented their statements with gestures. For example, M. Indrani said that as Sivanthie spoke about the death of Robert, she put her hands behind her back to show how Robert's hands had been handcuffed in that position. Both twins demonstrated swimming, showing different positions for this activity.

Phobias of Loud Noises, Khaki Uniforms, and Jeeps. The twins' maternal aunt M. P. Premawathie Muthuthantrie said that they both showed a phobia of loud noises, of persons wearing khaki (which the police usually wear in Sri

Lanka), and of Jeeps, a vehicle commonly driven by the police and army soldiers there. Yasawathie did not mention spontaneously that the twins had a phobia of the police, but when asked about this directly she said that they did. In the summer of 1982 she thought the twins showed equal fear of policemen, but in October she said that Sivanthie was more afraid of them than Sheromie.

Masculine Behavior on the Part of the Twins. The twins had a strong preference for wearing T-shirts, and they tended to roll these up above the waist, so that the abdomen and lower chest were exposed. (Robert and Johnny sometimes wore T-shirts, which they, at times, exchanged with each other; and they sometimes rolled them up as the twins did.) The twins also sometimes tucked up their frocks between their legs. They did this when they said they were going fishing. They would then walk off a little way, but did not go far. (A Sri Lanka fisherman would tuck his sarong up above the knees to keep it from getting wet if he was going to wade into the water of a beach in order to fish.) Sometimes the twins would wear pieces of cloth that they would tie like a man's sarong. (Only boys and men wear sarongs in Sri Lanka; girls and women wear frocks, shirts, dresses, or saris.)

When the twins were about 3½ years old, first Sivanthie and then Sheromie began urinating while standing up. Yasawathie noticed them doing this and, after persistent efforts, checked it.

Both twins liked to climb trees and to play with bicycles, generally considered masculine activities. On the other hand, they also played with dolls and sometimes played at cooking.

Adult Behavior on the Part of the Twins. In some of their behavior the twins seemed to be expressing the belief that they were adult men, instead of female children. For example, they would put sticks of wood in their mouths and imitate the smoking of cigarettes. (Robert and Johnny had smoked cigarettes.)

The twins sometimes sat on chairs with one foot tucked under the buttocks as men, but not women, often do in Sri Lanka.

Both the twins said that they had beards, and they would sometimes stroke their faces as if feeling a beard's growth.[3]

Another expression of the twins' sense of being adults occurred when they asked their older brother to prepare some cards for them, and they then played cards together. (Robert and Johnny had played cards together.)

Other Unusual Behavior on the Part of the Twins. In addition to some of the play activity that I have already mentioned, the twins made "bombs" with clay. When asked to name the ingredients of bombs, they said: "Nails, paper, tins, wire, broken bottles." The order of these items derives from our informant for this remark, the twins' maternal grandmother, H. M. Katherina Hamy, who perhaps knew less about bombs than the twins did. (The insurgents' bombs were crude;

[3]I have drawn attention to what I call "adult behavior" in a number of other case reports; but the delusion of having a beard is extremely rare. Another example occurred in the case of Bongkuch Promsin.

they might have been made with tins and bottles that would be filled with nails and pieces of wire as well as with the explosive material.)

Some Differences between the Twins in their Behavior. Sivanthie was observed sometimes to walk with her hands behind her back (apart from any demonstration of being handcuffed). Robert had sometimes walked with his hands behind his back.

Sivanthie showed much affection for Robert's mother, M. Mary Nona; in contrast, she was less affectionate toward A. Dharmasena, Robert's father. This difference accorded with the difference between Robert's relations with his father, which had been cool, and those with his mother, which had been warm.

Sheromie, for her part, showed much affection for S. K. Sisel Hamy, Johnny's mother. S. K. Sisel Hamy told us that after a visit that she made to the twins, Sheromie followed her from the house to the bus stop and afterward wept. (She presumably learned about Sheromie's tears from Sheromie's family during a later visit.)

Other Relevant Behavior of the Twins

Sivanthie and Sheromie were affectionate toward each other, but no one suggested that this exceeded what one might expect of twins.

I have already mentioned that when Sivanthie first spoke about the life of Robert, she did not identify Sheromie as Johnny reborn. When, however, Sheromie also began to speak about a previous life, each twin recognized the previous identity of the other. At this stage no one was closely observing the twins' behavior toward each other, and it is possible that some change occurred in their relationship that neither their mother, nor anyone else, noticed. Nevertheless, Yasawathie could not later say definitely that they had become more affectionate toward each other after they each expressed memories suggesting a companionship during previous lives. She thought that "probably they became closer to each other after the recognitions"; but she did not give any examples of changed behavior supporting her belief.

The Attitudes of Adults Concerned in the Case

The families of Robert and Johnny fully accepted the twins as being these young men reborn. We did not meet a single member of their families who expressed any doubt on the matter. Their acceptance, when they gave reasons for it, was usually based entirely or mainly on the recognitions with which they credited the twins. In this, as usual, they attached more importance to recognitions than I do myself; but their general reliance on recognitions as the principal test of a subject's claims to be someone reincarnated was typical of nearly all Asian families concerned in these cases.

The members of the twins' family seemed equally accepting of the idea that these children had been Robert and Johnny. We observed nothing, however, to suggest that they especially welcomed the idea. Amarapala Hettiaratchi had been

friendly with Robert and Johnny, but he had remained aloof from the insurgency movement. He may have had some sympathies with it, but he never joined it. He explained his main reason, quite simply, by saying: "I have a lot of children." However, when we asked him whether he would have joined the insurgents if he had been a bachelor, he said that even then he would not have done so. (His brother was headman of a village, and this implies membership in a family committed to preserving the law.)

No one in either family had any dream suggesting the rebirth of Robert and Johnny as twins in the Hettiaratchi family. The twins' parents were somewhat slow to consider the possibility that both of these young men might have been reborn in their family. Amarapala Hettiaratchi said that even after Sivanthie had spoken about the previous life of Robert, it did not immediately occur to him that Sheromie might be Johnny reborn.

Yasawathie's Pregnancy with the Twins

The twins were born 2 weeks past their expected date of birth, and their delivery was induced. Yasawathie was expecting twins, because an x-ray examination had shown their presence in her uterus.

Sivanthie was born 5 minutes before Sheromie. (Robert, on the other hand, had been about 1 year younger than Johnny; he had died about half a day before Johnny.)

Yasawathie said that at their births Sivanthie had weighed 1860 grams; Sheromie had weighed 2300 grams. (The figures are approximations of those given to me in pounds and ounces.)

Physical Differences between the Twins

The twins differed from each other in three physical features (other than Sivanthie's birthmark) that corresponded to similar features in Robert and Johnny. Concerning these features the informants (with two exceptions) all agreed, and I myself was able to study Sivanthie and Sheromie's physiques. In October 1982, Sivanthie was about 6 centimeters shorter and somewhat lighter in complexion than Sheromie. Figures 25-1 and 25-2 show these differences between them. (Figure 25-1 is a duplicate of Figure 23-4). Figure 25-3 shows the difference between the twins' complexions better than Figures 25-1 and 25-2.

Yasawathie said that when the twins were born and also during their infancy, Sivanthie had been thinner than Sheromie. However, by the summer of 1982, Sivanthie was somewhat stockier and plumper than Sheromie. This is not obvious in Figure 25-1, which shows the twins dressed, but Figure 25-2 demonstrates the difference in their physiques. (It is from a black and white photograph taken by Tissa Jayawardene in the summer of 1982, when the twins were 3½ years old.)

By December 1985, when Tissa Jayawardene visited the twins and measured their heights and weights, Sivanthie was about 7-8 centimeters shorter than Sheromie and 2.5 kilograms lighter in weight than Sheromie.

Figure 25-1 Sivanthie (left) and Sheromie (right) Hettiaratchi (with their father, Amarapala Hettiaratchi) as they appeared in October 1982, when they were just under 4 years old. Sheromie can be seen to have been taller and darker in complexion than Sivanthie.

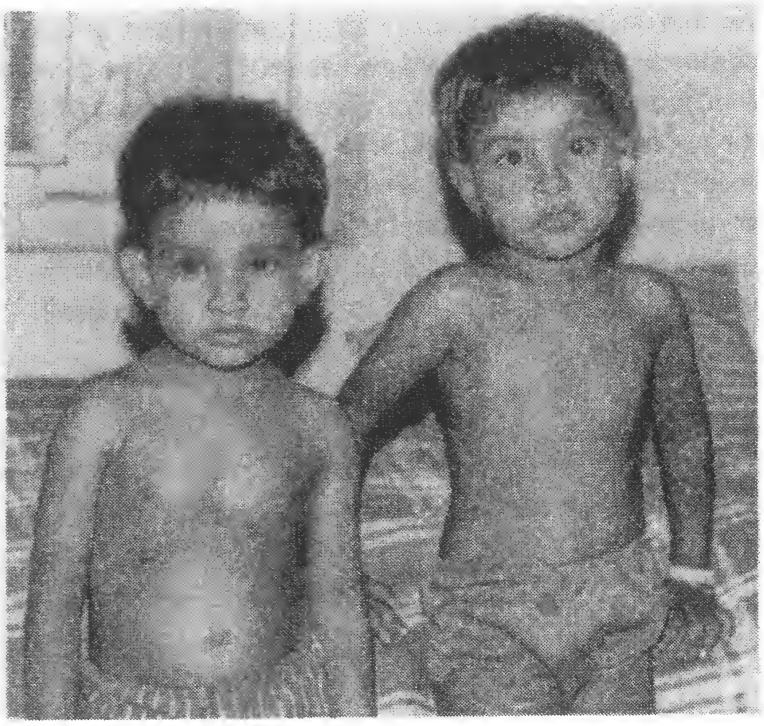

Figure 25-2 Sivanthie (left) and Sheromie (right) Hettiaratchi as they appeared in June 1982, when they were 3½ years old. Sivanthie's birthmark can be seen at the lower border of her right chest. This photograph shows that her physique was stocky compared with Sheromie's.

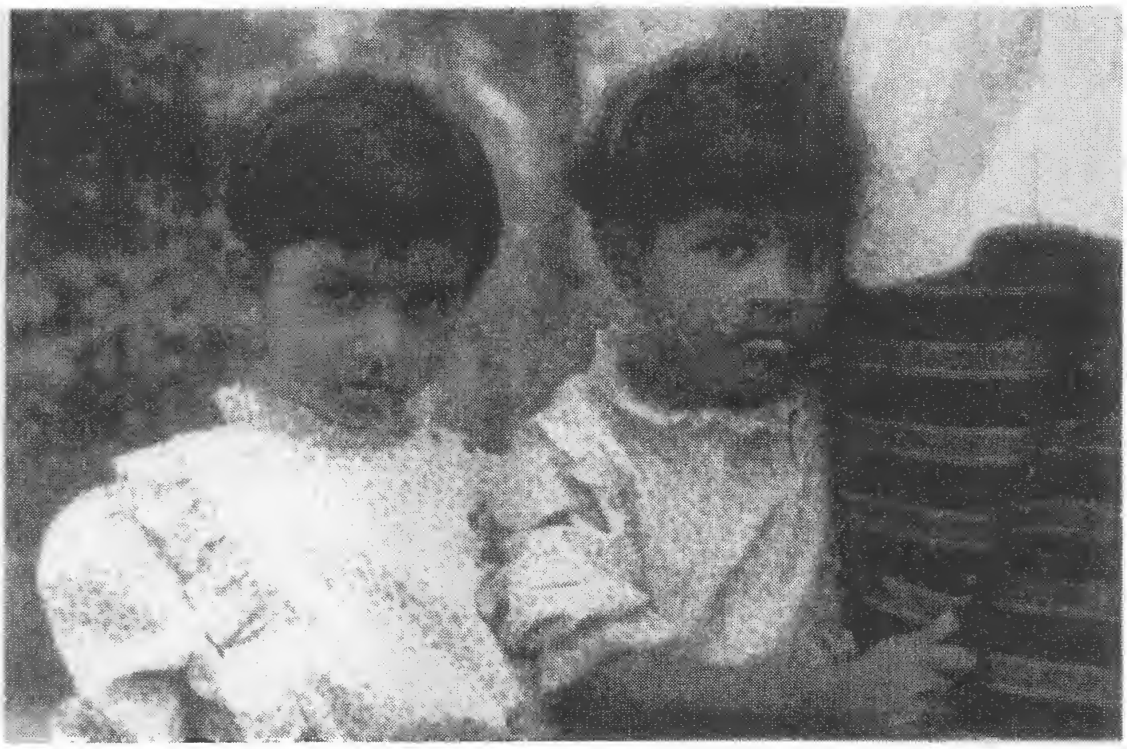

Figure 25-3 Another photograph of Sivanthie (left) and Sheromie (right) Hettiaratchi taken in October 1982. This photograph shows that Sheromie's complexion was distinctly darker than Sivanthie's.

We obtained information about the physiques of Robert and Johnny from five persons who had known them both. With regard to their respective heights, four of the five informants said that Johnny had been taller; the remaining informant remembered their heights as having been about the same. With regard to their weights, three out of four informants (the fifth informant not being asked this question) said that Johnny had been lighter in weight than Robert. This means that because Robert was both shorter and heavier than Johnny, he had a stockier physique. The twins, therefore, showed relative heights corresponding to those of Robert and Johnny, but not their relative weights. Despite Sivanthie's lighter weight, I think it would be correct to say that she had in 1982 a stockier physique than Sheromie.

With regard to their complexions all five informants said that Johnny had been darker than Robert.

Sivanthie's Birthmark. Figure 25-4 shows Sivanthie's birthmark, which is located at the lower border of the right chest. (It can also be seen in Figures 25-2 and 25-5.) It was a large, flat hyperpigmented nevus, rhomboid in shape. In October 1982 it was about 2 centimeters long and a little more than 1 centimeter at its widest dimension.

Yasawathie said that the birthmark had not changed position in relation to other tissues or organs since Sivanthie's birth. At her birth, however, the birth-

Figure 25-4 Sivanthie Hettiaratchi's abdomen and lower chest showing her birthmark, as it appeared in October 1982. It was a rhomboid area of hyperpigmentation, approximately 2 centimeters long and 1 centimeter at its widest.

mark had been more prominent and larger in size (in relation to the whole body) than it subsequently became. Sivanthie had never complained of pain in the area of the birthmark.

No other member of the family had a similar birthmark.

Sivanthie pointed to the birthmark when she described how she had been shot in the previous life. From her remarks it seemed clear that she thought the wounding bullet had entered Robert's body at the site of the birthmark. It is safe to conclude that Robert was shot while trying to escape, but we do not know at what place the fatal bullet entered his body. Although members of Sivanthie's family had noticed another mark on her lower back in the midline (in the sacral area), this had completely faded by the time of my examination; I saw nothing on the skin of that area to suggest a birthmark that might have corresponded to a wound of a bullet—either of entry or exit.

Comment. We cannot exclude the possibility that Sivanthie's birthmark derived from an impression in Yasawathie's mind. Even though Yasawathie had no expectation that the child to whom she would give birth would later claim that she had been Robert in a previous life, she did know that Robert had been shot; and this knowledge might have acted as a maternal impression on Sivanthie's embryo or fetus.

The Zygosity of Sivanthie and Sheromie

Despite their obvious physical dissimilarity, I thought it important to determine the twins' zygosity with more exactitude than visual inspection could allow. Accordingly, I persuaded their parents and a sufficient number of other members of their family to allow us to take samples of blood from them for examinations of their blood groups and subgroups. Dr. R. P. Fernando and his wife kindly obtained the blood samples needed on October 14, 1982. Fifteen members of the family (including the twins, with reluctance) gave blood, and I brought the samples back to the United States. Examination of the samples in the Blood Bank of the University of Virginia Hospital showed that the twins were dizygotic.

Comment

I have already emphasized that Amarapala Hettiaratchi, and probably also his wife, Yasawathie, knew much about Robert and Johnny before Sivanthie and Sheromie spoke about their lives. It is therefore unlikely that the twins said anything about Johnny and Robert outside the normal knowledge of their parents or what they could have inferred. This does not mean, however, that the twins obtained their knowledge from their parents, unless by telepathy. Amarapala Hettiaratchi said that he had "completely forgotten these deaths [of Johnny and Robert] until the twins started talking [about them]." I think it improbable, therefore, that the twins could have overheard their parents talking about Johnny and Robert.

Even if I am wrong in this judgment, we are still left with a need to understand the occurrence of several kinds of behaviors that were unusual in the twins' family and that corresponded to similar behavior that Robert and Johnny were known to have shown or that they could be reasonably conjectured to have developed. (In the last remark I am thinking of the twins' phobia of policemen.) Moreover, the twins also showed differences between themselves in some of their behavior and in three physical features (four, if we count Sivanthie's birthmark) which correspond to similar behavior or physical features in Robert and Johnny. Granted that dizygotic twins are genetically no more like each other than are ordinary siblings, it remains to be explained why Sivanthie and Sheromie differed from each other in the same ways—behaviorally and physically—that Robert and Johnny differed from each other.

If we include in our appraisal of the case all its features—as I think we should always do in studying these cases—the feature of the twins' sex compared with that of Robert and Johnny needs also to be understood. The homosexuality of Robert and Johnny may provide a motive for changing sex, if the case is best interpreted as one of reincarnation. Suggesting this explanation is not incompatible with the observations of the twins' masculine behavior.[4]

[4]The case of Gnanatilleka Baddewithana offers a parallel example. Tillekeratne, the boy whose life Gnanatilleka recalled, showed definite feminine traits, and he had expressed, somewhat (*continued*)

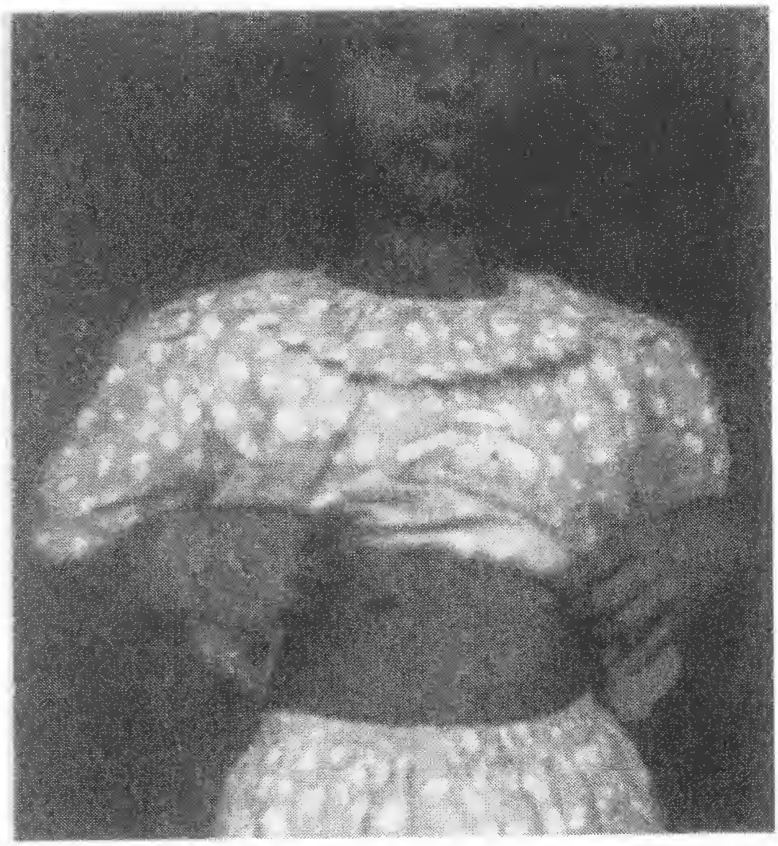

Figure 25-5 Photograph showing Sivanthie's birthmark as it appeared in June 1990, when she was 11½ years old. The birthmark had not faded or diminished in relative size since 1982.

The Twins' Later Development

When Godwin Samararatne met the Hettiaratchi family in November 1985, Sivanthie and Sheromie were just 7 years old. They were in good health and attending school. Sivanthie was doing better in her studies than Sheromie.

The twins were no longer speaking spontaneously about the previous lives, but they would answer questions a family member might put to them; they were shy about answering questions from other persons.

The twins were still receiving visits every 2 months or so from Johnny's and Robert's families.

Godwin Samararatne noticed that Sivanthie's birthmark seemed darker in color and that black hair was growing in it.

In June 1990 Dr. Erlendur Haraldsson, Godwin Samararatne, and Tissa Jayawardene made another visit to the twins in Pitadeniya. They were able to talk with them and with their mother, Yasawathie.

The twins were then 11½ years old. They were in the sixth grade of school. Both were above average in their classes with Sivanthie doing somewhat better than Sheromie. They were in good health. Sivanthie's birthmark was still prominent (Figure 25-5). It had not faded in any way. Sheromie was still taller than Sivanthie.

[4](*continued*) obliquely, a wish to change sex in another incarnation; nevertheless, Gnanatilleka had some (mild) masculine traits when she was young.

The twins' memories of the previous lives had faded between the ages of 7 and 8. They remained in contact with the previous families, however, and Sheromie was still noticeably fond of Johnny's mother.

The twins continued to be closer to each other than to other members of the family, and they always joined forces against other members of the family if disagreements arose.

They had lost their phobia of police. (A member of the family had joined the police force; and this may have helped them to overcome the phobia they had had.)

Their masculine traits had considerably diminished. Both the twins usually wore frocks at this time, although they would still occasionally wear T-shirts. They still liked to climb trees. They were urinating like females. They had friends among boys and girls. Dr. Haraldsson's overall judgment was that they "are clearly settling down as females and show little [in the way of] masculine traits."

THE CASE OF INDIKA AND KAKSHAPPA ISHWARA

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Indika and Kakshappa Ishwara were born on October 24, 1972, at Weligama, Sri Lanka. Their parents were M. D. Ishwara and his wife, A. G. Swarnawathie, and the twins were their fourth and fifth children; there were three older brothers. The twins were monozygotic, and Indika was born 5 minutes before Kakshappa. M. D. Ishwara was a general merchant having a shop in the village of Mudugamuwa and living in another village, Horadugoda, both of which are in the region of Weligama.

The twins began to speak coherently when they were about 2½ years old, and when they were about 3 they spoke about previous lives. Kakshappa spoke first and said that he had been shot by the police. He made a few other statements that suggested the life of an insurgent. The family laughed at Kakshappa for his statements. I have never understood why they did this, and they were certainly not unkind people; however, Kakshappa never gave any more details about the previous life that he seemed to be remembering.[5]

[5]In the preceding report of the cases of Sivanthie and Sheromie Hettiaratchi, I gave a brief account of the April 1971 insurgency and some references to published reports and analyses of it.

My associates and I have studied the cases of 11 children of Sri Lanka who said (or in some instances implied without quite saying so) that in previous lives they had been involved in the insurgency of April 1971 and had been killed at that time. Most of these cases are unsolved, but that of the Hettiaratchi twins is solved.

In 1975-76, when Kakshappa tried to talk about a previous life, the insurgency of 1971 was still an important topic of conversation in Sri Lanka. In the cases related to the insurgency that we have studied, informants have sometimes been reluctant to share information with us from a fear of being identified with the insurgency. (We naturally assured such persons that we had no connection with the police or government.) It seems likely that some parents would not wish it known that a child (*continued*)

In contrast, Indika spoke copiously about the previous life that he remembered. Moreover, unlike many Sinhalese subjects of these cases he stated names of places and people that made it comparatively easy to trace a family corresponding to his statements. Indika said that he had lived at a place called Balapitiya and attended school in the nearby town of Ambalangoda; both of these communities are located on the southwest coast of Sri Lanka, far from Weligama. Other details stated by Indika indicated that he was talking about the life of a young schoolboy.

It happened that M. D. Ishwara had a friend in Weligama, S. C. Balasuriya, who was working in Ambalangoda in 1976. With the information furnished by Indika he easily found a family of Balapitiya called Samarasekera whose oldest son, Dharshana, had died on January 24, 1968.[6] With some trivial exceptions, everything Indika had been saying about the life in Balapitiya was correct for Dharshana and his family.

Indika's statements understandably interested Dharshana's father, R. L. Samarasekera, and on June 6, 1976, he traveled to Weligama and met Indika. He made two further visits (accompanied by several members of his family) on June 13 and June 19. After the second visit to Indika, R. L. Samarasekera was so convinced by the extent and veracity of Indika's statements that on his third visit he brought with him a newspaper reporter and photographer. An account of the case was then published in the *Ceylon Observer*.

The newspaper report came to the attention of Godwin Samararatne, who hurried to Weligama and began investigating the case on June 28, 1976. He recorded many details of what Indika had been saying about the previous life. At this stage Indika had not yet been taken to Balapitiya, but he was about to go there. Godwin Samararatne arranged to be at Balapitiya when Indika was first taken there, on July 4, 1976. In the meantime, he himself went to Balapitiya and independently verified nearly all the statements he had recorded as having been made by Indika. Tissa Jayawardene assisted in this part of the investigation.

In December 1978, I began (assisted by Godwin Samararatne and Tissa Jayawardene) an extensive series of interviews with informants for both sides of the case. We continued these interviews in November 1979. In addition to interviewing the major informants (both pairs of parents) and several other informants, I extended the interviews with regard to possibilities for normal communications between the Samarasekeras and Ishwaras prior to the development of the case. I also recorded a small number of statements and recognitions made by Indika that had not previously been noted by our team (probably because the informants had not mentioned them), and we verified most of these.

In November 1979, the Ishwara family agreed to let us take samples of blood for a test of the twins' zygosity.

[5](*continued*) of theirs was remembering the life of an insurgent. The parents in at least one case appear to have suppressed a child for this reason.

[6]In the present case we can be confident about the dates of death and birth. We have examined the death certificate of Dharshana Samarasekera and the birth certificates of the Ishwara twins.

In October 1982, my associates and I were in the area of Weligama. We were mainly engaged in studying other cases, but took the opportunity to make a largely social visit to the twins and their families, and so we learned about their further development up to that time.

Early in 1985 I drafted a report of the case and noticed that several of Indika's statements remained unverified and that some other details were unclear. At my request, Tissa Jayawardene returned to Balapitiya in April 1985 and obtained much of the missing information from R. L. Samarasekera. He also made unavailing attempts in finding a village near Elpitiya called Kakulawala, which Kakshappa had mentioned.

In June 1990 Dr. Erlendur Haraldsson and Godwin Samararatne went to Weligama and obtained information about the twins' further development up to that time.

Persons Interviewed during the Investigation

In Horadugoda, Weligama, we interviewed:

Indika and Kakshappa Ishwara
M. D. Ishwara, the twins' father
A. G. Swarnawathie, the twins' mother
D. E. Guneratne, M. D. Ishwara's brother and the twins' paternal uncle*
Kapila Ishwara, the twins' older brother

In Borala, Weligama, we interviewed:

B. A. G. Chandrasena, A. G. Swarnawathie's brother and the twins' maternal uncle (interviewed earlier in Balapitiya)

In Balapitiya we interviewed:

R. L. Samarasekera, Dharshana's father
S. S. Samarasekera, Dharshana's mother
Malkanthie Samarasekera, Dharshana's older sister*
Suparmia Samarasekera, Dharshana's younger sister*
Premasiri, S. S. Samarasekera's brother and Dharshana's maternal uncle
S. P. de Silva, Premasiri's wife
R. Jayanthi de Silva, S. S. Samarasekera's sister-in-law and Dharshana's maternal aunt by marriage (known as "Mirris Nanda")
A. W. Sarathchandara, classmate of Dharshana*
Ven. Nanawasa Balapitiya, assistant abbot of the Subadramaramaya Temple*
Vijita Gunawardena, schoolteacher who had taught Dharshana*
S. C. Balasuriya, friend of M. D. Ishwara (interviewed a second time in Galle)

We interviewed all the informants, except the six persons with names asterisked in the above list, at least twice; and we interviewed several more than twice.

The testimony of the six informants interviewed only once was of comparatively minor importance.

Godwin Samararatne interviewed two informants for the Ishwara side of the case in Balapitiya, on July 4, 1976, during the Ishwaras' first visit to Balapitiya; these persons (a friend and an uncle of the twins) had accompanied the Ishwaras to Balapitiya.

Although I have listed Indika and Kakshappa among the persons interviewed, they spoke little with us. However, during the 6 years when we were studying this case, they naturally came to know us moderately well and would talk a little with Godwin Samararatne and Tissa Jayawardene.

Relevant Facts of Geography and Possibilities for Normal Means of Communication between the Two Families

Weligama is a medium-sized town on the south coast of Sri Lanka. It is approximately halfway between the larger cities of Galle and Matara and is served by a main highway and a railroad. The railroad ends at Matara, but the highway continues farther along the coast. Weligama is approximately 30 kilometers east of Galle.

Mudugamuwa, where M. D. Ishwara had his shop, is approximately 5 kilometers west of Weligama and a little to the north, that is, farther inland. (Borala, where we interviewed one informant, is a little more than halfway between Weligama and Mudugamuwa.) The Ishwaras live at another village, Horadugoda, which is about 2 kilometers from Mudugamuwa. The temple where they worshiped is at a nearby place called Jamburangoda.

Ambalangoda, where Dharshana attended school, is a town of medium size on the west coast of Sri Lanka. It is approximately 75 kilometers south of Colombo. As the crow flies, it is about 45 kilometers from Weligama, but the distance is longer (approximately 60 kilometers) by road or rail, because travel by these routes involves following the coast, first south to Galle and then east to Weligama. Balapitiya is a much smaller town about 6 kilometers north of Ambalangoda. Ambalangoda and Balapitiya are both on the main railway line between Colombo, Galle, and Matara and also traversed by the main linking highway that, like the railway, runs close to the seacoast.

Considering their economic resources only, Godwin Samararatne and I judged the two families to be about equal, although the Samarasekeras were probably slightly better off than the Ishwaras. They owned an automobile and had electricity in their house. In social circumstances they were considerably farther apart. R. L. Samarasekera could speak English, and he worked as an auditor for the government of Sri Lanka; he and his family, although they lived in a small town, were urbanites. In contrast, M. D. Ishwara could speak no English, and he and his family were definitely rural people.

There is much traffic along the road and rail links between Ambalangoda and Weligama, but this does not mean that the two families concerned would ever have

come in contact with each other. R. L. Samarasekera and his wife said that they had no connections whatever with Weligama. Similarly, M. D. Ishwara and his wife said that they had no connections with Ambalangoda and Balapitiya. A. G. Swarnawathie said she knew of no one from there who had settled in Horadugoda.

The routes of the usual traveling by members of the two families must have been quite dissimilar. For the Samarasekeras Galle was the nearest important city, and they would not ordinarily have gone farther along the south coast unless making a pilgrimage to Kataragama.[7] (They had gone to Kataragama within a year after Dharshana's death, and the route would have taken them through Weligama, but not through the villages where M. D. Ishwara worked and lived, which are off the main highway.) Weligama would have furnished most of the Ishwaras' needs for shopping, and if it did not, Galle and Matara were larger and closer than Ambalangoda. If M. D. Ishwara ever made a trip to Colombo—and I did not learn that he had ever done this—he would have had no need to stop at Ambalangoda or Balapitiya.

Indika's case might well have remained unsolved if M. D. Ishwara's friend, S. C. Balasuriya, had not been working in government employment at Ambalangoda in 1976. He in turn had a friend, Y. J. de Silva, who lived in Balapitiya. S. C. Balasuriya told him the main items that Indika had mentioned and asked him whether he knew of any family corresponding to Indika's statements. Y. J. de Silva gave him the names of two possible families. S. C. Balasuriya went to the first one, but quickly learned that the deceased person in that family had been an adult, not a child; also some of Indika's statements were wrong for that family. The second family, to which S. C. Balasuriya next went, was that of the Samarasekeras. Neither Y. J. de Silva nor S. C. Balasuriya had had any previous acquaintance with the Samarasekeras. Balapitiya being a small community, Y. J. de Silva could easily have learned of Dharshana's death without being personally acquainted with the family.

The Life, Death, and Character of Dharshana Samarasekera

Dharshana Samarasekera was born on May 8, 1957, in the General Hospital of Colombo. His parents were R. L. Samarasekera and his wife, S. S. Samarasekera. Dharshana was the first son and the second child in a family that eventually came to have seven children. A sister, Malkanthie, was about a year older than Dharshana. R. L. Samarasekera was a middle level government employee, and he was from time to time away from his home on his duties as a government auditor.

[7]Kataragama is 95 kilometers northeast of Matara. It is reached by road only and not by railroad. I mentioned appeals to the god Kataragama in the report in Chapter 3 of Sampath Priyasantha's case. I referred to the town of Kataragama as a center of insurgency in the report in Chapter 17 of Anusha Shalinie's case. Information about the cult of Kataragama and about Kataragama as the most important place of pilgrimage in Sri Lanka can be found in Gombrich (1971), Obeyesekere (1981), and Wirz (1966).

The Samarasekeras lived in a house in a large compound of the small town of Balapitiya. For a time, they shared a house with two of S. S. Samarasekera's brothers, Premasiri and Pudasiri, and their families. Later, after Dharshana's death, another house was built in the same compound, and the family units living together became smaller.

As the oldest son in his family (and during his life the only son), Dharshana received the abundant affection that the Sinhalese give to a child in this position of the family. His pet name, "Baby Mahattaya," literally means "little master"; however, this is a moderately frequent pet name in Sri Lanka, and it does not mean that Dharshana received more affection than any firstborn (and only) son would receive.

When Dharshana became old enough, he attended school in Ambalangoda, to which he traveled on each schoolday in the train. He had passed the work of the fourth grade and was just beginning in the fifth grade of school when he died.

In December 1967 Dharshana was sitting on a wall watching a wedding in a house near his. He fell off the wall and injured himself, but nothing much was thought of this at the time. In the middle of January he suddenly became ill with a high fever, and within a day he lost consciousness. Some connection between his illness and a possible injury when he fell off the wall 6 weeks earlier was conjectured by doctors who saw Dharshana during his illness. They asked whether he had had a fall, thinking perhaps that he might have a subdural hematoma from an injury to his head. However, no connection between the injury and the later illness seems to have been established.

His family took Dharshana to Galle Hospital, where he was first thought to have meningitis. He was then transferred to the General Hospital in Colombo (a much larger medical center), but died within less than 24 hours of being admitted there. He never regained consciousness. His entire illness had lasted only 3 days. He died on January 24, 1968, the cause of death being attributed (on his death certificate) to "viral encephalitis" and "cardiorespiratory failure." He was not quite 11 years old.

Dharshana was an intelligent boy, and he may have been more pious than the average child of his age. He was fond of chilies, and one of his aunts cooked these specially for him; she did this so indulgently that he sometimes referred to her as "Mirris Nanda" (which means "Aunt Chilies"), although he never used this expression in her presence. Apart from these few features, I learned nothing else about his character that seemed to distinguish him from other Sinhalese schoolboys of his age and class.

Statements Made by Kakshappa

I describe Kakshappa's statements first, partly because he spoke about a previous life before Indika did and partly because he made few statements about the one he seemed to remember.

According to M. D. Ishwara (speaking to Godwin Samararatne in the summer of 1976), Kakshappa one day said, apparently quite spontaneously, that he

had been shot at by the police at Balapitiya. The twins' older brother, Kapila, said (in 1978) that Kakshappa had said that he was killed when shot, but (in 1976) Kakshappa's father remembered Kakshappa as saying only that he had been shot at by the police. He was about 3 years old when he made these statements.

In December 1978, M. D. Ishwara recalled some more details of what Kakshappa had said. He had mentioned that he was in a group and there was a monk in their group. The monk had also been killed as well as himself. (Thus at this stage, M. D. Ishwara agreed with Kapila that Kakshappa had said that in the previous life he was shot and killed.) In 1978 M. D. Ishwara remembered that Kakshappa had referred to a place called Kakulawala, but he did not know where this place was.

In 1979, when I reviewed what Kakshappa had said about the previous life, M. D. Ishwara was uncertain whether he had said he was shot at Balapitiya or Elpitiya. The twins' older brother, Kapila, and their mother remembered that Kakshappa had mentioned Elpitiya, and his mother also remembered that he had mentioned the place called Kakulawala.

Comment. Kakshappa may have mentioned *both* Balapitiya and Elpitiya. The latter is about 25 kilometers from Balapitiya, away from the coast in the interior of the island. It is known to have been a center of the insurgency movement in 1971. Insurgents from Elpitiya attacked the Ambalangoda Police Station, and some of them were killed there. The rest escaped. I have not learned whether the police, in their turn, raided the insurgents' center at Elpitiya and killed some of them there. Nor have I located Kakulawala.

There was some insurgency activity in the area of Matara and Weligama. The insurgents had a center at the town (really a large village) called Akuressa, which is about 11 kilometers (as the crow flies) from Horadugoda.

I mentioned earlier that when Kakshappa spoke about a previous life in which he was shot at by the police, his family laughed at him and he said no more. We cannot say whether, given a more receptive audience, he would have furnished more details about a previous life. His brother Indika certainly did, and I turn next to Indika's statements.

Statements and Recognitions Made by Indika

Indika spoke at length and in detail about the previous life he remembered. He began at about the time Kakshappa spoke and continued for about a year, that is, until he was about 4.

In Table 25-10 I have listed all of Indika's statements that my associates and I recorded. So far as I know, he made them all before the two families had first met, on June 6, 1976, when R. L. Samarasekera went to Weligama. Items 1-28 were recorded during the first phase of the case's investigation and therefore within less than 4 weeks of the first meeting of the two families. Items 29 to 36 were not recorded until the years 1978-79, when I was participating in the investigation. Some of the items recorded later were mentioned by new informants, such as

Table 25-10 **Summary of Statements and Recognitions Made by Indika**

Item	*Informants*	*Verification*	*Comments*
1. He was called "Baby Mahattaya."	A. G. Swarnawathie, Indika's mother R. L. Samarasekera, Dharshana's father	R. L. Samarasekera	The Sinhalese word *mahattaya*, sometimes spoken with the variant *mahatmaya*, means, literally, "master" or "boss." As a pet name for a baby, who was in this case the oldest son, it would imply the affectionate servitude of other family members to him. Indika appears never to have stated Dharshana's given name.
2. He had an older sister, Malkanthie.	A. G. Swarnawathie M. D. Ishwara, Indika's father D. E. Guneratne, Indika's paternal uncle	Malkanthie Samarasekera, Dharshana's older sister	The Sinhalese words *akka* and *nangi* designate respectively older and younger sisters. Indika referred to "Malkanthie Akka," thus clearly indicating that Malkanthie was older than the person whose life he was remembering and, indirectly, giving an indication of that person's age.
3. He lived in Balapitiya.	A. G. Swarnawathie D. E. Guneratne S. C. Balasuriya, friend of M. D. Ishwara	R. L. Samarasekera	
4. He attended the "big school" in Ambalangoda.	A. G. Swarnawathie M. D. Ishwara	R. L. Samarasekera S. S. Samarasekera, Dharshana's mother	Indika never gave the school's proper name, "Dharmasoka."

Table 25-10 *(continued)*

Item	*Informants*	*Verification*	*Comments*
5. He had a classmate called Sepali.	A. G. Swarnawathie	Unverified	Dharshana's family and his classmate, A. W. Sarathchandara, were unable to identify any friend of Dharshana with that name or a similar one.
6. He went to school by train.	A. G. Swarnawathie M. D. Ishwara	R. L. Samarasekera S. S. Samarasekera	
7. The train had a chain that stopped it when pulled.	A. G. Swarnawathie	R. L. Samarasekera	This referred to the standard emergency stopping chain provided on most passenger trains. Indika had never been on a train when he made this statement.
8. He studied up to Class Four.	A. G. Swarnawathie	R. L. Samarasekera	Dharshana had just started in the 5th Class in January 1968, a few days before he died. The phrase "studied up to Class Four" is Sinhalese English that corresponds to "went to school up to the fourth grade" in American English.
9. He had a bicycle.	A. G. Swarnawathie	Incorrect	Dharshana had had a tricycle, but never a bicycle. However, he used his father's bicycle and might (as children sometimes do) have come to think of it as his.
10. He taught Malkanthie how to cycle.	M. D. Ishwara A. G. Swarnawathie	Malkanthie Samarasekera	A. G. Swarnawathie's statement of this item differed from her husband's. She said that Indika said: "I went cycling with Malkanthie."

11. He had an uncle called Premasiri.	A. G. Swarnawathie M. D. Ishwara D. E. Guneratne	R. L Samarasekera Premasiri, Dharshana's maternal uncle	The uncle's full name was Sangama Premasiri de Silva.
12. There had been a wedding at the house.	M. D. Ishwara	R. L. Samarasekera S. S. Samarasekera	In fact, there had been several weddings. A wedding occurred in a nearby house in December 1967. Dharshana was watching this while sitting on a wall and fell down. The doctors thought this fall might have been relevant to the "encephalitis" from which he died on January 24, 1968.
13. He had many toys.	M. D. Ishwara	S. S. Samarasekera	
14. His father owned a car.	A. G. Swarnawathie M. D. Ishwara	S. S. Samarasekera M. D. Ishwara	
15. There was a lorry "at that place."	A. G. Swarnawathie M. D. Ishwara	R. L. Samarasekera	This lorry did not belong to R. L. Samarasekera, but was parked in his compound, both at night and when it was out of order, evidently with his permission.
16. They had a dog.	A. G. Swarnawathie M. D. Ishwara	R. L. Samarasekera S. S. Samarasekera	It was not clear that Indika meant a real dog instead of a toy dog. Either would have been correct, since the family had a dog and Dharshana had had a toy dog.
17. They had a calf.	A. G. Swarnawathie	See comment	This was incorrect if Indika meant to imply that the Samarasekeras *owned* a calf. However, other persons brought their calves to graze on the extensive grass in their compound.

Table 25-10 *(continued)*

Item	*Informants*	*Verification*	*Comments*
18. One uncle was a *mudalali*.	A. G. Swarnawathie	R. L. Samarasekera S. S. Samarasekera	R. L. Samarasekera's older brother was a contractor and timber merchant. The Sinhalese refer to substantial businessmen with the word *mudalali*. Indika's father, who owned and managed a small general store, was not a mudalali. A significant detail of this item is Indika's designation of this uncle as "Mudalali Bappa." The word *bappa* refers to an uncle on the father's side (in contrast to *mama*, an uncle on the mother's side). (See item 39 for an example of Indika's use of the word *mama*.)
19. They had electricity in their house.	M. D. Ishwara	We could observe the electrical fixtures ourselves in the Samarasekeras' house.	The Ishwaras' house did not have electricity.
20. His father wore trousers.	M. D. Ishwara	R. L. Samarasekera	M. D. Ishwara always wore a sarong, but R. L. Samarasekera wore trousers, always when he went to work and at some other times also.
21. His father and mother at Balapitiya gave him more affection than his parents.	M. D. Ishwara	See comment	Dharshana was the oldest child and only son in his family. In contrast, Indika (and Kakshappa) were the youngest children and had three older brothers. In addition, Indika had to share his parents' affection with Kakshappa.

22. His [previous] mother was darker, taller, and fatter than his [present] mother.	M. D. Ishwara	I was able to compare the two mothers in the respects mentioned.	S. S. Samarasekera was definitely darker and heavier than A. G. Swarnawathie. I think she was also taller, but I did not measure their heights.
23. He went to the temple with Malkanthie.	A. G. Swarnawathie	S. S. Samarasekera R. L. Samarasekera	
24. The temple at Balapitiya was bigger than the one his family went to.	A. G. Swarnawathie	Although I visited both the temple at Balapitiya and that at Jamburangoda (used by Indika's family), I saw the former only at night. I believe it is the larger of the two, but cannot be positive.	
25. There was electricity in the temple.	M. D. Ishwara	I verified this when I visited the Subadramaramaya Temple at Balapitiya.	The temple at Jamburangoda had no electricity.
26. There was a red curtain in the temple where the Buddha image was.	A. G. Swarnawathie	Ven. Nanawasa Balapitiya, deputy abbot of the Subadramaramaya Temple at Balapitiya	At the Balapitiya Temple there had been a red curtain in front of the Buddha image up to 1966. The Jamburangoda Temple had no curtain in front of the Buddha image until 1975, when a white curtain was installed there.
27. He went to Sunday School.	A. G. Swarnawathie	R. L. Samarasekera Malkanthie Samarasekera	
28. He had an aunt who cooked chilies for him.	M. D. Ishwara B. A. G. Chandrasena, the twins' maternal uncle	R. Jayanthi de Silva, Dharshana's maternal aunt by marriage	Jayanthi lived for a time with the Samarasekeras, and she liked to cook chilies for Dharshana, which he greatly enjoyed.

Table 25-10 *(continued)*

Item	*Informants*	*Verification*	*Comments*
			A. G. Swarnawathie thought that Indika had not referred to this aunt *before* her visit to the Ishwara family in the summer of 1976, at which time he referred to her as "Mirris Nanda," which means in Sinhalese "Aunt Chilies." B. A. G. Chandrasena, Indika's maternal uncle, remembered that Indika had referred to "Mirris Nanda" before the two families had met and that this detail helped in tracing the correct family to which Indika was referring. M. D. Ishwara, whom I questioned on this detail, also said that Indika had mentioned "Mirris Nanda" before the two families had met. "Mirris Nanda" figured in one of Indika's few important recognitions. (See item 38 below.) R. L. Samarasekera said that Dharshana had occasionally referred to his aunt Jayanthi as "Mirris Nanda," but not in her presence.
29. His home was close to the railway station.	S. C. Balasuriya	R. L. Samarasekera	The railway station was just under 500 meters from the Samarasekeras' house.
30. Their house was called "Buwan."	Kapila Ishwara, Indika's older brother	S. S. Samarasekera	

31. His foot was there [at the house in Balapitiya].	Kapila Ishwara	R. L. Samarasekera	Dharshana had made a footprint in freshly placed, still soft concrete. This had later been destroyed when a new house had been built.
32. There was a gate and a half-wall [at the house at Balapitiya].	Kapila Ishwara	I saw the gate and half-wall at the entrance to the Samarasekeras' compound.	
33. There was a jam tree in the compound.	Kapila Ishwara	R. L. Samarasekera	
34. There was a fence on the way to the temple [at Balapitiya].	M. D. Ishwara	There was a walk between two walls leading to the temple, which we visited, and I think that Indika may have referred to this feature.	
35. There was a "Patti Mama" with them.	Kapila Ishwara	Incorrect	A younger brother of S. S. Samarasekera was called Pudasiri and might have been known as "Pudasiri Mama," but R. L. Samarasekera knew of no "Patti Mama" in the family.
36. He went to school on the train with his older sister.	B. A. G. Chandrasena S. C. Balasuriya	Incorrect	Although Dharshana did go to school by train (item 6), Indika was incorrect in saying that he went with Malkanthie.
37. Recognition of Dharshana's father, R. L. Samarasekera	A. G. Swarnawathie R. L. Samarasekera B. A. G. Chandrasena		This item occurred when R. L. Samarasekera first visited the Ishwara family in the summer of 1976. A. G. Swarnawathie said that R. L. Samarasekera, seated on the veranda of their house (to which he had been brought by

Table 25-10 *(continued)*

Item	*Informants*	*Verification*	*Comments*
			B. A. G. Chandrasena), spoke to Indika; the latter did not reply, but went into the house and told his mother: "Father has come." For variant accounts of this recognition by the other witnesses, see the text.
38. Recognition of Jayanthi de Silva [alias "Mirris Nanda"], Dharshana's aunt	A. G. Swarnawathie Jayanthi de Silva		This occurred during the second meeting of members of the Ishwara and Samarasekera families. A. G. Swarnawathie said that when Indika saw Jayanthi, he said: "Mirris Nanda has also come." In 1979 Jayanthi did not remember Indika's recognition of her as being so straightforward as it had seemed to A. G. Swarnawathie in 1976. See text for her statements about this item.
39. Recognition of Dharshana's uncle, Premasiri	R. L. Samarasekera B. A. G. Chandrasena A. G. Swarnawathie		This item occurred during the same visit as the preceding one. R. L. Samarasekera subsequently learned (on his third visit to the Ishwaras) that Indika had earlier mentioned that "Premasiri Mama" had come. Indika's family asked him whether a person by that name had been in their party at the time of their second visit. If Uncle Premasiri had been introduced and his name remembered, Indika's family would not have needed to ask

later whether he had been among the visitors. B. A. G. Chandrasena heard Indika say: "Premasiri Mama has come," but did not say that Indika pointed to Premasiri as he said this. Dharshana usually called Premasiri by the pet name "Podimama," meaning "small uncle," but sometimes he called him Premasiri. Indika's use of the word *mama* showed his knowledge that the uncle was his mother's brother, not his father's. (For Indika's use of the contrasting word *bappa*, see item 18.)

40. Recognition of Malkanthie, Dharshana's older sister

Malkanthie Samarasekera
R. L. Samarasekera

Both informants for this item were second-hand witnesses. Like the two preceding items, it occurred at the second meeting between the two families. Malkanthie said that Indika had "looked hard at" her, but said nothing in her presence. She heard later that Indika had said: "Akka [older sister] has come."
R. L. Samarasekera heard from a closer observer than he had been that Indika had said: "That blue-shirted one is my sister." Malkanthie was wearing a blue shirt at the time of the visit.

41. Recognition of Dharshana's name written on the wall of a concrete drain at a house in the Samarasekeras' compound

R. L. Samarasekera
A. G. Swarnawathie

This recognition occurred on Indika's second visit to Balapitiya in early 1977. Indika was observed to be going around a house in the Samarasekeras' compound as if looking for something on the wall of a concrete drain. He

Table 25-10 *(continued)*

Item	*Informants*	*Verification*	*Comments*
			then pointed to the name *Dharshana* and the date *1965* that had been scratched into the concrete while it was still soft. (My associates and I also saw the writing on the concrete; although by 1979 the date had become eroded and illegible, the name remained clear.) A. G. Swarnawathie remembered that Indika had called her to see the writing of Dharshana's name in the concrete of the drain. The drain was around a house built in 1965 that was occupied in 1979 by Dharshana's uncle Premasiri and his family. No one in Dharshana's family knew that he had written his name and the date in the soft concrete or had noticed the writing until Indika found it and showed it to them.

Indika's older brother, Kapila. Others were items newly mentioned by informants previously interviewed.

Informants credited Indika with having recognized various members of the Samarasekera family when they came to visit him in the summer of 1976. He may have done so, but the circumstances in which the two families met (after R. L. Samarasekera's first visit, when he went by himself) were not conducive either to Indika's recognizing the persons who had come or to accurate remembering later by those persons of the ones whom Indika had actually recognized and how. They came in groups, introduced themselves, and then sometimes posed guiding questions to Indika, for example, asking him to point out his "Balapitiya mother." These occasions were almost classic examples of the unplanned collisions in which the two families concerned in a case so often meet. It is exceedingly difficult later to extract useful information about the sequence of events.

When Indika first went to Ambalangoda and Balapitiya, there was reasonable tranquility for the party in Ambalangoda; yet nothing there, including Dharshana's school, stimulated any memories in Indika. When the party moved on to Balapitiya, immense crowds gathered, and Indika became understandably troubled; he was observed clinging to his mother. He did not recognize the Samarasekera house in Balapitiya. Later, he was taken to the Subadramaramaya Temple in Balapitiya. There also he did not make any spontaneous remarks suggesting recognitions. In response to a direct question, however, he said that he recognized it.

Most of the important relatives of Dharshana had been in one of the two groups that had already gone to meet him near Weligama. However, Godwin Samararatne found two persons, an uncle and a cousin of Dharshana, who had not yet met Indika. He arranged for Indika to be asked whether he recognized these persons under conditions that precluded guidance of him; but Indika did not recognize them.

Thus we should consider nearly all the recognitions made or attempted by Indika to be either outright failures or marred by the possibilities of normal cues indicating the person he was asked to recognize. I have nevertheless included five recognitions in Table 25-10. Each of these has some feature that makes me believe I should not omit it from this report, and the last (item 41) is unusually strong with regard to the evidence for it and the improbability that Indika could have had any guidance in making it.

The first of these items is the recognition of Dharshana's father, R. L. Samarasekera, when he first went alone to meet Indika on June 6, 1976. Apart from Indika, there were only three persons present: R. L. Samarasekera, B. A. G. Chandrasena (Indika's maternal uncle), and A. G. Swarnawathie (who arrived at the house a little behind the two men). M. D. Ishwara was away at the time. B. A. G. Chandrasena described this recognition to Godwin Samararatne on July 4, 1976, within a month of its occurrence. He said that he had been at his brother-in-law's shop and was told by an employee there that a man who thought he might have been the father of Indika in a previous life had come and said that he wished

to meet Indika. Since Indika's father was not available, B. A. G. Chandrasena volunteered to take R. L. Samarasekera to meet Indika. As the two men approached the Ishwara residence, Indika was on the veranda and saw them coming. He went inside the house. R. L. Samarasekera stayed on the veranda while Indika's uncle went into the house and asked Indika: "Who has come?" Indika then replied: "My father has come." (Three years later, in talking with me about this recognition, B. A. G. Chandrasena varied his account and said that Indika's mother had asked him [Indika] who the visitor was and had received the reply "Father.")

A. G. Swarnawathie (speaking on June 28, 1976, and thus also within a few weeks of the event) said that she had returned home and found her brother and a stranger on the veranda talking with Indika. Indika was not saying anything, but went into the house and told her: "Father has come."

R. L. Samarasekera (also speaking within a few weeks of the event) gave yet a third account of the recognition. He said that Indika's mother brought him out on to the veranda where he was sitting and showed R. L. Samarasekera to Indika. Indika looked at him for a little while and then went inside. Later, R. L. Samarasekera learned from Indika's mother that Indika had told her: "My Balapitiya father has come."

These three accounts are not incompatible. Indika may have first communicated his recognition of R. L. Samarasekera to his uncle and later repeated it to his mother. It is also possible that Indika's mother, in accordance with B. A. G. Chandrasena's account of 1979, asked Indika (to satisfy herself about the recognition) who R. L. Samarasekera was after he had already told her once, inside the house. All three witnesses agreed that Indika had recognized R. L. Samarasekera, and he appears to have done so without being guided by anyone. B. A. G. Chandrasena, in discussing this first meeting between R. L. Samarasekera and Indika, said that he had been particularly impressed by how Indika, after a little acquaintance, became affectionate toward R. L. Samarasekera, who was a complete stranger to the family.

The next three items (items 38, 39, and 40) all took place when nine members of the Samarasekera family went to Weligama on June 13, 1976. They had given the Ishwaras advance notice of their coming. According to R. L. Samarasekera, Indika began to recognize the visitors while they were still getting out of the car in which they had arrived. Then, however, there seems to have been what I can only describe as a melee (although a friendly one), with many people talking at once and little attention given to what Indika said. When we asked M. D. Ishwara what he could remember about Indika's recognitions of the visitors, he excused himself on the ground that he had paid little attention to this matter because he was busy entertaining the visitors whose numbers were formidably augmented by a crowd of curious villagers. Similarly, R. L. Samarasekera said later that he observed the exchanges from a distance and could only tell us what others had told him Indika had said. Thus both the fathers concerned disqualified themselves as witnesses for what may have been—for all we now know—some well-made recognitions.

Indika's mother believed that Indika had in one way or another recognized all the visitors. She said that Indika had not been present when the visitors first arrived and introduced themselves. On the other hand, he did not tell his mother who the visitors were before they had introduced themselves. Instead, he seems to have recognized them one by one and then said who they were. Swarnawathie freely admitted that Indika might have heard the names being spoken before he mentioned them. Readers should keep her disclaimer in mind as they read the accounts I give next of what we learned about three of the recognitions attributed to Indika on this occasion.

For the recognition of Dharshana's aunt, Jayanthi de Silva (alias "Mirris Nanda"), we heard variant accounts of how this occurred (Table 25-10, item 38). A. G. Swarnawathie, speaking in 1976 a few weeks after the event, remembered that Indika had announced: "'Mirris Nanda' has also come." She took this to mean that Indika had identified "Mirris Nanda" among the considerable group of the Samarasekeras who had come to visit. However, in 1979 Jayanthi de Silva remembered the details somewhat differently. In the first place, she was unaware that Dharshana had himself sometimes referred to her as "Mirris Nanda"; he had never used this phrase in her presence. She learned that Indika had been referring to an aunt who had cooked chilies for him in the previous life, and she thought *his* family had coined the phrase "Mirris Nanda," whereas they seem simply to have adopted it from Indika. When the group of Samarasekeras arrived, they appear not to have introduced each of themselves by name, although some introductions were given, presumably to explain why such a large group had come. In the general hubbub of the initial impact between the two families, there was speculation about whether "Mirris Nanda" (who had become a sort of mythological figure in the Ishwara family through Indika's frequent references to her) was among the visitors. It was suggested in Indika's presence that "Mirris Nanda" would surely have come. At a later point someone pointed to Jayanthi and asked Indika who she was, and he said: "That's my nanda." At another point in the meeting, probably after the exchange just mentioned, Indika's mother was carrying him and, pointing to Jayanthi, asked him who she was. He then said: "Mirris Nanda." In sum, it seems reasonably certain that Indika identified Jayanthi as an aunt of the previous life, but much more doubtful whether he said that she was "Mirris Nanda" before he might have received some clues suggesting the appropriateness of this pet name for her.

I have included Indika's recognition of Dharshana's uncle Premasiri (item 39), because from what R. L. Samarasekera said, it seems unlikely that Premasiri was introduced to Indika's family; they afterward had to inquire about whether he had been a member of the visiting group.

Both the informants for the recognition of Dharshana's older sister, Malkanthie (item 40), were secondhand witnesses for the item, and I have listed it not because of the strength of evidence bearing on it, but to illustrate a feature of recognitions that I have frequently observed: The subject tells a member of his family about someone he has recognized, but the person recognized does not hear

him (or her) make a statement of recognition. R. L. Samarasekera learned afterward that Indika had said: "That blue-shirted one is my sister" (Malkanthie was dressed in a blue shirt), but he himself did not hear Indika say this. Malkanthie heard that Indika had said: "Akka has come," but she also did not hear him say this. To whom Indika made the statement recognizing Malkanthie we shall never know. Both D. E. Guneratne, Indika's uncle, and A. G. Swarnawathie, his mother, remembered hearing Indika say: "Malkanthie Akka is crying." It was indeed true that Malkanthie had been moved to tears when she saw Indika, but I cannot say whether he made the remark his mother remembered before or after Malkanthie had otherwise been identified to him.

The last of the recognitions I have listed (item 41) is by far the most important of all, because Indika pointed to a name (Dharshana's) and a date (1965) that Dharshana had made in some still soft concrete at the Samarasekeras' house without any member of his family even knowing that Dharshana had done this.

To return to Indika's statements, he used the word *budiyanawa* to mean "sleep," whereas other members of his family, including Kakshappa, used the word *nidiyanawa*. When we asked members of Dharshana's family about the word he had used for sleep, S. S. Samarasekera said Dharshana had used the word *budiyanawa*. R. L. Samarasekera remembered that Dharshana had mainly used the word *doyyanawa*, but said that he had also used the word *budiyanawa*. (The different words for sleep reflect a small difference in the language spoken in the area of Ambalangoda and in that of Weligama.)

Indika made no statement suggesting that in the life of Dharshana he had known Kakshappa in the latter's presumed previous life.

Although Indika stated Dharshana's pet name "Baby Mahattaya," he never mentioned the name Dharshana or the family name Samarasekera.

Comment. Sinhalese subjects usually mention few personal names from the previous life, a feature of their cases that accounts, I believe, for the comparatively large number of unsolved cases in Sri Lanka. I have discussed this feature of Sinhalese cases elsewhere (Stevenson, 1977). Indika mentioned only three personal names: Malkanthie (Dharshana's older sister), Premasiri (Dharshana's uncle), and Sepali (unidentified). In his references to other persons he used pet names or expressions of relationships, such as "Baby Mahattaya," "Mirris Nanda," and "Mudalali Bappa."

Indika's Statement of How He Came to His Parents. Indika did not mention the cause of Dharshana's death. He said that he had come by train to his parents.[8]

Comment. The trains between Colombo, Galle, and Matara would usually stop at Weligama, but the village (Mudugamuwa), where M. D. Ishwara had

[8]Other subjects of these cases have mentioned using vehicles of various kinds in order to reach their parents before reincarnating. Examples occurred in the cases of Sunil Opanayake (Sri Lanka; bus), Bongkuch Promsin (Thailand; with father in bus), Ma Soe Moe Han (Burma; with father on his bicycle), and Chook (Thailand; atop a basket of rice his mother was carrying).

his shop, and the one (Horadugoda), where he and his family lived, were several kilometers from the railway line and at least 5 kilometers from the railway station at Weligama.

Indika's and Kakshappa's Behavior Related to the Previous Lives

Circumstances and Manner of Indika's Speaking about the Previous Life. Many of the items of Table 25-10 show that Indika's remarks were often stimulated by comparisons he made between what he remembered of the life in Balapitiya and Ambalangoda and the family and surroundings where he was living near Weligama. Both of the regions with which we are concerned are coastal areas, and they differ little in geographical and scenic features (unlike the extreme difference between the coastal areas of Sri Lanka and the central highland areas). The differences Indika noted were of animals, modern amenities (like electricity), and the appearance and dress of his parents. M. D. Ishwara said that Indika's statements (Table 25-10, Items 24-26) comparing features of the Jamburangoda Temple and the Subadramaramaya Temple were made when he was at the Jamburangoda Temple.

Like many subjects of these cases, Indika used the present tense in referring to the previous life as if he were still experiencing it.

Sometimes Indika talked to himself about the previous life, and his mother could overhear him referring to "Malkanthie Akka." B. A. G. Chandrasena noticed that when Indika did speak to other persons about the previous life, he preferred to say what he wanted to say to one person only and not in the presence of a group of persons.

Indika seemed to merge Ambalangoda and Balapitiya in his memories. Although he was clear in saying that he had lived in Balapitiya and had gone to school in Ambalangoda, he sometimes referred to his "Ambalangoda father" and "Ambalangoda mother" in distinguishing them from his parents. On the other hand, when he recognized R. L. Samarasekera (at the time of the latter's first visit to Indika), he referred to him as "Balapitiya Thatha" (father from Balapitiya). When Indika's parents queried him about a possible confusion between Ambalangoda and Balapitiya, he replied: "Both are the same." In strictly geographic terms, this is correct enough, because the two towns are close, and it might be natural for a child to locate himself in the largest town of the region he was remembering.[9] Ambalangoda had a further significance for Dharshana, because he attended school there, and this involved the (almost) daily small adventure of traveling to and from it by train.

[9]A parallel example occurred in the Sri Lanka case of Lalitha Abeyawardena, who emphasized in her statements the large town, Mirigama (where the husband of the person whose life she remembered had worked), and she did not give the name of the village where they had lived. Similarly, Sivanthie Hettiaratchi said that the home of Robert, whose life she remembered, was "in Galle," whereas it was in a village near Galle.

In 1976 M. D. Ishwara told Godwin Samararatne that Indika had asked his family to call him by Dharshana's pet name "Baby Mahattaya"; however, in 1979, he could not remember that Indika had ever made such a request, and so, if Indika did, his wish to be called by the previous personality's name was weaker than that of some other subjects of these cases.

Indika spoke most about the previous life between the ages of 3 and 4. In November 1979, when he was 7, his mother said that he no longer spoke spontaneously about the previous life and usually did not answer questions about it if anyone asked them. She thought he had forgotten the previous life.

Indika's Attitude toward Dharshana's Family. Indika expressed a wish to go to Balapitiya before any member of Dharshana's family had come to visit him. He said he wished to take some cashew nuts to them. However, he did not show the clamorous demands to be taken to the previous family that many other subjects have expressed.

I have already mentioned that when R. L. Samarasekera came to visit Indika for the first time, Indika, once he overcame some initial shyness, behaved affectionately toward him. And he was equally affectionate with the other members of the family who came to visit him a week later. However, S. S. Samarasekera noticed that when she wanted to pick Indika up and carry him, he seemed uncomfortable, and so his mother picked him up and carried him.

Within his family Indika had openly said that his "Ambalangoda mother and father" gave him more affection than his parents. This attitude may have contributed to his being something of an outsider in his family. His uncle B. A. G. Chandrasena remarked that Indika showed less affection toward him than did the other children of the family. For example, Indika's three older brothers, and Kakshappa also, liked to visit B. A. G. Chandrasena at his house (some distance from Horadugoda, but in the same general area), whereas Indika did not. B. A. G. Chandrasena found Indika's aloofness toward him particularly impressive in comparison with the affectionate behavior he showed toward R. L. Samarasekera when the latter first visited.

Indika's Phobia of Vehicles. Indika had a definite phobia of vehicles that Kakshappa did not have and that Dharshana also was not known to have had. Indika's phobia may be related to the life of Dharshana through one or both of two events that I shall next describe.

About a month before Dharshana's death, a child was run over and killed by a lorry. The accident occurred near Dharshana's school in Ambalangoda, and most of the schoolchildren, including Dharshana, went to the site of the accident. However, neither Dharshana's father nor his former classmate, A. W. Sarathchandara (who had gone to the scene of the accident with Dharshana), thought that he had been visibly affected by the tragedy. It remains possible that the accident did generate in Dharshana a phobia of vehicles that became carried over to Indika's mind. Since the accident happened shortly before Dharshana's own death, his family might not have noticed that he had developed a phobia of vehicles.

During his brief terminal illness, Dharshana was transported by car first from Balapitiya to the hospital in Galle and then from Galle all the way north to the hospital in Colombo, where he died. I know of a few other cases in which a subject has shown a phobia apparently stimulated by some event associated with the terminal illness of the previous personality; and this can happen even though that event, as in the present case, would have been intended to help the dying person.[10] That Dharshana was unconscious during both of these vehicular journeys makes it perhaps less likely that they could have generated a phobia in him that might, in turn, have affected Indika.

Other Relevant Behavior on the Part of Indika. Indika did not have a special fondness for chilies, differing in this respect from Dharshana. However, he liked chilies more than Kakshappa did.

Comparison of Indika's and Kakshappa's Behavior

Indika and Kakshappa behaved differently in several respects. Godwin Samararatne made some notes of these differences in 1976 (from the statements of the twins' mother, A. G. Swarnawathie). We made further pertinent inquiries during our interviews with members of the family in 1978-79. In Table 25-11 I have listed the features in which they differed during the 3 years of these observations. The information derived from statements made at different times by M. D. Ishwara, A. G. Swarnawathie, Kapila Ishwara (the twins' older brother), and B. A. G. Chandrasena (the twins' maternal uncle). Readers will note from the column of comments that the twins' behavior evolved during this period, so that some of the noted differences between them diminished or disappeared. The differences diminished still further by the time of our follow-up interview in 1982.

Other Observations of the Twins' Behavior

Despite the pronounced differences in the twins' behavior, they were excellent friends with each other. They generally went everywhere together. If one became ill and had to be taken to the doctor, the other would wish to go also. (I mentioned earlier an exception to this wish to be together in that Kakshappa liked to visit B. A. G. Chandrasena's house, but Indika did not.) They wished to have the same toys and the same clothes.

[10]Another example occurred in the case of Parmod Sharma. Parmod had a phobia of being immersed in water, and this seemed to be derived from naturopathic tub baths that Parmanand, whose life Parmod remembered, had taken when he was ill and dying from peritonitis.

Perhaps another example occurred in the case of Ma Choe Hnin Htet, who had a phobia of drugs and injections that corresponded to extensive treatment for congenital heart disease that Ma Lai Lai Way (whose life she remembered) had undergone.

Another subject, Maung Hla Win, also had a phobia of injections, and he remembered the previous life of a boy who had received much treatment (probably including injections) for an ultimately fatal illness.

Table 25-11. **Observations of Differences in the Behavior of Indika and Kakshappa during 1976-79**

Indika's Behavior	*Kakshappa's Behavior*	*Comments*
1. Religious	Indifferent toward religion	Dharshana had frequented the temple in Balapitiya and attended Sunday School there. This difference was noted in 1976, but had ceased by 1978.
2. Gentle in manner; calm	Tough in manner; inclined to be hostile and violent	If Kakshappa remembered the previous life of an insurgent, which seems likely from his account of being shot and killed by the police, the person whose life he remembered was committed to violent behavior.
3. Liked to be spoken to respectfully	Indifferent as to how he was addressed	Dharshana, the only son of his parents, was used to being treated respectfully.
4. More intelligent; excellent memory	Less intelligent; memory not so good	
5. Interested in schoolwork and good at studies	Indifferent to schoolwork and weak at studies	Dharshana had attended school.
6. Talked to himself	Did not talk to himself	This difference had disappeared by 1979; at that time the twins' mother said that both of them had the habit of talking to themselves.
7. Phobia of vehicles	No phobia of vehicles	See text for possible explanation of this difference.
8. Inclined to be somewhat aloof from other members of the family	More affectionate toward other members of the family	This difference derived from B. A. G. Chandrasena's observations and was not mentioned by other informants.
9. More fond of chilies	Less fond of chilies	Dharshana had been fond of chilies. Indika was not noted to be as fond of chilies as Dharshana seems to have been, but he liked them more than Kakshappa did.

They were closer to each other than they were to their older brothers. They did sometimes quarrel, but if anyone then tried to intervene in the quarrel, they would both resist such interference and insist on being allowed to settle their dispute by themselves.

Observations of the Attitudes of the Adults Concerned toward the Case

I think it is correct to describe both pairs of parents concerned in this case as convinced that Indika was Dharshana reborn. R. L. Samarasekera said that earlier he had not believed "much" in rebirth, but had become fully convinced that Indika was the reincarnation of Dharshana. In this conclusion, he was influenced as much by Indika's recognitions of members of Dharshana's family as by the statements he made before the two families met. (I have said many times that my own assessment of the respective values of these two types of evidence is the reverse.) The opportunities given for Indika to recognize persons known to Dharshana were not—with the exception of the two arranged by Godwin Samararatne, which did not succeed—such as I would have wished with respect to excluding cues to Indika. Nevertheless, we should credit several of the witnesses with acknowledging frankly when they were not firsthand witnesses of some recognition or statement. It is not easy for persons untrained in scientific methods of inquiry to distinguish firsthand testimony and hearsay; but in the present case the witnesses showed a gratifying ability to do this.

Neither family obtained any financial gain from the case. The publicity was generated by Dharshana's father, not Indika's, and both families must have found the crowds that gathered at their houses a nuisance more than a support.

Physical Differences between Indika and Kakshappa

Indika's and Kakshappa's Physiques. Indika and Kakshappa weighed the same at birth. As they grew during childhood, however, Indika became taller than Kakshappa. In 1978 he was about 2 centimeters taller, and by November 1979, when they were just over 7 years old, the difference was perhaps 3 centimeters (Figure 25-6).

Indika's and Kakshappa's Faces. In Chapter 24 I discussed the lack of resemblance between the faces of Dharshana Samarasekera and Indika (Figures 24-22 and 24-23). I also drew attention to the appreciable difference in facial appearance between Indika and Kakshappa (Figure 24-30). Figure 25-6 also shows this difference.

Indika's Nasal Polyp. Indika had a polyp growing from the left side of his nasal septum. Figure 25-7 shows that it to some extent obstructed the airway on the left side of his nose. Kakshappa had no such polyp (Figure 25-8).

M. D. Ishwara said the polyp was first noted about a year after the twins' birth.

I relate Indika's nasal polyp to the treatments Dharshana received through his nose during the 3 days of his terminal illness. His parents said that he was

Figure 25-6 Indika (left) and Kakshappa (right) Ishwara as they appeared in November 1979, when they were just over 7 years old. Indika appeared to be about 3 centimeters taller than Kakshappa. Their faces were easily distinguishable.

given oxygen through a nasal tube and was also fed through a nasal tube. Nasal tubes can produce irritation in the mucous membranes of the nose.

I tried in 1979 to study the records of Dharshana's admission in the Colombo General Hospital, but learned that I was too late. The hospital destroyed its records after 10 years, and those from 1968 were no longer available.

It happened, however, that R. L. Samarasekera had preserved a chit of paper on which the doctor who had treated Dharshana in Galle had scribbled some notes of the treatment given there. The notes were the kind of hurried message that one doctor writes for another when a patient is being transferred hastily in an emergency. The notes included the words: "Nasal feed 6 hourly given."

Comment. Nasal polyps are fairly common in later childhood and adolescence, but rare in infancy. In later childhood they are associated with cystic fibrosis and sinusitis (Schramm and Effron, 1980), which were not in question in Indika's case. I have not been able to learn any figures of the incidence of congenital nasal polyps or of polyps first observed in infancy, as Indika's was. Kellerhals and Uthemann (1979) wrote that "nasal polyps in early childhood are an extremely rare condition" (p. 82). Lanoff, Daddono, and Johnson (1973) stated that "nasal polyps are...rarely seen before five years of age" (p. 554). These opinions obtain support from my observing that reports of nasal polyps in early childhood each give accounts of only one or two such cases (Dupin and Lejeune, 1978; Loeb and Smith, 1967; Salkeld, 1969; T. G. Wilson, 1931).

Figure 25-7 Face of Indika Ishwara with left naris held open to show a polyp, which is near the septum. This photograph was taken in November 1979.

Other Relevant Medical Information. The twins' parents had not examined them for birthmarks after they were born. (It is rare for parents in Sri Lanka to do this.) In 1978 I examined Kakshappa's trunk carefully and found two places on the skin of his chest and abdomen that might have been birthmarks. One of these was in the abdomen where he said that he had been shot in the previous life. Indika also had two marks on his chest. All the marks on Kakshappa and Indika may have been congenital, but they might also have resulted from postnatal injuries and diseases, such as furuncles and insect bites. In sum, I do not count any of them as birthmarks relevant to other features of the case.

The Zygosity of Indika and Kakshappa

On November 12, 1979, we obtained, with the assistance of Dr. R. P. Fernando of Matara, samples of blood from Indika and Kakshappa, both their parents, their three older brothers, and four other close relatives. I took the blood samples back to the University of Virginia Hospital where, in the Blood Bank, analysis of the blood groups and subgroups showed that the probability of the twins' being monozygotic is 0.99.

Comments on the Evidence of Paranormal Processes in the Case

Kakshappa's statements remain unverified and almost certainly never will be verified. His case therefore contains no evidence of any paranormal process, and its main interest lies in his unusual behavior, especially its contrasting nature when compared with Indika's behavior in several features.

Indika's case seems to me one of the strongest in evidence of paranormal processes that I have ever studied. It is not as strong as those few cases in which someone made a written record of the subject's statement before the two families met. However, it falls into the next highest grade of case with regard to authenticity. Members of our team were at the scene of the case in less than a month after the families had met, and we interviewed a large number of informants, most of them at least twice, and followed the case closely over a period of 6 years.

The possibility of a normal communication of information between Dharshana's family and Indika's seems extremely small to me. The two families were separated by a long distance, but they were also separated by their different degrees of education and by occupying the different social spheres of "urbanites" and "villagers." M. D. Ishwara had some interest in verifying Indika's statements, and if he had had any friends or relatives in Ambalangoda, he would probably have asked them to trace a family corresponding to Indika's statements at Balapitiya. He had no such connections and so asked a friend in Weligama, who happened then to be working in Ambalangoda, to see what he could learn. This friend, A. C. Balasuriya, was not a native of Ambalangoda, and he had to seek help from one of his friends before he located the Samarasekeras and verified from them what Indika had been saying.

The case receives additional strength from the abundance of Indika's statements about the previous life and from the small details in some of them. Table 25-10 lists 36 verifiable statements he made, and all but three of these were correct. I would not vigorously defend the value of most of the recognitions attributed to Indika, but his showing where Dharshana had written his name on soft concrete surely qualifies as an unusually significant feature of the case.

A final important ingredient of the case is the nasal polyp that Indika had and Kakshappa lacked. The polyp corresponded in location to an area that was stimulated and possibly slightly injured during the nasal feedings given to Dharshana in the last 3 days of his life.

The Inexplicability of the Births of Indika and Kakshappa in the Ishwara Family

In an earlier section of this chapter I showed that in most of our twin cases we can learn of some connection between one or other of the twins' parents and one or other (or both) of the previous personalities concerned in a case (Table 25-5). In most cases also, the previous personalities were related, friends, or acquaintances (Table 25-4). These two circumstances occurred in six of the seven pairs of twins whose cases I report in detail in this chapter. In the present case, however, I have not found the slightest clue to a link that might explain why Dharshana of Balapitiya would be reborn in Weligama.

I find it even more difficult to understand why an insurgent of Elpitiya, who had been killed there by the police, would be reborn in Weligama. There is one slight possible link between Dharshana and the presumed previous personality of Kakshappa. This is that Elpitiya and Balapitiya are only 25 kilometers apart; but this provides no basis for speculations about what may have brought two such markedly different deceased personalities together in a twin birth.

The Twins' Later Development

In October 1982, Indika and Kakshappa were just 10 years old. They were then in the fourth grade of school. They were almost at the same rank among their classmates: Indika stood tenth and Kakshappa twelfth in a class of 24. Kakshappa had overcome his earlier indifference toward school and was enjoying it as much as Indika. Both twins were also attending Sunday School.

A few differences between the twins were still noted. Indika was less sociable toward strangers than Kakshappa. Indika was inclined to be passive, Kakshappa to take the initiative in most situations. Kakshappa might resort to violence in a dispute, but Indika was peaceful and would not do this. Kakshappa was thought by their mother to be more intelligent than Indika at this time, but their father thought that Indika had a noticeably better memory than Kakshappa. A monk who knew the twins had suggested that Indika might become a monk, and this suggestion was being taken seriously.

R. L. Samarasekera had continued to visit. Indeed, he was regarded in 1982 as a member of the Ishwara family. He had been coming every 2 or 3 months and had visited them less than 2 weeks before we did.

On June 11, 1990, Dr. Erlendur Haraldsson and Godwin Samararatne went to Horadugoda, where they met Indika, Kakshappa, and their parents. Indika and Kakshappa were then 17½ years old. They had recently taken the 0-level examinations at the completion of secondary school; they had not heard the results. Indika was regarded as the better student. They were both athletic, and Kakshappa regarded as the better athlete. Both were interested in mechanical and electronic subjects. Indika continued to be religious and was interested in Buddhism; Kakshappa, although less interested in religion, went to Sunday School with Indika.

The twins were close to each other emotionally, although there was a degree of competitiveness between them. When they had been younger, Indika was noticeably more gentle than Kakshappa; but this had become reversed, and Kakshappa was now the more gentle of the two. Both were inclined to be disobedient.

Neither had any memories of a previous life. Godwin Samararatne tried to stimulate Indika by reminding him of some of the people and events he had previously spoken about; but Indika showed no activation of memories about them—not even of "Mirris Nanda." Godwin Samararatne found Kakshappa more communicative than Indika on this occasion.

Notwithstanding the twins' apparent amnesia for the previous lives, the family had maintained friendly relations with the Samarasekeras. Each family attended important events, such as weddings and funerals, in the other family. Otherwise their visits were less frequent than they had been earlier. They took place about once every 2 years.

In the 1980s the party that had organized and conducted the insurgency of April 1971 again became active in Sri Lanka and was responsible for some bombings and other acts of violence. Kakshappa showed no sympathy with this movement.

The twins' health was in general good, but Indika had some disorder of his nose, presumably related to the polyp he had had since infancy.

THE CASE OF MA KHIN MA GYI AND MA KHIN MA NGE

Introduction

Ma Khin Ma Gyi and Ma Khin Ma Nge were female twins of Burma. (I mentioned their case briefly in Chapter 23.) After they began to speak, they identified themselves as their mother's parents. Neither of the twins made many different statements about the previous lives they remembered, and Ma Khin Ma Nge said almost nothing. The interest of the case lies in the occurrence in one twin (Ma Khin Ma Gyi) of a serious birth defect (and a second minor birth defect) and in both twins of unusual behavior in which they differed from each other and resembled their grandparents.

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Ma Khin Ma Gyi and Ma Khin Ma Nge were born on February 5, 1961, in Ba Htu Myo in the Shan States, Burma. Their parents were U Ba Thaw and his wife, Daw Mya Tin. U Ba Thaw was then in the signal corps of the Burmese Army and stationed at Ba Htu Myo, which is a garrison town. The twins were the fourth and fifth of the eight children they had who survived infancy.

When Daw Mya Tin was about 4 months pregnant with the twins, she dreamed that her parents said to her that they were going to be reborn as her children. Nevertheless, Daw Mya Tin and her medical attendants did not expect that she would have twins. Daw Mya Tin went into labor at 7 months. She delivered Ma Khin Ma Gyi first and then, to the surprise of all concerned, Ma Khin Ma Nge. U Ba Thaw was present when the twins were born, and he told us in 1978 that the placental tissue was delivered as a single unit, but the attendant nurse easily separated it into two parts, which suggests that two placentas had become loosely fused. U Ba Thaw also said that the twins seemed to him to have different facial features when they were born.

Ma Khin Ma Gyi throve from birth, but Ma Khin Ma Nge was ill and did not cry, suckle, or urinate for 3 days. On the other hand, Ma Khin Ma Gyi had a serious birth defect of her left hand (Figures 25-9, 25-10, and 25-11) and a lesser one of her left leg (Figures 25-12 and 25-13).

Ma Khin Ma Gyi began to speak coherently at the comparatively late age of about 3. When she was between 4 and 5, she began to talk about the previous life of her maternal grandfather, U Maung Maung. Ma Khin Ma Gyi's most significant statement about the previous life was her explanation that she had been born malformed because, as U Maung Maung, she had hunted and mistreated animals. Her younger sister, Ma Khin Ma Nge, said that she (in a previous life) had been her maternal grandmother, Daw Aye Hla.

Throughout their childhood and youth, the twins showed behavior in which they differed from each other, but resembled their respective grandparents.

I first learned of the case in 1972. By this time the twins' family had moved to Rangoon. In September 1972, U Win Maung recorded and sent to me a statement by U Ba Thaw, the twins' father. In November 1972, I met the twins in Rangoon and also interviewed their mother, Daw Mya Tin, and their older sister, Ma Yee Yee Myint.

U Win Maung and I met the twins and their mother again in 1975 and in 1977. It seemed to me—but not at all to U Win Maung—that the twins looked sufficiently alike (in facial appearance; Figure 25-14) so that they might be monozygotic. I thought this despite their quite different physiques, especially indicated by the thicknesses of their legs as shown in Figures 25-12, 25-14, and 25-15. I decided that if the twins were monozygotic their case would be even more important than I already thought it to be. So in 1978 I arranged to draw blood for a test of the twins' zygosity from an examination of their blood groups and subgroups. Dr. Saw Ba Heng (a retired physician of Rangoon) and I drew

blood from the twins and members of their family on March 29, 1978. I then brought the blood back to the University of Virginia Hospital, where its examination in the Blood Bank showed that the twins were dizygotic. As a precaution against any mishap to the blood, I had also taken fingerprints of the twins, and these also showed their dizygosity.

After 1978 we lost touch with the family for several years, but in 1984 U Win Maung found where Ma Khin Ma Gyi was still living, and we met her again on February 13, 1984. (Ma Khin Ma Nge had married in 1982.) We also had a brief meeting with the twins' older sister, Ma Yee Yee Myint.

Persons Interviewed during the Investigation

In Rangoon I interviewed:

Ma Khin Ma Gyi
Ma Khin Ma Nge
Daw Mya Tin, the twins' mother
Ma Yee Yee Myint, one of the twins' older sisters

U Ba Thaw, the twins' father, had made a statement about the case to U Win Maung. He was a donor of blood for the test of zygosity, and I met and talked with him a little on that occasion. But I did not interview him at length.

Ma Yee Yee Myint was about 4 years older than the twins, and she seemed to me to be adequately knowledgeable about their case and about their different behaviors.

The Lives and Deaths of U Maung Maung and Daw Aye Hla

U Maung Maung was an Indian. (Most Indians in Burma sooner or later assume Burmese names.) His father had been a Buddhist, but he died before U Maung Maung's birth, and his mother almost immediately remarried. His stepfather was a Moslem, and he became and remained a Moslem himself. He obtained an education and then entered government service. He married Daw Aye Hla, and they had two children, U Ohn Kyine (who had died by the time we began investigating the case) and Daw Mya Tin, the twins' mother. Except for a single area of disagreement that I shall describe below, they were happily married.

My only informant for U Maung Maung's personality was his daughter, Daw Mya Tin. She described him as having been simple, honest, and straightforward. He was vulnerable to flattery and extremely obliging to persons who praised him.

He was an able mechanic, skilled at repairing engines, cars, and watches. As a Moslem he ate meat (as do many Buddhists); but besides that he hunted birds with a gun, and he kept poultry tied up to posts in his compound until they were accustomed to the area. He kept the poultry for eggs and did not eat them.

His wife, Daw Aye Hla, was a pious Buddhist, and she disapproved of her husband's hunting and other mistreatment of animals. She reproached her hus-

band for these practices. Members of their family and circle of friends went further; they warned U Maung Maung of some future retribution if he continued to hunt animals. His mother-in-law, Daw Kun, admonished him along these lines several times. What began as a disagreement on principle ended as an unpleasant domestic quarrel, and eventually U Maung Maung and Daw Aye Hla arranged to separate temporarily from each other. They hoped for reconciliation and did not divorce; but events overtook them, and they never met again. In 1950 U Maung Maung died in Pantanaw at the age of about 44. He and Daw Aye Hla had been separated then for 2 years.

I mentioned earlier that U Maung Maung's father was a Buddhist, but as his stepfather was a Moslem, he had been brought up as one himself. He only learned about a year before his death that he had been "born a Buddhist." When his health failed and he seemed to be dying, some Buddhist friends gave him a Buddhist rosary and encouraged him to compose himself for death. U Maung Maung did not formally convert to Buddhism; yet on his deathbed he was using the rosary as he spoke his last—Buddhist—utterances.

Pantanaw, where U Maung Maung died, is about 70 kilometers west of Rangoon, and in 1950 it was in the hands of Karen insurgents. (See Appendix B.) It was therefore cut off from normal communication with other parts of Burma. Members of his family, therefore, were not with him when he died. Daw Mya Tin learned about the circumstances later.

Daw Aye Hla lived for another 4 years after her husband's death, and she died in 1954 in Mandalay. I have already mentioned her strong attachment to Buddhism. She was uneducated and indeed illiterate. She was courageous, but also bossy, and it was her inability to tolerate her husband's hunting—inflamed by meddlesome relatives—that led to their separation.

Daw Aye Hla's health was frail. She was sensitive to cold and susceptible to respiratory infections. Eventually she developed what may have been pulmonary tuberculosis, because she coughed up blood. Daw Mya Tin thought that she also suffered from malaria and had probably died of this disease.

Statements Made by Ma Khin Ma Gyi and Ma Khin Ma Nge

About a year after Ma Khin Ma Gyi became able to speak, she began to say that she was U Maung Maung. Similarly, Ma Khin Ma Nge said that she was Daw Aye Hla. Ma Khin Ma Gyi had more memories of the previous life than Ma Khin Ma Nge, and she spoke about it more often. Indeed, the twins' older sister, Ma Yee Yee Myint, thought incorrectly that Ma Khin Ma Nge had had *no* memories of the previous life.

Ma Khin Ma Gyi, looking at her birth defects, said that they were due to her having hunted and mistreated animals in the previous life. The birth defect of her left hand was related to U Maung Maung's having shot birds with a gun, and the groove around her left leg resulted from his having tied up domestic fowl, such as chickens, to a house-post.

The twins' parents soon noticed that Ma Khin Ma Gyi became sad when she talked about the previous life, and her father adopted a policy of suppressing her talk about it. Her mother was less strict, but she evidently paid little attention to what the twins said about the previous lives. Her brother and his wife at one time questioned the twins about their memories, but Daw Mya Tin had not been present then. She said that she herself only asked Ma Khin Ma Gyi what she thought about the birth defects she had. She did not question her about other memories she may have had.

The effort at suppression did not succeed entirely, because Ma Khin Ma Gyi talked about the previous life with her playmates. It did, however, lead to Daw Mya Tin's being unable to remember any other statements (additional to those I have mentioned) that Ma Khin Ma Gyi made about the previous life. Her older daughter, Ma Yee Yee Myint, remembered one other statement, but even this was a somewhat indirect allusion to the previous life. It occurred when Ma Khin Ma Gyi expressed a wish to go to Pantanaw for the summer, because there were a lot of shrimp and fish there. As I mentioned, Pantanaw, where U Maung Maung had lived and died, is 70 kilometers from Rangoon; the twins had never been there, nor had any of the other children of the family.

Although I earlier mentioned that the twins said little about the previous lives, this may not be correct. Daw Mya Tin later remembered little of what they had said, but this does not necessarily mean that they *said* little. Furthermore, Daw Mya Tin said that Ma Khin Ma Gyi at least had spoken often about the previous life when she was about 6 years of age. We do not know whether she was making numerous different statements or, as many subjects have done, repeating over and over the same few statements.

Ma Khin Ma Gyi's and Ma Khin Ma Nge's Behavior Related to the Previous Lives

Circumstances and Manner of the Twins' Speaking about the Previous Lives. Since Ma Khin Ma Nge said little about the previous life, the following observations pertain almost entirely to Ma Khin Ma Gyi. She began speaking about the previous life around the age of 4. The family moved from Ba Htu Myo to Rangoon when the twins were about 6, and for some reason Ma Khin Ma Gyi became more talkative about the previous life at about this time. Thereafter, her spontaneous references to the previous life diminished. Later, when someone would ask Ma Khin Ma Gyi about the previous life, her responses varied. Sometimes she would talk about it, and sometimes she would say: "I don't know." Thinking about it made her sad, and she sometimes had in her eyes "a faraway look," which made observers think she was then brooding about the previous life.

Daw Mya Tin said that she sometimes heard the twins identifying themselves to each other as from the previous lives. Thus Ma Khin Ma Nge would say to her older sister: "You are U Maung Maung, and I am Daw Aye Hla."

Figure 25-9 Ma Khin Ma Gyi and Ma Khin Ma Nge (with their parents and siblings) as they appeared in 1970, when the twins were about 9 years old. Ma Khin Ma Nge was at the front, extreme left; she was dressed in a girl's frock. Immediately next to her was Ma Khin Ma Gyi, who was wearing a boy's shirt and trousers.

Ma Khin Ma Nge particularly spoke about the previous life when she was scolded. She would walk over or even strut to anyone who did this and say that she was Daw Aye Hla and that she resented being scolded. She was still doing this at times in 1972, when the twins were almost 12 years old.

In same-family cases the subjects often address their parents not as most children would, but familiarly, by the names that the concerned previous personality had used for them.[11] I enquired about such familiarity in the present case. Daw Mya Tin said that to her face the children always called her "May May," an expression for mother in Burmese. However, she overheard them in speaking to other persons refer to her as "Ma Mya Tin, my daughter" or sometimes by the shorter name of "Ma Tin." Ma Khin Ma Gyi did this more often than Ma Khin Ma Nge. (The junior honorific "Ma" showed that they regarded Daw Mya Tin as of lower status to themselves.)

Ma Khin Ma Gyi's Masculine Behavior. When Ma Khin Ma Gyi was young, she had strongly expressed masculine traits. She wished to dress in boys' clothes and did so whenever she could, at least up to the age of about 9, when the photograph of Figure 25-9 was taken. Ma Khin Ma Gyi obtained most of the

[11]Other subjects of same-family cases who addressed their parents in a familiar manner include the Ven. Chaokhun Rajsuthajarn, Pratima Saxena, Maung Aung Myint, U Tint Aung, and Thiang San Kla.

boys' clothes she wore by appropriating her brothers' clothes. However, she had asked to have specially made for her the boy's suit of clothes that she is seen wearing in Figure 25-9. At school she was obliged to wear girls' clothes.

Ma Khin Ma Gyi liked to wear her hair in the style of boys. She resisted applying thanaka paste to her face, whereas Ma Khin Ma Nge eagerly put it on herself. (On the day when I first met the twins, in November 1972, Ma Khin Ma Nge was wearing thanaka paste, but Ma Khin Ma Gyi was not.) Ma Khin Ma Gyi preferred to play with boys, Ma Khin Ma Nge to play with girls.

Ma Khin Ma Gyi's and Ma Khin Ma Nge's Attitudes toward Buddhism. When Ma Khin Ma Gyi was a young child, she would catch and crush insects with pleasure, whereas Ma Khin Ma Nge did not do this. (Killing is strongly disapproved in Buddhism.) In other respects also, Ma Khin Ma Nge showed a fuller compliance with the practices of Buddhism than her older sister. The latter, for example, was casual in making obeisance to monks and not much interested in giving food to them. (Buddhist monks in Burma still, for the most part, obtain their food through the donations of householders who cook extra food for them.) Even at the age of 11, Ma Khin Ma Gyi did not know how to address monks in proper form.

Ma Khin Ma Gyi's and Ma Khin Ma Nge's Tastes in Food. Ma Khin Ma Gyi showed a marked fondness for Indian foods, such as paratas, *samosas,* and curries flavored with Indian spices. She was exceptional in her family in these tastes. U Maung Maung had enjoyed these foods. Ma Khin Ma Nge would not drink coffee, but only tea. Daw Aye Hla had drunk tea only, never coffee. Ma Khin Ma Gyi drank both tea and coffee as had U Maung Maung.

Ma Khin Ma Gyi's and Ma Khin Ma Nge's Progress in School. Ma Khin Ma Gyi progressed well in school, Ma Khin Ma Nge comparatively poorly. Even at the age of 11, Ma Khin Ma Nge would copy what Ma Khin Ma Gyi wrote or would ask Ma Khin Ma Gyi to do her homework for her. In one grade (I think it was the second, but was told different years at different times) Ma Khin Ma Nge failed and became and remained thereafter a year in school behind Ma Khin Ma Gyi.

Other Behavior of Ma Khin Ma Gyi and Ma Khin Ma Nge Related to the Previous Life. Ma Khin Ma Nge was much more concerned about personal appearance than her older sister. If a dress she was wearing became torn, she would change it; but Ma Khin Ma Gyi would not do this. Ma Khin Ma Nge kept herself much cleaner than Ma Khin Ma Gyi.

When the twins were between 4 and 5 years old, Ma Khin Ma Nge's favorite play was with dolls or singing and dancing; that of Ma Khin Ma Gyi was with toy cars. If they had a chance to buy toys, for example at the stalls of a pagoda, Ma Khin Ma Gyi would choose toy cars, Ma Khin Ma Nge dolls. Once Ma Khin Ma Gyi won a toy car in a lottery. Her father tried to arrange a trade between her and another young girl who had won a toy doll, but Ma Khin Ma Gyi resisted, crying, and said she would prefer to have the toy car. Ma Khin Ma Nge had no interest in cars.

Ma Khin Ma Gyi was fond of poultry and expressed a wish to keep some. (This was not feasible where they lived in Rangoon.)

Ma Khin Ma Nge was fond of flowers, but Ma Khin Ma Gyi was indifferent to them.

Ma Khin Ma Nge tended to be bossy toward other people. She especially dominated Ma Khin Ma Gyi, who was described as actually being afraid of her younger sister.

Ma Khin Ma Gyi was right-handed, but Ma Khin Ma Nge was left-handed. This observation led me to enquire whether Daw Aye Hla had also been left-handed, but Daw Mya Tin said that she had not been.

In Table 25-12 I have summarized the differences in the behavior of Ma Khin Ma Gyi and Ma Khin Ma Nge together with the correspondences between their behavior and that of their maternal grandparents. For these items Daw Mya Tin was our main informant. However, through the circumstances of our interviews, it happened that I obtained independent confirmation of nearly half of the items (of their behavior) from the twins' older sister, Ma Yee Yee Myint.

Other Relevant Behavior on the Part of the Twins

The twins had more affection for each other than for other children of the family. Occasionally they quarreled, as most brothers and sisters do at times; but their general attitude toward each other was one of love.

Announcing Dreams and Other Events during Daw Mya Tin's Pregnancy with the Twins

At some time during the first 2 or 3 months of Daw Mya Tin's pregnancy with the twins, U Ba Thaw had a dream in which an old "man in white" asked whether he could come and stay with them. Later, Daw Mya Tin had a similar dream about the presumably same "man in white."

Still later, when she was about 4 months pregnant, Daw Mya Tin had the dream I referred to earlier in which U Maung Maung and Daw Aye Hla appeared to her and said they were going to be reborn as her children. In the expectations of Daw Mya Tin and U Ba Thaw, the first dream prevailed, and at the time of her delivery they expected she would have one baby, a son.

Daw Mya Tin's pregnancy with the twins was normal, apart from some slight anemia and its termination in premature delivery of the twins. She had no infectious disease during it.

During her pregnancy, Daw Mya Tin noticed that her tastes in food became changeable, even capricious. She vacillated in her desire for coffee and tea, wishing to have first one, then the other. Ordinarily she liked both tea and coffee; the difference during her pregnancy seemed to consist in the strength of her alternating wishes for these drinks. U Ba Thaw found himself impatient with her changing requests for tea and coffee.

Table 25-12 **Summary of Differences in Behavior between Ma Khin Ma Gyi and Ma Khin Ma Nge and Correspondences with their Grandparents**

U Maung Maung	*Ma Khin Ma Gyi*	*Ma Khin Ma Nge*	*Daw Aye Hla*
1. Was an Indian man who preferred Indian food	Preferred Indian food	Indifferent to Indian food	Was a Burmese woman
2. Drank tea and coffee	Drank tea and coffee	Drank tea only	Drank tea only
3. Educated; worked as a government employee	More intelligent; advanced in school	Less intelligent; backward in school	Was illiterate
4. No information	Not concerned about clothes or cleanliness	Concerned about clothes and cleanliness	Notably a clean person
5. Was a man	Masculine traits a) Wore boys' clothes b) Wore hair like a boy c) Resisted wearing thanaka paste d) Preferred to play with boys	Feminine traits a) Wore girls' clothes b) Wore hair like a girl c) Applied thanaka paste eagerly d) Preferred to play with girls	Was a woman
6. Kept poultry	Wished to keep poultry	No interest in poultry	
7. Liked to repair engines, cars, watches; had mechanical aptitude	Liked to play with toy cars; no interest in dolls	No interest in toy cars; liked to play with dolls	
8. No information	No interest in flowers	Interest in flowers	No information
9. Hunted animals	Liked to kill and crush insects	Did not kill insects	Devout Buddhist

10. Was a Moslem	Comparatively indifferent to Buddhism	Devout Buddhist	Devout Buddhist
11. Tended to be compliant	Submissive to twin sister	Dominated twin sister	Bossy
12. No information	Right-handed	Left-handed	Right-handed

More directly relevant perhaps to the case of Ma Khin Ma Gyi was Daw Mya Tin's increased interest in Indian foods during her pregnancy. She liked more than she usually did to eat paratas and to go out of the house to eat at Indian restaurants.[12]

Ma Khin Ma Gyi's Birth Defects

Figures 25-10 and 25-11 show the severe birth defect of Ma Khin Ma Gyi's left hand. It was a partial ectrodactyly. The thumb was normal but the other fingers were almost entirely absent, although there was an attempt at a fifth finger. It was partly separated and had a nail, but was seriously malformed.

Daw Mya Tin said that when Ma Khin Ma Gyi was born the area of her left hand that was defective discharged (the word "suppurate" was used in translating this for me) for about 6 weeks. The stump of the hand then healed over.

In the report in Chapter 17 of Lekh Pal Jatav's case, I cited a Danish study which found *bilateral* brachydactyly occurring in about 1 in 40,000 births (Birch-Jensen, 1949). It is thus, in the classification I adopted, an extremely rare birth defect. *Unilateral* brachydactyly is much less frequent. In fact, Ma Khin Ma Gyi's defect of her left hand was more severe than a mere shortening of the fingers implied by the word *brachydactyly*; she had a virtual absence of three fingers—true ectrodactyly.

Figures 25-12, 25-13, and 25-15 show the groove that ran entirely around Ma Khin Ma Gyi's left calf, at about one-third of its length from ankle to knee.

Other Relevant Medical Information. The twins' parents were not related, and there was no other instance of a birth defect in the family. Daw Mya Tin gave this information for her own family and said she knew her husband's family well enough to speak about it with equal confidence. (Neither U Win Maung nor I asked this question to U Ba Thaw directly.)

Other Physical Differences between Ma Khin Ma Gyi and Ma Khin Ma Nge

Differences in the Twins' Physiques. At birth Ma Khin Ma Gyi weighed 1800 grams, Ma Khin Ma Nge only 1400 grams. (The figures are approximations of those given to me in pounds and ounces.) Ma Khin Ma Gyi continued to be heavier than Ma Khin Ma Nge up to 1978. She was also taller, as Figure 25-14 shows. In 1978 the difference in their heights was (by my estimate, not measurement) about 3 centimeters. The differences in their physiques can perhaps be seen most readily by Figures 25-12 and 25-15, which show their legs in 1972 and in 1978. Ma Khin Ma Gyi's legs were stocky, those of her younger sister gracile.

[12]Other examples of special desires, appetites, and cravings or aversions during pregnancy will be found in the reports of the cases of Gamini Jayasena, Bongkuch Promsin, Disna Samarasinghe, Maung Myint Tin, Ornuma Sua Ying Yong, Chinta Chandrasiri, Sujith Lakmal Jayaratne, Maung Hla Hsaung, and Ma Choe Hnin Htet.

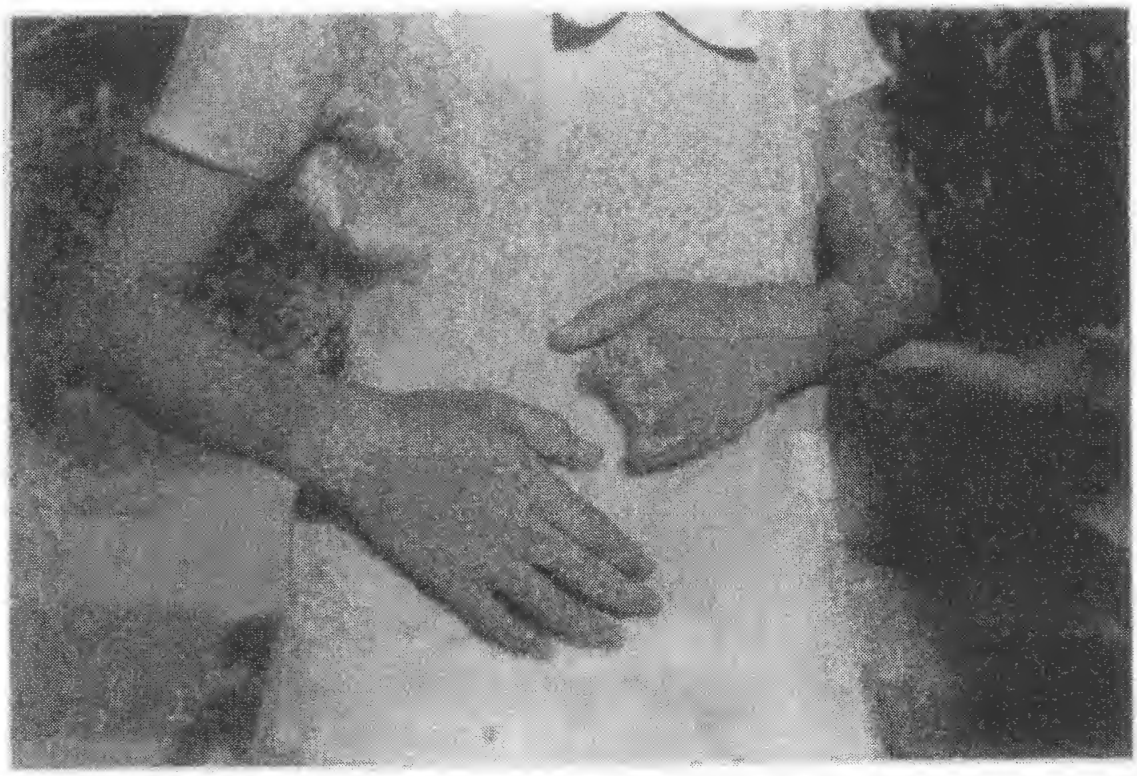

Figure 25-10 Dorsal view of Ma Khin Ma Gyi's hands as they appeared in November 1972, when she was 11 years and 9 months old. The second, third, and fourth fingers of the left hand were almost completely absent. The fifth finger of that hand was present, but markedly malformed. The right hand was normal, as was the left thumb.

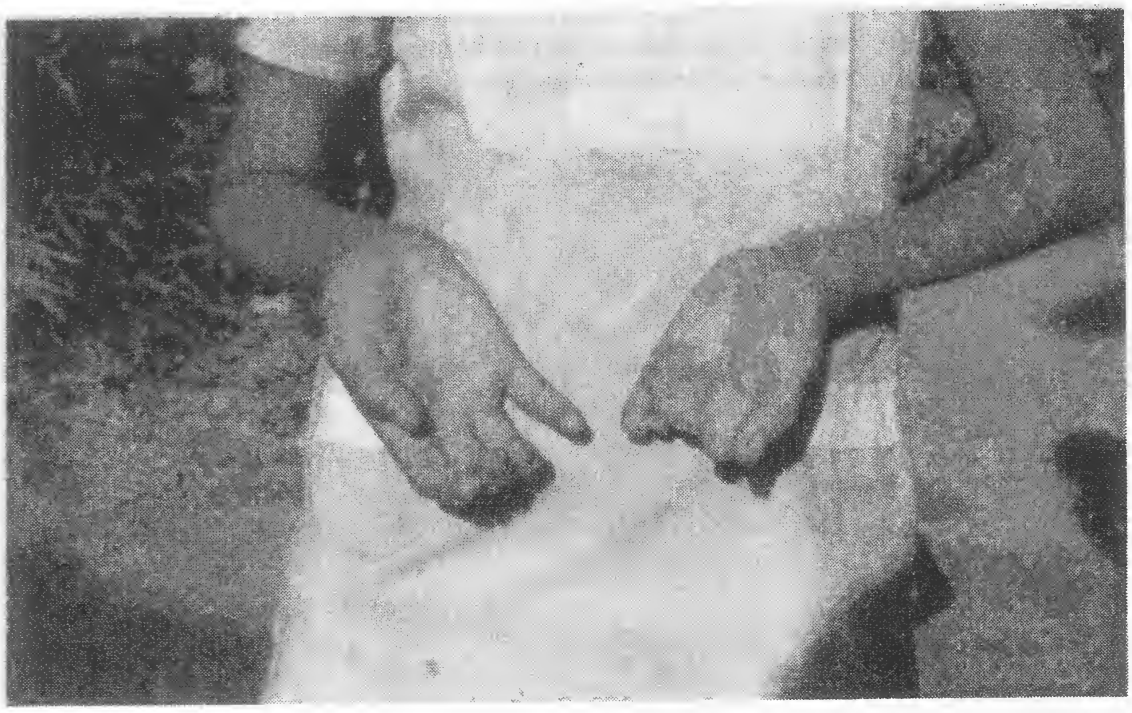

Figure 25-11 Palmar view of Ma Khin Ma Gyi's hands as they appeared in November 1972. This view shows more clearly the malformed fifth finger of the left hand.

Figure 25-12 Anterior view of the lower legs of Ma Khin Ma Nge (left) and Ma Khin Ma Gyi (right) as they appeared in November 1972. The photograph shows the markedly greater girth of Ma Khin Ma Gyi's legs compared with those of Ma Khin Ma Nge. The birth defect on Ma Khin Ma Gyi's left leg can be seen approximately at the junction of the upper two-thirds and lower one-third. The defect was an annular area of slight hyperpigmentation, about 1 centimeter wide, running entirely around the leg. It was depressed 1-2 millimeters below the surface of the surrounding skin.

Figure 25-13 Posterior view of Ma Khin Ma Gyi's lower legs showing the extension of the annular birth defect around the leg. This photograph was also taken in November 1972.

Figure 25-14 Ma Khin Ma Nge (left) and Ma Khin Ma Gyi (right) as they appeared in November 1972. Ma Khin Ma Gyi was taller and markedly stockier than her sister. The twins' facial appearances are similar, although not identical. The photograph shows the birth defect of Ma Khin Ma Gyi's left hand and (faintly) that of her left leg.

Here I must acknowledge that I have no note recording that I ever asked Daw Mya Tin whether the physiques of the twins corresponded to those of her parents. There is no excuse for this omission, but there is an explanation. I took it for granted that a husband would be taller and heavier than his wife and applied this assumption to U Maung Maung and Daw Aye Hla. I think the assumption correct in this case for the following reason. Daw Mya Tin was present when we photographed the twins together (Figures 25-12, 25-14, and 25-15), and she was aware of the interest that U Win Maung and I showed in the different girths of the twins' legs. If these differences had not accorded with differences in her parents, she would probably have said so.

Fielding Hall (1898) published a parallel Burmese case of male twins, Maung Gyi and Maung Nge. They also remembered the previous lives of a husband and wife. Maung Gyi was the older twin. Fielding Hall explained that "Maung Gyi" means "Brother Big-Fellow," and "Maung Nge" means "Brother Little-Fellow." Fielding Hall met the twins when they were just over 6 years old. He wrote: "The elder [Maung Gyi], into whom the soul of the man entered, is a

Figure 25-15 Lower legs of Ma Khin Ma Gyi (left) and Ma Khin Ma Nge (right) as they appeared in March 1978, when they were just over 17 years old. The relative girths of the twins' legs remained unchanged. The birth defect of Ma Khin Ma Gyi's left leg was just as prominent as it had been in 1972.

fat, chubby little fellow, but the younger twin [Maung Nge] is smaller" (Fielding Hall, 1898, p. 296).

Ma Khin Ma Nge's Poor Health. I mentioned earlier Ma Khin Ma Nge's precariously frail condition at birth. She continued weaker in health than her more robust older sister. She was markedly sensitive to cold, whereas it did not affect Ma Khin Ma Gyi adversely. Ma Khin Ma Nge was also susceptible to respiratory infections.

In Table 25-13 I have summarized the main physical differences between the twins.

The Attitudes of the Twins' Parents toward the Case

In same-family cases and indeed in any case in which a subject's parents know a deceased person of whom they have been fond, a risk exists that the parents will influence the subject toward assuming the deceased person's identity. The present case belongs to this group. Daw Mya Tin dreamed that her parents were returning to her as her children. Also, she wanted to have another son. Perhaps, therefore, she had more incentive than most parents would have to guide her older twin into personating her father. The other twin would then have compli-

Table 25-13. **Summary of Physical Differences between Ma Khin Ma Gyi and Ma Khin Ma Nge**

	Ma Khin Ma Gyi	*Ma Khin Ma Nge*
1. Condition at birth	Healthy	Frail and seemingly ill for first 3 days
2. Weight at birth	1800 grams	1400 grams
3. Weight at age 15	Heavier	Lighter
4. Height at age 15	Taller (by about 3 cms)	Shorter
5. Physique	Stocky, especially in legs	Not unusual, legs somewhat thin
6. Birth defects	Left hand and left leg	No birth defects
7. Sensitivity to cold	Insensitive to cold	Sensitive to cold
8. Susceptibility to respiratory infections	Absent	Present

antly gone along with this imposition, and their father would have become a willing accessory.

Several aspects of the behavior of the twins' parents, however, tell against such an interpretation. In the first place, they suppressed the case, at least initially, so that the twins were allowed to say almost nothing about the previous lives during the ages when their memories—to judge by other cases—would have been freshest. They were not in principle opposed to a child's talking about a previous life in their family; one son born before the twins and one born after them recalled a previous life without objection from U Ba Thaw and Daw Mya Tin. Their main, or perhaps sole, motive for suppressing Ma Khin Ma Gyi was to reduce the suffering she had from the memories of the previous life and the birth defect of her hand. The events that the memories recalled—of a Moslem grandfather who killed animals as well as domestic strife with marital estrangement—were not creditable to a Burmese Buddhist family. Nor was the behavior cf a girl cross-dressing as Ma Khin Ma Gyi regularly did up to the age of about 10. Daw Mya Tin said that she and her husband had not encouraged Ma Khin Ma Gyi's masculine behavior. On the contrary, she said that they had forced her to feminize. Her oldest daughter, Ma Yee Yee Myint, confirmed this, and Ma Khin Ma Gyi herself did so also. In 1978 she recalled that her parents had discouraged her masculine behavior. She even mentioned—what I had not heard before—that they had beaten her when she had talked of the previous life.

Comment on the Psychical Factors Possibly Contributing to Ma Khin Ma Gyi's Birth Defects

The reader who has studied all the details of this case may wish now to reflect on what connections there may have been between U Maung Maung's behavior toward animals and Ma Khin Ma Gyi's birth defects. She herself said that her conduct in the previous life had resulted in the birth defects. Can we adopt this interpretation? And if we do, can we imagine how thoughts in the mind of U Maung Maung might have influenced the embryonically developing body of Ma Khin Ma Gyi so that it was born with the birth defects she had?

I need hardly emphasize that this case belongs to a tiny handful I have found in which the birth defects on the subject correspond to thoughts in the mind not of a murdered person but of a person who had himself killed.[13] The paucity of cases in this group should warn us perhaps against speculating about them.

I cannot, however, avoid thinking of the last days and hours of U Maung Maung's life when he wavered not only between life and death, but also between Islam and Buddhism. He could not have accepted the gift of a Buddhist rosary from his friends without at the same time asking himself whether, after all, his mother-in-law might have been right in her condemnation of his hunting and her warning of an inevitable retribution if he continued to hunt. In accompanying thoughts U Maung Maung might have asked himself what possible form any retribution could take. If punishment is to fit the crime—as Buddhist texts often suggest it does—then a hand that held a gun to shoot birds could be made unable ever to shoot again; and a mark on a leg would provide a continuing reminder of how U Maung Maung had kept fowl tied by the legs to house-posts.[14] Demotion to the lower status of a woman would be an additional punishment, thrown in for good measure, so to speak. An important condition for the implementation of the birth defects was not the killing and cruelty as such, but U Maung Maung's *belief* (as I imagine him at his time of death) that this cruelty would lead to adverse effects in a later life.

U Maung Maung's thoughts as he was dying must surely have also included memories of the happy times he had had in earlier days with his wife, Daw Aye Hla. We have seen—in an earlier section of this chapter—that the previous personalities of most of the twin pairs in our series had had some kind of close and usually loving relationship. Ma Khin Ma Gyi's and Ma Khin Ma Nge's cases belong in this group.

Ma Khin Ma Gyi's and Ma Khin Ma Nge's Later Development

In 1975 Ma Khin Ma Gyi and Ma Khin Ma Nge both said that their memories of the previous life were fading. But 3 years later, in 1978, they both said their

[13]The only other case of this small group included in this work is that of Wijeratne. I have investigated only two others, those of U Nyein and Daw Ngwe Kyi.

[14]Wijeratne said that he had been born with a malformed hand because he had stabbed his wife in a previous life. Ratran Hami, whose life he recalled, had held the murder weapon, a kris, in his hand.

memories had not faded. Unfortunately, I did not pursue the questioning about this matter into further details. They may have meant to tell us that they had experienced no more fading of the memories since we had last posed the question. It is equally possible that events since 1975—further sexual maturation perhaps—had stimulated a revival of previously forgotten memories. I do not know.

Ma Khin Ma Gyi's feminization progressed normally during the years when I knew her. From the age of about 13, she began wearing girls' clothes at home as well as to school. In 1978 I asked both her and Ma Khin Ma Nge to carry out the Extended Draw-a-Person Test (Whitaker, 1961). Both showed feminine responses. Nevertheless, Ma Khin Ma Gyi said in 1978 (as she had in 1977) that she would prefer to be a boy.

In 1977 (but not in 1978) I enquired about the tendency of Ma Khin Ma Nge to dominate her older sister. Ma Yee Yee Myint said that this attitude persisted, but added that Ma Khin Ma Nge no longer tended to be bossy toward other members of the family, as she at one time had been.

U Win Maung and I last met Ma Khin Ma Gyi in Rangoon on February 13, 1984. She was then 23 years old. Ma Yee Yee Myint was present at home, but no other member of the family was.

Ma Khin Ma Gyi had completed the eighth grade of school. Ma Khin Ma Nge had completed the seventh grade. Then they both discontinued schooling. In 1984 Ma Khin Ma Gyi was working as a sales assistant in a department store in Rangoon.

Both twins had begun menstruating at about the same time when they were 14 years old. In April 1982 Ma Khin Ma Nge met a young man she liked, and they were married in December 1982. (Thus we did not meet Ma Khin Ma Nge again in 1984.)

Ma Khin Ma Gyi said that she had only vague memories of a previous life. When we asked what she did still remember, she said she could remember that she had been a man, but nothing else. She said that she still would wish to be a man if she could. On the other hand, she was interested in boys, although she had no boyfriend at the time.

THE CASE OF MA SAN SAN NYUNT AND MA NYUNT NYUNT SAN[15]

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Ma San San Nyunt and Ma Nyunt Nyunt San were born in 1964 in Yanaung, a small town in the Pyawbwe Township of Upper Burma. Their parents

[15]I referred to this case first in Chapter 22, where I listed the twins in Table 22-1, because they differed from each other in darkness of complexion and in that respect (and others) also resembled two deceased sisters who had been relatives of their father.

In Chapter 24, concerned with faces, I gave a brief summary of the case and included (*continued*)

were U Bo Kay and Daw Thein Yin. U Bo Kay was a policeman posted at the police station in Yanaung. The twins had an older sister, Ma Mya Nyunt, and an older brother, Maung Toe Myint. Ma San San Nyunt was born about 20 minutes before her sister. At the time of the twins' birth Ma San San Nyunt was normally healthy, but her younger sister, Ma Nyunt Nyunt San, was weak, and her family thought for a time that she would not survive.

Unlike most Burmese cases, no announcing dream occurred in this case, and the twins' family made no conjectures concerning who they might have been in previous lives until they began to refer to these at the age of about 2. At that time they indicated that they remembered, although only fragmentarily, the lives of two sisters (not twins) who had lived in a nearby village, Seikcho. These two sisters, Daw Aye Phyu and Daw Sapai, were distantly related to U Bo Kay.

The twins were taken to Seikcho by their parents when they were between 3 and 4 years old.[16] There they seem to have recognized the houses that the two deceased sisters had owned, and they pointed at and wished to be given photographs of the sisters. (We should avoid attaching much importance to these possible recognitions, about which we know almost no details.) The twins never spoke volubly about the previous lives, but they did make a few statements that I shall describe in a later section of this report.

I first learned of the case in March 1978, when U Win Maung and I stopped in Yanaung on our way to meet an informant for another case. Our informant for the present case was a policeman of Yanaung and therefore a colleague of U Bo Kay, the twins' father. The case was not known outside a small circle of people in the area; our long-time associate, U Nu, who seemed to know every case in this part of Burma, had never heard of this one.

We immediately went to U Bo Kay's home and began to study the case. We returned for further interviews in March 1979, and in that year also we went to Seikcho, the nearby village where the two sisters whose lives the twins recalled had lived. Unfortunately, U Htun Su, Daw Sapai's son, was not in Seikcho when we went there. Accordingly, we returned to Yanaung again in March 1980. We talked again with the twins and members of their family and returned to Seikcho. This time U Htun Su was recovering from a serious injury and unable to talk with us. Trying again, in November 1980 we returned once more to Seikcho and finally were able to interview U Htun Su. We also had another interview with Daw Thein Yin and met the twins again. On this last visit Daw Hnin Aye was with U Nu, U Win Maung, and myself.

[15](*continued*) photographs of the twins and the two sisters of whom they were thought to be the reincarnations (Figures 24-14, 24-15, and 24-16). The faces of the twins differed from each other, but each twin's face resembled that of the deceased sister whose life the twin remembered.

[16]We received four different estimates of the twins' ages when they first went to Seikcho that varied between 2 years and 5 years. Daw Thein Yin and U Htun Su were our informants for this detail. In November 1980, Daw Thein Yin remembered them to have been "about 3 years old." I am not positive that the informants did not confuse two different visits by the twins to Seikcho.

Persons Interviewed during the Investigation

In Yanaung we interviewed:

Ma San San Nyunt
Ma Nyunt Nyunt San
U Bo Kay, the twins' father
Daw Thein Yin, the twins' mother
Ma Mya Nyunt, the twins' older sister
Maung Toe Myint, the twins' older brother

In Seikcho we interviewed:

Daw Tin U, great-niece of Daw Aye Phyu
Daw Khin Paw, granddaughter of Daw Sapai
U Htun Su, Daw Sapai's son

Relevant Facts of Geography and Possibilities for Normal Means of Communication between the Two Families

U Bo Kay thought that his mother, Daw Mai Po, had been a cousin of Daw Aye Phyu and Daw Sapai. He regarded them as aunts, but could not specify just how they were related. U Htun Su told us in 1980 that his grandmother (the mother of Daw Aye Phyu and Daw Sapai) was a cousin of U Bo Kay's grandmother. This would make Daw Aye Phyu and Daw Sapai aunts of U Bo Kay only in the loose usage of terms of relationship that Asian villagers practice.

Daw Aye Phyu and Daw Sapai lived in Seikcho, which is 4 kilometers from Yanaung. Yanaung is a small town with a population in 1979 of about 5,000. Seikcho is a village which, in the same year, was estimated to have about 500 inhabitants.

The Lives, Deaths, and Characters of Daw Aye Phyu and Daw Sapai

Daw Aye Phyu was born in 1869 or 1870. She lived all her life in the village of Seikcho and never married. She had two younger sisters. Of these the first was Daw Aye Mai, who married, but subsequently became a widow and lived thereafter with Daw Aye Phyu. Daw Aye Mai died in about 1944. The youngest sister, Daw Sapai, was born in about 1881. She also married and remained in Seikcho. After the death of Daw Aye Mai in 1944, Daw Aye Phyu and Daw Sapai lived separately in nearby houses located in the same compound. They both reached advanced ages. Daw Sapai died first in 1961 at the age of about 80 and her older sister, Daw Aye Phyu, followed her the next year. She had reached the age of 92.

Daw Aye Phyu, as the older sister, was inclined to be dominant and expect respect from younger persons. She would not allow anyone to talk back to her.

Both Daw Aye Phyu and Daw Sapai were pious Buddhists, and they engaged in meritorious acts, such as building shelters for pilgrims. During Daw

Aye Mai's lifetime, the three sisters together had founded a small monastery. Daw Aye Phyu and Daw Sapai were much attached to each other.

Daw Sapai had two children: Daw San Shwe and U Htun Su. Her son, as a young man and even later, was given to drinking and gambling (which he freely admitted to us later). His mother disapproved of these habits, and her saying so considerably marred her relationship with U Htun Su.

I learned no more specific causes for the sisters' deaths than "old age, illness." The elderly sisters had a particular attachment for their relative U Bo Kay, and he was equally fond of them. During their final illnesses, he was especially solicitous of their welfare. He brought doctors to see them and medicines for their treatment. No one, however, claimed that the sisters had predicted that they would be reborn in the family of U Bo Kay.

Statements and Recognitions Made by Ma San San Nyunt and Ma Nyunt Nyunt San

Daw Thein Yin was the principal informant for the few statements the twins made about the previous life that informants still remembered at the time we investigated the case in 1978-80. (The twins had made other statements when they were young, but the informants had forgotten the details of these by the time the twins were 14 years old, when we first met them.)

When the twins were about 2, Daw Thein Yin asked them, half in jest: "How is it that you both came to trouble me?" To this, Ma San San Nyunt replied that she came from the *kokka* (acacia) tree. This remark puzzled Daw Thein Yin because there were no kokka trees in the immediate vicinity of their house, they did not use kokka wood as a fuel, and she was sure that no one had used the word *kokka* in front of the twins. The remark about the kokka tree apparently did not make sense to the other members of the twins' family until some years later, when the twins were perhaps 3 or 4 years old. At this time someone mentioned the name of U Htun Su, and Ma San San Nyunt said testily that he should not be allowed to come to Yanaung, because he "is a gambler" and "spent up all my property." This assertion suggested that Ma San San Nyunt was remembering the previous life of U Htun Su's mother, Daw Sapai. (As I mentioned, U Htun Su acknowledged to us that he drank and gambled when he was young; in fact he said that he continued both drinking and gambling until after his mother died. He denied, however, that he had gambled with his mother's money and admitted having had only small gambling debts.)

Daw Thein Yin asked U Htun Su whether there was a kokka tree at Seikcho, and he confirmed that there was. In 1980 U Htun Su showed us a kokka tree, which was just outside the compound where Daw Sapai and Daw Aye Phyu had lived.[17]

[17]When Daw Thein Yin learned that there was a kokka tree close to the compound where Daw Sapai and Daw Aye Phyu had lived, she understood Ma San San Nyunt's statement that she "came from the kokka tree" as a reference to existence at the tree in a discarnate state between the deaths of the previous personalities and the twins' births.

Other subjects who have said that they stayed in a tree as discarnate personalities, (*continued*)

At about this time the twins themselves said that they came from Seikcho. They also said that they had put up water-stands[18] for wayside travelers. (This detail was not directly confirmed by informants at Seikcho; but I did learn that Daw Aye Phyu and Daw Sapai had erected shelters for travelers, and it is quite possible that they had also built water-stands.)

In 1978 Daw Thein Yin said that the twins, also at about the age of 5, gave the names of the two sisters of Seikcho whose lives they seemed to be remembering. In 1979 she modified her statement about the twins' having given the names of the sisters, or perhaps clarified what she had told us the year before. She said then that when the twins were shown two photographs of Daw Aye Phyu and Daw Sapai, Ma San San Nyunt said that the photograph of Daw Sapai was of her (meaning in the previous life), and Ma Nyunt Nyunt San said that the photograph of Daw Aye Phyu was of her.

U Htun Su said that when the twins first came to Seikcho, with their parents, each twin went to one of the houses in which Daw Sapai and Daw Aye Phyu had lived. They noticed photographs of Daw Sapai and Daw Aye Phyu in one (or perhaps both) of the houses, pointed at them, and said they wanted them. They were told, however, that their father had copies of the photographs, which he had never hung up. They were therefore not allowed to take the photographs away from Seikcho. Back at Yanaung U Bo Kay showed copies of the photographs to the twins. I think this must have been the occasion to which Daw Thein Yin referred during our interview with her in 1979. U Htun Su said he was not a witness of the other occasion when the twins identified the photographs at Yanaung. He did remember, however, that when they were between 3 and 4 years old Ma San San Nyunt said that she was Daw Sapai and Ma Nyunt Nyunt San said that she was Daw Aye Phyu.

Daw Thein Yin mentioned one recognition that Ma San San Nyunt made on a visit to Seikcho. Ma San San Nyunt saw a girl called Ma Nge approaching and said: "Min Nge is coming." ("Min" was a pet name.) Ma Nge was Daw Sapai's granddaughter. I did not learn how old the twins or Ma Nge were at this time.

The twins' father, older sister, and older brother added nothing to the testimony of Daw Thein Yin concerning the twins' statements. They were, however, additional informants for the behavior of the twins, which I shall describe in the next section.

Here I should mention that in 1978 U Bo Kay said that he thought Ma Nyunt Nyunt San had remembered the life of Daw Aye Mai, the middle of the three sisters who had lived in Seikcho. Between our visit of 1978 and our return in 1979, U Bo Kay discussed the case with U Htun Su, who corrected him and said

[17](*continued*) usually near where the previous personality had lived and died, include Puti Patra, Veer Singh, and Ma Khin Mar Htoo.

[18]In the rural areas of Burma, travel over short distances is still largely by foot and bullock-cart. Travelers benefit greatly from pots of drinking water that are placed conveniently for their use in stands along the road. Buddhists believe that the erection and maintenance of such water-stands is meritorious.

that Ma Nyunt Nyunt San had remembered the life of Daw Aye Phyu. U Bo Kay's error may disqualify him as a competent witness for some readers. Others, however, may regard his mistake as evidence that he gave little attention to what the twins said and had made no special study of the case until we came to Yanaung and began asking questions about it. His wife, Daw Thein Yin, also showed this attitude. When we asked her if she could remember any other statements the twins had made about the previous lives, additional to these few she had already told us, she replied: "I was more or less convinced that they were reborn, and so I did not bother to investigate what they said."

In 1978 when we first met the twins, they were 14, and they both claimed to remember some details about the previous lives. Yet when I asked them to mention these details, they were unable to answer my questions. Ma Nyunt Nyunt San said that she could not give the name of the husband she had had in the previous life. This remark was something of a gaffe, because Daw Aye Phyu, whose life Ma Nyunt Nyunt San had earlier remembered, never married. It shows, however, that she had not acquired correct facts about the previous life from villagers at Seikcho. On the other hand, Ma San San Nyunt did do this and was aware of it. When I asked her, in 1979, if she could give the name of Daw Sapai's husband, she said that she could not. When I asked her whether she could give the names of Daw Sapai's children, she said that she could do this, but that she had learned the names normally and had not recalled them spontaneously.

Both twins said that they could remember more of the previous lives when they tried to do so and that they could remember better on "dark and gloomy" days than on sunny days. In this respect they resembled numerous other Burmese subjects, and I have drawn attention to this feature in several case reports elsewhere in this work.

Ma San San Nyunt's and Ma Nyunt Nyunt San's Behavior Related to the Previous Lives

U Bo Kay said that the twins talked about the previous lives to each other. They were much attached to each other. One of U Bo Kay's friends in Yanaung asked to adopt Ma Nyunt Nyunt San, and her parents agreed.[19] But Ma San San Nyunt then began weeping for her missing sister, and after 3 days of separation Ma Nyunt Nyunt San was brought back to her family. U Bo Kay said that the twins were more attached to each other than to their older sister. (Strong attachment between twins is, however, much more common than exceptional.)

The twins showed a strong interest in Seikcho and asked to be taken there. In later childhood they went there often. When they were scolded, they would

[19]As I explained in the report of Maung Zaw Win Aung's case, the parents of South Asia are on the whole less possessive of their children than are Western parents. They not infrequently give up one of their children, especially if they have several already, in order that a childless couple may have the pleasure of a child in the family.

threaten to leave and "return" to Seikcho. At such times Ma San San Nyunt would actually start packing up things to take with her to Seikcho. They were prevented from actually leaving.

On the visit to Seikcho when the twins were between 3 and 4—the occasion when U Htun Su heard each twin identify herself in relation to one of the two deceased sisters—Ma San San Nyunt said to him: "I don't want to see you." In November 1980, I asked Ma San San Nyunt how she then felt about U Htun Su. She answered: "I regard him as my son." Then she added that he gambled money. I asked her whether she had forgiven him for gambling. She replied: "I have got over my dislike of him." This was not U Htun Su's view of their relationship. He said, also in November 1980, that both twins—not just Ma San San Nyunt—were not friendly to him.

On a later visit to Seikcho, when she and her sister were about 8, Ma Nyunt Nyunt San noted alterations in the house of Daw Aye Phyu and complained: "My house is being demolished." (Daw Thein Yin gave slightly variant versions of this statement in 1978 and 1979; she was not a direct witness for the statement, which she learned about from the older twin, Ma San San Nyunt.) I did not obtain a definite verification of this remark from the informants in Seikcho. Probably what Ma Nyunt Nyunt San noticed was not that Daw Aye Phyu's house was being demolished, but that it was being repaired. The houses in this part of Burma need their sidings and roofs replaced about every 5 years; and as the posts on which they are supported rot away, they are sometimes cut off at the ground level, and the whole house is then lowered. U Htun Su told us that the roof and the siding had been replaced on Daw Aye Phyu's house after her death. Ma Nyunt Nyunt San may have witnessed some of these replacements being made to Daw Aye Phyu's house. Seeing repairs of this kind being made, a child might well think that the house was being destroyed. Ma Nyunt Nyunt San may have seen this particular house on a previous visit to Seikcho. I am not asserting that she recognized the house paranormally on the occasion when she made the remark about "my house" being demolished. The episode, however, minimally indicates her sense of proprietorship with regard to this house.

Both twins were notably devout Buddhists, and their older sister, Ma Mya Nyunt, thought them more pious than other children of their age. In her opinion, however, they were not more devout than she herself, and their piety might have derived from her example.

The twins differed in two respects that corresponded with differences in the personalities of the sisters of Seikcho whose lives they remembered. Ma Nyunt Nyunt San was more active than her sister, and she tended also to be the dominant member of the pair. Daw Aye Phyu, as the oldest sister of her family, had been its dominant member; and she was said also to have been more active than her younger sister, Daw Sapai.

In some other features of personality about which I enquired, no definite differences between the twins emerged from the statements of the witnesses. The twins' mother and older sister thought that Ma San San Nyunt was more intelli-

gent than her twin sister. This difference did not accord with judgments I heard about the intelligences of the Seikcho sisters. Their granddaughter and grandniece thought that Daw Aye Phyu had been more intelligent than Daw Sapai. Intelligence is only crudely related to continuing in school and success there. I do not think that we necessarily need to modify our opinions about the relative intelligences of the twins because Ma Nyunt Nyunt San fell behind her sister in school in 1978. In that year she was in the fourth Standard class while Ma San San Nyunt was in the fifth class. In 1979 we learned that Ma Nyunt Nyunt San had passed the examination at the end of the fourth Standard class and had then stopped attending school, while her sister continued. The twins' older sister, Ma Mya Nyunt, said that Ma Nyunt Nyunt San had said she wished to leave school in order to save the family from expenses on her behalf and so that she could help in housework at home; in confirmation, Daw Thein Yin said that she needed Ma Nyunt Nyunt San's help at home.

Ma San San Nyunt's and Ma Nyunt Nyunt San's Appearances

In Chapter 24 I described and discussed the difference in facial appearance between the twins and the similarities of their faces to those of the two sisters whose lives they remembered.

Ma Nyunt Nyunt San had a rather long and ovoid face with comparatively narrow palpebral fissures. Ma San San Nyunt had a much rounder face, and her palpebral fissures were wider. These differences corresponded to differences in the facial appearances of the two sisters whose lives they remembered. I think I showed with the photographs reproduced in Chapter 24 (Figures 24-14, 24-15, and 24-16) that the faces of the twins had a closer resemblance to the faces of the elderly women whose lives they remembered than they had to each other.

In other respects also the twins differed physically from each other during the years 1978-80. Ma San San Nyunt was shorter than her younger sister, but heavier. Daw Sapai had been heavier than her older sister, Daw Aye Phyu, but also taller. I observed the twins during their middle teens, and their relative heights and weights at this period may not have been those they have as fully grown adults.

Another physical difference between the twins, to which I also drew attention earlier (in Chapter 22) was the darker complexion of Ma Nyunt Nyunt San compared with her sister. In this difference the twins resembled the two sisters whose lives they remembered.

The Zygosity of Ma San San Nyunt and Ma Nyunt Nyunt San

Daw Thein Yin said that she had only one placenta delivered at the time of the twins' birth, but this is not conclusive evidence indicating that the twins were monozygotic, because (as I explained earlier) some dizygotic twins have fused placentas that have a gross appearance of being a single placenta (Cameron, 1968; Strong and Corney, 1967).

The twins' fingerprints, which I examined, were different. Here again, as I explained in the introduction to this chapter, we had no certain indication of zygosity, because monozygotic twins have different fingerprints. The twins did not resemble each other in physique or facial appearance. (The difference in physique might be related to their different physical conditions at birth; as I mentioned earlier, Ma Nyunt Nyunt San was frail at her birth, and her life almost despaired of.) Their facial dissimilarity also does not weigh decisively in favor of dizygosity, as I explained earlier in this chapter. I showed that Indika and Kakshappa Ishwara were monozygotic twins with distinctly different faces.

I am inclined to think that Ma San San Nyunt and Ma Nyunt Nyunt San were dizygotic twins, but I offer this opinion without any assurance that it is correct.

Comment

This case existed unnoticed by anyone outside the persons immediately concerned until we stumbled upon it accidentally on a visit to Yanaung during the study of a completely unrelated case. Even that indefatigable and knowledgeable collector of cases in the region of Pyawbwe, U Nu, had never heard of this one before a colleague of U Bo Kay brought it to our attention. Cases existing obscurely like this one, and that of the Ven. U Sandimar, about which we learned during one of our return journeys from Yanaung to Pyawbwe, have convinced me that cases unknown to these investigations may far exceed in number those that have happened to fall within our view.

The families concerned in the case were related, lived not far from each other, and were united by affection. So far as I know, the twins said nothing about the lives of Daw Aye Phyu and Daw Sapai that their parents did not know or might not have learned at one time. Some of the interest and value of the case derives from the personation by the twins of the two sisters of Seikcho. Their parents certainly did not require this of them and did not encourage or condone threats of the twins to "return" to Seikcho. The main importance of the case, however, arises from the similarities between the different faces of the twins and those of the elderly women whose lives they remembered.

THE CASE OF MA KHIN SAN TIN AND MA KHIN SAN YIN

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Ma Khin San Tin and Ma Khin San Yin were Burmese female twins who were born on November 17, 1959, in Minlan village, which is about 3 kilometers south of Pyawbwe in Upper Burma. Their parents were U Chit Htwe and Daw Khin Kyi. The twins had seven siblings, five older than they and two younger. U

Chit Htwe was a blacksmith. Ma Khin San Tin was 5 minutes older than Ma Khin San Yin. I believe the twins were probably dizygotic and will discuss their zygosity in a later section of this report.

Ma Khin San Yin was observed to have had a scarlike area of hairlessness on her head, and this was apparently congenital. She seems not, however, to have pointed to it or otherwise related it to a wound in a previous life.

The twins began speaking coherently when they were about 3 years old. They began at about this time to make statements referring to previous lives in which they were Japanese brothers who were soldiers in the Japanese Army killed during the fighting in Burma of World War II. They said they had been killed near the house where they were born. They showed masculine traits and also behavior that I have characterized as "Japanese." They were strongly attached to each other, and this closeness was persisting into their late teens when we investigated their cases.

The twins did not like to speak about the previous lives they remembered. Indeed, they were positively secretive. Their mother told us that she had not heard earlier some of the details brought out in our investigations.

U Nu, to whose assistance in the study of many cases of Upper Burma I have frequently referred, learned about this case and made a preliminary investigation of it in October 1976. At that time he recorded lengthy statements from Ma Khin San Tin and Ma Khin San Yin. To these he added some notes by himself, because as a young man he had been an eyewitness of the bombing of Minlan village in 1945.

In February 1977 U Win Maung and I (with U Nu) went to Minlan village, where we met and interviewed Ma Khin San Tin and Ma Khin San Yin and their mother, Daw Khin Kyi. In March 1978 we returned to Minlan and increased our information about the twins' unusual behavior, which I shall describe below.

In April 1979 U Nu went to Minlan by himself and recorded a detailed statement from Daw Khin Kyi about her memories of the bombing of Minlan village during the Japanese retreat from Upper Burma about the time of the fall of Pyawbwe to the British. (See Appendix B.)

We did not interview the twins' father, U Chit Htwe, and I have no note explaining this omission. We asked the twins' older brother Maung Kyaw whether he could add information about the case; but he was 17 years older than they and contributed nothing to our stock. An older woman of the village, Daw San Mai, had heard the twins talking about the previous lives when they were young, and she told us what she remembered of their statements.

In November 1991, U Nu, at my request, met and interviewed Ma Khin San Yin and learned something about the twins' further development.

The Bombing of Minlan Village in April 1945

After the British Army captured Meiktila on March 3, 1945, they advanced south toward Pyawbwe against strong resistance by the retreating Japanese Army. The British were able almost to encircle Pyawbwe by sending columns to its west

and to cut the road south of Pyawbwe and north of Yamethin. They thus captured Pyawbwe on April 10.

The Japanese defended many of the villages around Pyawbwe, and the Burmese often left the villages to take shelter from the fighting elsewhere. Daw Khin Kyi was 22 years old at the time, and she remembered in 1979 that she and her entire family moved out of Minlan to a place near Lunpontha pagoda that was about 2 kilometers east of Minlan. U Chit Htwe's father, U Shwe Thi, remained in Minlan to look after the house as best he could. At about 3 o'clock one afternoon, five or six (Allied) airplanes came over Minlan, dropped bombs, and machine-gunned the village. As the airplanes approached the village, U Shwe Thi saw two fully-armed Japanese soldiers running from the west toward two tamarind trees that were southwest of the house. U Shwe Thi thought the Japanese soldiers were going to kill him, and he quickly jumped into a sheltering trench, which the family had earlier dug to the southeast of the house. After the attack, U Shwe Thi emerged from the trench and found the entire village in flames. He then saw that the two Japanese soldiers had been killed. Their weapons—hand grenades, rifles, and knives[20]—were lying near them. He was too frightened to approach them and instead ran almost immediately to join the rest of the family at their refuge near Lunpontha pagoda.

Three days later the family went back to Minlan to learn what had happened to their house. It had been entirely burned. A creeper that had been growing on the tamarind trees had been completely destroyed, but the trees themselves were still standing. The bodies of the Japanese soldiers had been removed. Japanese trucks in the village had been destroyed, and the appearance of some of the bodies of the Japanese soldiers suggested that they had been burned to death. Their weapons had been taken (probably by Burmese villagers).

Daw Khin Kyi's account of U Shwe Thi's observation of the Japanese soldiers was secondhand information, but it is the best we have. U Nu himself, however, confirmed from his own observation that Japanese soldiers had been occupying Minlan when Allied airplanes came over, attacked it fiercely, and left it in flames. He remembered that 12 airplanes (instead of five or six) had been involved in the attack; but U Shwe Thi had said that he could not remember the exact number of airplanes that he saw.

The tamarind trees, which figure in the twins' statements, were only about 10 meters from the house. The house had been rebuilt afterward, and when we were in Minlan in the 1970s, we were shown the place where U Shwe Thi had observed the Japanese soldiers who had been killed in the attack on the village.

If we accept the foregoing accounts of the bombing of Minlan and the deaths of the two Japanese soldiers near the house of the twins' families, we can date their deaths to within a few days of the fall of Pyawbwe on April 10, 1945.

[20]Here I will explain again that the Burmese word *dah* may refer to any implement or weapon—from a kitchen knife to a military sword—with a blade. It is likely that the Japanese soldiers were carrying not what we would call knives, but bayonets, swords, or both.

Statements Made by Ma Khin San Tin and Ma Khin San Yin

The twins began speaking to each other in a language other family members could not understand. They appear to have talked to each other about the previous lives, but said little or nothing until later childhood to members of their family. They did confide, however, to Daw San Mai, a villager unrelated to the family. She remembered in 1978 that they had said that in previous lives they had been brothers who were in the Japanese Army and they had died just west of the house (where they were born). To members of their own family they had asked to be taken to Japan.

Statements Made by the Twins in 1976. U Nu obtained from the twins themselves the fullest account of what they remembered that they seem ever to have given to anyone before his interview.

The twins—whom he interviewed together, as we did later—said that they remembered something of their early life in Japan, although they did not remember any names of persons or places in Japan, including those of the persons whose lives they remembered.

They said that they had been brothers without other siblings. The older, whose life Ma Khin San Tin remembered, had been 3 years older than his younger brother, whose life Ma Khin San Yin remembered. Both had studied in school up to the seventh grade. When the older brother was 15 years old and the younger 12, their father died; thereafter, they lived with their mother, of whom they were extremely fond. She had some independent means and did not need to work. They recalled that their home in Japan faced to the south and had a corrugated iron roof. They did not think they could recognize where they had lived if they should be taken back to Japan (which they had earlier requested).

When the older brother was 18, he decided to join the Japanese Army. He was not conscripted, but volunteered. His younger brother did not wish to be separated from him, and so he too, despite their mother's entreaties and attempt to forbid him, enlisted in the Army. In the words of U Nu's notes: "He was determined to live or die together with his brother." They both thought it was admirable to die for their country. They had 1 year of military training and were then sent abroad. They did not remember where they had first gone for service overseas.

They remembered fighting in Burma. At that time the older brother was 25 and the younger 22; neither had married. The older brother had an insignia of three lines and three stars, and the younger wore only one star.[21] They were armed with long swords, revolvers, and grenades. They served in the same unit and were always together. Ma Khin San Yin said that the younger brother, whose life she

[21]These details are accurate for Japanese soldiers so far as they go. Stars were part of the insignia of their officers, and one with three stars would be higher in rank than one with one star. Without more detail, however, one could not tell positively whether the soldiers were commissioned officers or non-commissioned ones. U Nu said that the older brother's insignia was that of a captain, the younger brother's that of a lance-corporal.

remembered, was less serious but braver than his older brother. (I have no note stating whether Ma Khin San Tin agreed or disagreed with these claims.)

Of the fighting in Burma the twins recalled the Japanese retreat from Meiktila to the Pyawbwe area, where they found themselves in Minlan village. They remembered that one evening many airplanes came over and dropped bombs on the village. A third Japanese soldier had joined them, and the three together ran for shelter to two tamarind trees west of the house (where the twins were born). They sprawled on the ground in the small space between the trees.

The twins said that they (the Japanese brothers) were killed, but their friend escaped. They thought that they had been killed by the explosion of their own grenades. When this happened, they thought of their aged mother in Japan and even called for her help as they were dying.

They then—after dying—found themselves instantly in Japan, where they saw their mother. They could not, however, communicate with her, and she did not see them. They felt sad and frustrated. They did not remember what happened to them after that until, at the age of about 3, they began to remember the previous lives "as if they were awakened from a dream."

Comment. U Shwe Thi (according to Daw Khin Kyi) remembered that the bombing raid had occurred in the middle of the afternoon; but the twins placed it "in the evening." Also, U Shwe Thi recalled seeing only two Japanese soldiers run to the tamarind trees and did not mention the third soldier who figured as a companion to the brothers in the twins' memories. I could reconcile this latter discrepancy by supposing that the third soldier might have been somewhat apart from the brothers; and he might also have luckily escaped injury, left the area of the tamarind tree, and gone elsewhere before U Shwe Thi emerged from the trench where he had hidden. U Shwe Thi would then have observed the bodies of only two Japanese soldiers.

If the twins' account of the third Japanese soldier could be verified—now impossible—their knowledge that he had not been killed when the village had been bombed would have to be subsumed in the category of information about events happening after the death of the previous personality.

Ma Khin San Tin's and Ma Khin San Yin's Behavior Related to the Previous Lives

Circumstances and Manner of the Twins' Speaking about the Previous Lives. I have already mentioned that the twins when young spoke to each other about the previous life; and they spoke to an old villager who was not a family member, Daw San Mai. They seem, however, to have said little to members of their own family. They did not confide fully in their family until they were 13 years old.

Their reluctance to talk about the previous lives derived from the extremely unpleasant emotion that activation of their memories—especially of the Japanese soldiers' mother—aroused in them. During U Nu's interview with them—and I

am sure he was gentle in his inquiry—they burst into tears. It seems that the interview was the first occasion when anyone had taken a deep interest in their memories. The more U Nu encouraged them to talk, the more he naturally revived the memories, which they found depressing.

As I mentioned earlier, the twins began speaking with each other in a language that no other member of the family understood. After they had communicated some of the memories of previous lives as Japanese soldiers, other family members assumed that they had been speaking Japanese to each other; but no one verified this.

When the twins learned to speak Burmese, Ma Khin San Yin spoke it poorly. She spoke Burmese incorrectly especially when angry.

The Twins' Nostalgia for Japan. The twins asked to be taken back to Japan, even though they did not claim that they could find the home they remembered there. Their requests to go to Japan continued until they were about 16 years old.

The Twins' Masculine Behavior. Both the twins wished to wear boys' clothes when they were young. They wore shorts and shirts. They wore such clothes until the age of 10, when family members asked them to stop and they began to wear girls' clothes. Ma Khin San Tin adapted earlier to wearing girls' clothes than Ma Khin San Yin. Even at the age of 17, in 1977, Ma Khin San Yin would have preferred to wear a boy's shirt (instead of a girl's blouse); but her older brother had rebuked her for this behavior, and she had yielded.

The Twins' "Japanese" Traits. The twins showed a group of traits that I characterize as "Japanese," because they are (or were) observed much more frequently among Japanese people than among Burmese people. For Ma Khin San Tin and Ma Khin San Yin these traits included:

a) animosity toward the British (and Americans);
b) a preference for wearing trousers instead of the Burmese longyi;
c) complaints about the heat in Burma;
d) complaints about the spiciness of the food in Burma with a preference for sweet foods, such as jaggery, and strong tea;
e) insensitivity to pain;
f) tendency toward hot temper and cruelty; when angry they would slap the face of anyone who annoyed them, behavior observed frequently among the Japanese soldiers in Burma;
g) industriousness.

Differences in the Twins' Behaviors

Ma Khin San Tin and Ma Khin San Yin showed important differences as well as similarities in their behavior. According to their mother, Daw Khin Kyi, Ma Khin San Yin was less adaptable to "life in Burma" than Ma Khin San Tin. For example, she spoke Burmese less well and complained about the food more. She also persisted in wearing boys' clothes for longer than her older sister. In addition, Ma Khin San Yin was more quarrelsome than her older sister. Daw Khin Kyi said of her: "She is the boss of the house."

Ma Khin San Tin thought that she had had more memories of the previous lives than her younger sister had had.

Other Relevant Observations of the Twins' Behavior

Most twins are closer to each other than they are to other members of their family. In the present case this mutual attachment seems to have been even stronger than it is with most other twins.

Unlike some Burmese subjects who remembered previous lives as Japanese soldiers, the twins did not resist learning the Burmese form of Buddhist worship; and both were pious.

Ma Khin San Tin's and Ma Khin San Yin's Appearances

In 1977 Ma Khin San Tin was 3-4 centimeters taller than Ma Khin San Yin. (They said this disparity corresponded to the different heights of the Japanese brothers whose lives they remembered.)

U Nu said that Ma Khin San Yin "looked like a Japanese," and in support of this judgment said that her hair was "rather reddish" and her irides brown. He also remarked on her comparatively fair skin. Here I need to explain that U Nu was almost completely blind, and he must have based his statement about the "Japanese" appearance of Ma Khin San Yin on observations of one of his nephews or nieces; one of them invariably accompanied him when he moved about to assist him and to take notes. I also think that a slip in translation occurred in the reference to "rather reddish" hair; Ma Khin San Yin's hair seemed to me as black as her sister's.

Figures 25-16 and 25-17 show the appearances of the twins in February 1977. Ma Khin San Yin's complexion was fairer than her sister's and her irides were lighter. I have already disclaimed competence for myself in judging when a Burmese person looks more like a Japanese one than like other Burmese persons. I believe, however, that Ma Khin San Yin's eyes have more of a Mongolian form than those of her sister. Readers may wish to compare the photographs of the twins with those of four other Burmese subjects who remembered a previous life as Japanese soldiers; I included these in Chapter 24 (Figures 24-9, 24-10, 24-11, and 24-12).

Ma Khin San Yin had a small scarlike area of hairlessness near the top of her head; but neither she nor anyone else said that it corresponded to a wound on the Japanese soldier whose life she remembered.

Other Relevant Medical Information

In the 3rd month of her pregnancy Daw Khin Kyi became ill; and she remained ill during the remainder of the pregnancy. Her delivery, however, was not particularly difficult. After the twins' birth, she continued ill for another 2

Figure 25-16 Ma Khin San Yin (left) and Ma Khin San Tin (right) as they were in February 1977, when they were 17 years old.

years and remained in the hospital during this period. When I asked her about her symptoms, she mentioned having a "swollen body," a cough, and a tired feeling. I do not offer a diagnosis for her condition.

The twins began to menstruate—within a few days of each other—at the age of 14.

The Zygosity of the Twins

Daw Khin Kyi said that she delivered two placentas. Although this suggests that the twins were dizygotic, it is not conclusive, as I explained earlier, because monozygotic twins may sometimes each have a placenta. I am inclined to think the twins are dizygotic because their statures and facial appearances were dissimilar. (As I also explained earlier, however, monozygotic twins may have dissimilar physical appearances.) I regret not having evidence of the twins' zygosity from serological determinations. Figures 25-16 and 25-17 show the twins as they were

Figure 25-17 Heads and shoulders of Ma Khin San Yin (left) and Ma Khin San Tin (right) to show the dissimilarity of their faces. Ma Khin San Yin had a distinctly fairer complexion than Ma Khin San Tin. Her eyes were also more Mongolian than those of her sister.

in February 1977, when they were a few months more than 17 years old. Readers may make their own judgments about resemblances between them.

The Twins' Later Development

In 1978, when I last met Ma Khin San Tin and Ma Khin San Yin, they said that they could still remember how, after dying in the previous lives, they had returned to Japan.

Daw Khin Kyi said that Ma Khin San Yin still spoke Burmese incorrectly when she became angry. She also said that the twins were still as closely attached to each other as they had been earlier.

Since our previous visit in 1977, Ma Khin San Yin had been found to have a cancer of a breast. This was operated upon with apparent success. For the operation she had to have an anesthetic, and she thought this had caused her memories of the previous life to fade. Ma Khin San Tin, however, said that her memories were also fading.

In November 1991, Ma Khin San Tin told U Nu that she had married at the age of 25 (in about 1985) and since had had four children, of whom only one had survived infancy. (The surviving child, a boy, was then 4 years old.) Ma Khin San Yin had not married and lived at home.

The twins were still close to each other and at least for a time they stayed together whenever Ma Khin San Tin's husband had to be away from home. Ma Khin San Tin said that she still liked sweet food. She also told U Nu: "Sometimes when I am angered, I feel like a man."

Ma Khin San Tin seemed to preserve some imaged memories of the life in Japan, but with one exception U Nu did not learn details of these. Ma Khin San Tin told him that she had remembered having been married (as a man) in the previous life and having had children. When U Nu asked her why she had had a different memory earlier (when she had said that she had been unmarried), Ma Khin San Tin replied that the experience of having children in the present life had revived memories of being a parent in the previous one.

Comment

This case comes as close to being verified as any among the group of Burmese children who remembered the previous lives of Japanese soldiers killed in Burma.

Fourteen years elapsed between the bombing of Minlan with the killing of two Japanese soldiers under the tamarind tree by the house of the twins' family and the twins' births. Another 3 years elapsed before they began speaking and another 10 before, at the age of 13, they fully revealed what they said they remembered of the lives of the Japanese soldiers killed under the tamarind tree. The case received no publicity outside its immediate environs. U Nu had a home at Sardaung village, which is on the southern outskirts of Pyawbwe, and Minlan village is only 2-3 kilometers from it. Information about the case reached U Nu, but probably went no farther. I think it is highly unlikely that the twins' family would have inculcated in them either their statements about the previous lives or the masculine and "Japanese" behavior that accorded closely with their statements.

THE CASE OF MAUNG AUNG KO THEIN AND MAUNG AUNG CHO THEIN

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Maung Aung Ko Thein and Maung Aung Cho Thein were born on July 5, 1970, in Moulmein, Burma. Their parents were U Hla Thein and his wife, Daw Khin Kyi. They later had one other child, another son. U Hla Thein was an engineer employed in a government department. He was Burmese, but Daw Khin Kyi was three-quarters Chinese.

Maung Aung Ko Thein was the older of the twins. Daw Khin Kyi said that there had been two placentas, and this together with the different facial appearances of the twins, suggests—but does not prove—that they were dizygotic.

Neither of the twins ever spoke spontaneously about a previous life, but Maung Aung Ko Thein once made two statements in response to a direct question from his grandmother.

The twins' parents identified each of them as the reincarnation of a particular person on the basis of two announcing dreams, birthmarks on Maung Aung Ko Thein, and marked differences in their behavior that corresponded with traits of the presumed previous personalities. These were: for Maung Aung Ko Thein an Indian paddy farmer, Sunder Ram; and for Maung Aung Cho Thein, the owner of a mill, Daw Hla May, to whom the Indian paddy farmer sold his rice. (Maung Aung Cho Thein's case is thus one of sex change.)

Our informant for this case was Dr. Saw Ba Heng, a close friend of U Win Maung. He was a cousin of the twins' grandmother. U Win Maung made a preliminary investigation of the case in December 1976 and sent me a report about it the following year. In May 1978 U Win Maung visited the family again and photographed the twins, but he did not obtain any additional information about their cases at that time.

In 1980 U Win Maung and I returned to the case, and twice in that year (in March and December) we met the twins and their parents at their house in Rangoon, to which they had moved from their home on the island of Balugyun, where they had spent the first part of their lives and where the previous personalities had lived. Balugyun is a large island of Burma, off the coast near Moulmein. (It figured prominently in the case of Maung Aung Than.)

I have not met the twins since 1980.

The investigation of this case has the weakness that Daw Khin Kyi was the only informant for the life of Sunder Ram. We had stronger testimony about the life of Daw Hla May. She was known not only to Daw Khin Kyi, but also to Dr. Saw Ba Heng, whose mother was Daw Hla May's older sister. Dr. Saw Ba Heng accompanied U Win Maung and me to our second interviews of 1980. I am sure that he would have intervened if the twins' parents had said anything about her that he believed was incorrect. In addition, U Hla Thein had known Daw Hla May when he was a schoolboy.

Most of our information about the twins' behavior also came from Daw Khin Kyi. U Hla Thein was present, however, during our interviews with her in 1980, and he listened to his wife's statements and contributed information from time to time.

The Life, Death, and Character of Daw Hla May

Daw Hla May was born in about 1909 on Balugyun Island, where she lived all her life. Her parents were U Saing Hpu and his wife, Daw Thi. They were Chinese. U Saing Hpu owned two rice mills, which were run as a family business. At one time Dr. Saw Ba Heng's mother managed one of the mills, which was at a place called Kwanthe. Daw Hla May bought the rice for the Kwanthe mill from the farmers. In this capacity she would have had frequent dealings with Sunder Ram, who sold his paddy to the mill and also carted paddy to the mill for other

farmers. The mill was the only one for that part of Balugyun Island. This circumstance made the family wealthy and powerful in the community.

Daw Hla May lived at a village called Hpa-ya-gyi-gone, which is about 2-3 kilometers north of Kwanthe, where the mill was.

Daw Khin Kyi was Daw Hla May's "niece." I have put the relationship in quotation marks, because Daw Khin Kyi was unable to specify exactly how she and Daw Hla May were related, and her mother, Daw Ngwe Zin, who could have done this, was away when we tried to clarify the genealogy.

Apart from the family relationship, however, Daw Khin Kyi was close to her aunt; and when Daw Hla May became ill (with hypertension and diabetes), she first took over her part in the mill business and then moved in with Daw Hla May and nursed her until she died. Daw Hla May died in the arms of Daw Khin Kyi. She died in Moulmein in about 1958.

Daw Hla May remained a spinster all her life. She had no interest in men. Dr. Saw Ba Heng remembered her as "quiet, pious, businesslike."

Daw Hla May told Daw Khin Kyi—just when I did not learn—that she wanted to be reborn as a man. She said that she was "fed up with being a woman" and that "women have excessive responsibilities in looking after men."

The Life, Death, and Character of Sunder Ram

Sunder Ram was an Indian who was born in about 1919. I do not know his birthplace. He lived at Natinhaw village on the island of Balugyun.

Sunder Ram owned some farmland, where he grew rice. In addition to growing his own rice, he engaged in carting the rice of other farmers to the mill at Kwanthe, which Daw Hla May's family owned. The mill was located about 5 kilometers south of his farm. Hpa-ya-gyi-gone, where Daw Hla May lived, is about halfway between Natinhaw and Kwanthe. Thus Sunder Ram lived only about 2-3 kilometers from Daw Hla May.

Because Daw Khin Kyi took over much of Daw Hla May's business affairs when she became ill, Daw Khin Kyi had business dealings with Sunder Ram. (She had probably known him earlier.) They became business associates and also good friends.

Early in 1969 U Hla Thein and Daw Khin Kyi married, and they moved to Rangoon at about the same time. Soon afterward they learned that Sunder Ram had become ill. He was apparently also in poor economic circumstances, perhaps because he could no longer work. U Hla Thein and Daw Khin Kyi sent food to him.

Sunder Ram died in Balugyun—we estimated in May 1969—at the age of about 50. His death was attributed to "illness and old age." (In fact, 50 might seem an old age for a Burmese farmer [of his time] in poor economic circumstances and without access to good medical care.)

Daw Khin Kyi remembered Sunder Ram as "quiet, honest, and hardworking."

In March 1980 Daw Khin Kyi said that she had not noticed a hole (for an earring) in Sunder Ram's ear. At our meeting in December 1980, however, she

said that he did have a hole in his ear, where he might have worn an earring; but she did not remember ever seeing him wear an earring.

Two Announcing Dreams

About 5 months after Sunder Ram's death, Daw Khin Kyi dreamed that Sunder Ram walked into her house. The dream troubled her, and she was much afraid that a child she might have would be "dark-skinned and Indianlike." She did not tell anyone about the dream then. She conceived at about that time and awaited the outcome of her pregnancy with apprehension.

About a month after the first dream, she had another dream in which her aunt Daw Hla May forcibly jumped into bed with her and her husband.

Later in her pregnancy, an x-ray examination showed, or confirmed a conjecture, that Daw Khin Kyi would give birth to twins.

Statements Made by Maung Aung Ko Thein

As I mentioned, neither twin said anything about a previous life spontaneously. One day, however, Daw Khin Kyi's mother, Daw Ngwe Zin, asked Maung Aung Ko Thein to tell her about his previous life. He replied: "I grew plants. I also carted agricultural produce."

Comment. I do not know how old Maung Aung Ko Thein was when he made these statements. Their vocabulary is not that of a very young child, but the words were no doubt upgraded as they passed from Daw Ngwe Zin to Daw Khin Kyi, then to U Win Maung, and finally to me.

Maung Aung Ko Thein's and Maung Aung Cho Thein's Behavior Related to the Previous Lives

I believe it will help readers if I describe the behavior of each twin separately while at the same time making some comparisons between them. In Table 25-14 I have summarized the important differences between their behaviors and also listed significant physical differences.

Maung Aung Ko Thein's Unusual Behavior. Some of Maung Aung Ko Thein's behavior that I next describe would not be considered remarkable in a Burmese family, except in contrast to that of his twin brother. The important traits were that: He was inclined to be frugal, whereas his brother spent money more freely; he had little interest in food, but showed a fondness for curries, whereas his brother liked good food and made suggestions about menus showing that food was important for him; and he was submissive, talked little, and allowed his younger brother to be the leader and even bossy.

Maung Aung Cho Thein's Unusual Behavior. Apart from being different from—one might almost say the opposite of—Maung Aung Ko Thein in the traits just mentioned, Maung Aung Cho Thein showed some feminine behavior.

Table 25-14 **Summary of Differences in Behavior between Maung Aung Ko Thein and Maung Aung Cho Thein and Correspondences with Their Presumed Previous Personalities**

Sunder Ram	*Maung Aung Ko Thein*	*Maung Aung Cho Thein*	*Daw Hla May*
1. Indian (dark complexion)	a) Darker in complexion b) More hairy than his brother	a) Lighter in complexion b) Less hairy than his brother	Chinese (fair complexion)
2. Male	Nothing unusual about dressing	Cross-dressing when young; wanted earrings and bangles	Female
3. May have worn earrings in helices of his ears	Birthmarks on helices of ears	No birthmark	Wore earrings, presumably in lobes of her ears
4. Rice farmer and small trader; economically relatively poor	Frugal	Inclined to spend money freely	Mill owner; wealthy
5. Inferior socio-economic status	Submissive; quiet and reserved	Bossy; dominant; voluble	Superior socio-economic status
6. Accustomed to simple meals	Not fussy about food	Fussy about food; interested in menus	Accustomed to good food and its preparation
7. Being an Indian, was almost certainly fond of curry (but this was not verified)	Fond of curry; no special desire for pork	Not fond of curry; fond of pork	Was fond of pork

Figure 25-18 Maung Aung Ko Thein (left) and Maung Aung Cho Thein (right), as they appeared in March 1980, when they were nearly 10 years old. Maung Aung Ko Thein can be seen to have a slightly darker complexion than his twin brother. With the twins is their younger brother, Maung That Soe.

As a child he had wished to dress in fine clothes and had asked for girls' clothes, earrings, and bangles. I did not learn when Maung Aung Ko Thein ceased wishing to cross-dress; but he was wearing a longyi and boy's shirt (like his brother) when U Win Maung first photographed them in May 1978.

Maung Aung Cho Thein also showed some preoccupation with good food and the choice of the right food for meals; he suggested menus to his mother. (His relatively strong interest in food was regarded as a feminine trait.)

Maung Aung Ko Thein's and Maung Aung Cho Thein's Appearances

Maung Aung Ko Thein had a darker complexion than his brother. This was still apparent in 1980, and Figure 25-18 shows the difference in the twins' statures and complexions. The latter difference was not great, but discernible nevertheless. Maung Aung Ko Thein was also more hairy than his brother. (Indians have darker complexions and are hairier than Chinese and Burmese persons.)

Maung Aung Cho Thein was (in 1980) several centimeters taller than Maung Aung Ko Thein. I did not learn whether Daw Hla May had been taller than Sunder Ram.

Maung Aung Ko Thein's Birthmarks. Daw Khin Kyi and U Hla Thein gave different statements about birthmarks on the helices of Maung Aung Ko

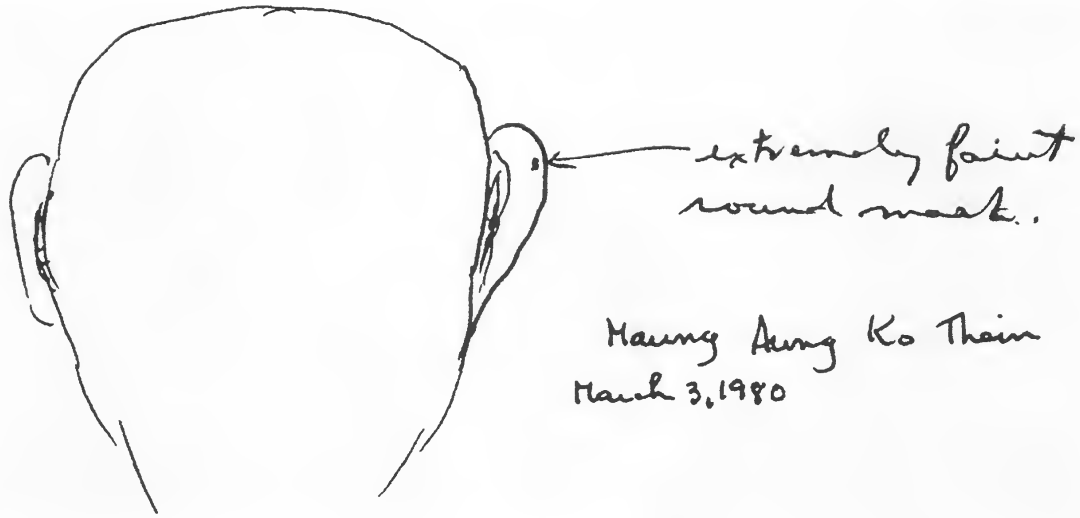

Figure 25-19 Sketch of ears of Maung Aung Ko Thein showing location and approximate size (in March 1980) of a small round area of hyperpigmentation in the helix of the right ear.

Thein's ears when he was born. In 1976 (talking with U Win Maung) Daw Khin Kyi said that he had birthmarks on both of his ears that corresponded to the places where Indians wear earrings. In 1980 she said that he had a birthmark on only one ear. U Hla Thein (also in 1980) agreed that there was a mark on one ear only, but he remembered that a hole penetrated the ear.

In March 1980, when I first examined Maung Aung Ko Thein's ears, I could discern a faint but distinct small round birthmark on the helix of Maung Aung Ko Thein's right ear. It was in the upper part of the helix approximately where the birthmarks on Maung Nyunt (Figures 8-13 and 8-14) and Ma Htwe Yin (Figures 8-15 and 8-16) were. It was so faint that although I sketched it (Figure 25-19), I did not try to photograph it. In December 1980, when I looked for it again, I could not find it.

So far as I know, Indian males of northern India and Burma wore (and sometimes still wear) earrings in the helices of the ears. Figure 8-12 shows such an earring worn by a Brahmin farmer of Uttar Pradesh, India. Figures 8-13 and 8-14 show the birthmarks on Maung Nyunt's ears that were said to correspond to holes pierced for earrings in the Indian pony-cart driver whose (unverified) life he remembered. Ma Htwe Yin had birthmarks on her ears in a similar location (Figures 8-15 and 8-16), and they too were said to correspond to holes pierced for earrings, in her case in an Indian milkman.

Comment

A skeptic could dismiss this case as entirely the product of Daw Khin Kyi's wish to think that two close friends had been reborn as her children. According to this interpretation, the case would have started with the announcing dreams and

progressed to claims by Daw Khin Kyi of observing behavioral traits in the twins that corresponded with known behavior in the assumed previous personalities. I admit the force of this explanation, but it also has obstacles blocking its easy acceptance. What are we to make of Daw Khin Kyi's claim that she positively did not want Sunder Ram to come into her family as a "dark-skinned Indianlike" person? Was that mere play-acting? And how are we to explain the fact that Maung Aung Ko Thein was comparatively hairy and dark-complexioned? Why did he have at least one birthmark on an ear? What also is to be made of Daw Khin Kyi's statements about Maung Aung Cho Thein's cross-dressing? Did she simply add this detail as coloration to her fantasies?

The twins' parents had made no attempt to force them to speak about the previous lives or even to question them, as Daw Ngwe Zin had once done. Daw Khin Kyi attributed the twins' lack of statements to their having been fed ducks' eggs when young. This was done for nutritional reasons and not to suppress their memories; however, as I explained earlier, ducks' eggs are widely considered in Burma to be curative of memories of previous lives (Foll, 1959), and Daw Khin Kyi believed they had had this effect on the twins.

I cannot deny that Daw Khin Kyi (abetted by U Hla Thein) may have unconsciously heightened the differences between her twin sons, but I do not think that she and her husband made this case out of whole cloth. They certainly had no discernible motive for doing so. The case would have remained totally private, if it had not come to the attention of Dr. Saw Ba Heng, who knew of this research and had helped us with other cases. I believe that Daw Khin Kyi should receive credit for perceptively noticing subtle differences between her twin sons.

THE CASE OF GILLIAN AND JENNIFER POLLOCK

Introduction

This case has a wide variety of features, and I have already described some of the physical features of the subjects in Chapters 23 and 24. I have also published elsewhere a much briefer account of the case than I now present here (Stevenson, 1987).

Summary of the Case and Its Investigation

Gillian and Jennifer Pollock were born in Hexham, Northumberland, England, on October 4, 1958. Their parents were John Pollock and his wife, Florence. Gillian was born 10 minutes before Jennifer. (There was only one placenta and tests of blood groups, which I shall mention later, showed that the twins were monozygotic.) They were the seventh and eighth (and last) children of their parents. At the time the case developed John Pollock owned and managed a small grocery business in Whitley Bay, Northumberland.

During Florence Pollock's pregnancy with the twins, John Pollock was positive that she would have twins, although she herself and her doctor were sure she would not. John Pollock was also convinced that the twins his wife was going to have would be their two deceased daughters reincarnated. These two girls, Joanna and Jacqueline, had been killed on May 5, 1957, by a crazed automobile driver, who deliberately ran her car onto a sidewalk where the girls were walking with another child, a young boy friend. Joanna was 11 and Jacqueline 6 when they were killed.

Immediately after the birth of the twins, Jennifer was found to have a birthmark on her forehead a little to the right of the midline, above the inner aspect of her right eye. Figure 25-20 shows this birthmark on Jennifer's forehead at the time the twins were christened, when they were a few weeks old.

Jennifer had a second birthmark (a flat hyperpigmented nevus) on her left flank (Figure 25-21). This corresponded to a birthmark of similar appearance that Jacqueline had had at the same site.

Gillian and Jennifer were a little slow in acquiring speech, and they did not speak really coherently until they were about 3 years old. Between the ages of 3 and 6 they made a small number of statements and recognitions indicating memories of the lives of Joanna and Jacqueline. They also showed some behavior that corresponded to the different behaviors of Joanna and Jacqueline.

I learned of this case through newspaper publicity that it received in the spring of 1963, and I was able to meet the twins and their parents at their home in Whitley Bay in August of that year. Although I had long interviews with John and Florence Pollock, I found that I had omitted many questions about details. In 1967 I met them again in Scarborough, Yorkshire, to which they had then moved. In the years following I kept in touch with the family through occasional correspondence, but did not meet them again until November 1978. I then went again to Scarborough and learned about the twins' further development. (By this time they were just 20 years old.) In December of the same year I was able to arrange tests of blood groups of the twins and other family members that demonstrated that the twins were monozygotic.

Early in 1979 Florence Pollock died. In the following year Jennifer married. Gillian continued to live with her father. He later married again, and in April 1982 I visited him with his new family (and Gillian). Afterward John Pollock and I continued to exchange letters occasionally until his death in 1985.

Persons Interviewed during the Investigation

During the 1960s, I met Gillian and Jennifer, but had no long talks with them. In 1963 I examined Jennifer's birthmarks on her forehead and waist. The sole informants for their cases were their parents, with both of whom I had long talks. At the time of my meetings with the family in 1978 and 1982, Gillian and Jennifer had grown up, and they entered into discussions of their experiences; however, by then they no longer had any memories of the previous lives.

Figure 25-20 Jennifer (left) and Gillian (right) Pollock with their mother, Florence Pollock, at the time of their christening, when they were a few weeks old. The arrow points to the birthmark on the lower part of Jennifer's forehead.

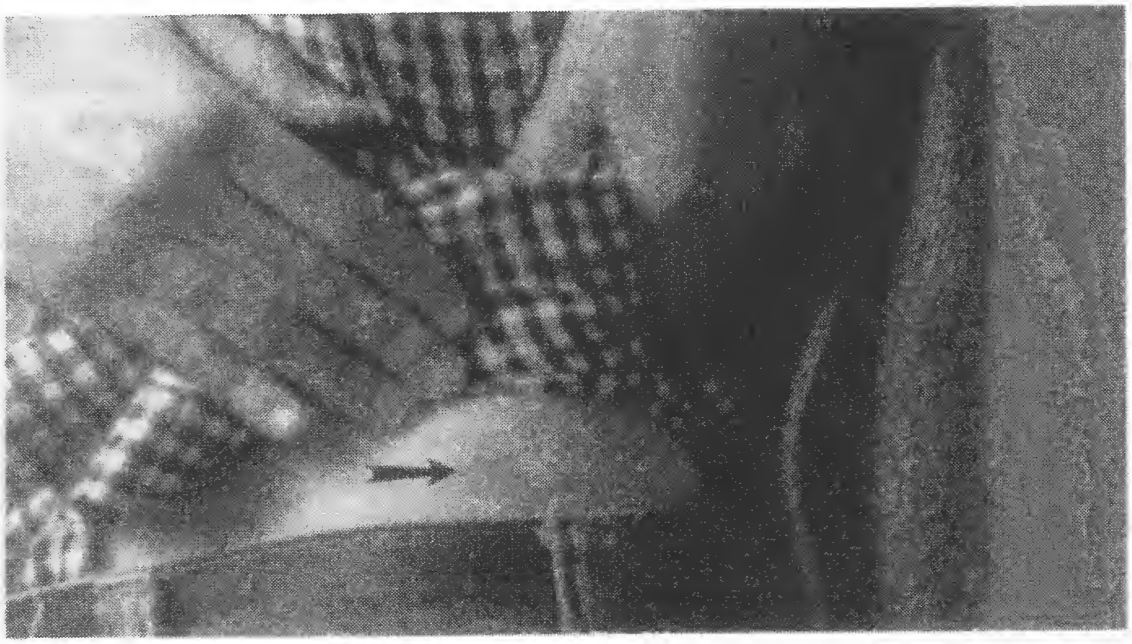

Figure 25-21 Birthmark on the left waist of Jennifer as it appeared in 1978, when she was about 20 years old. It was a roundish area of hyperpigmentation about 1 centimeter in diameter. (Courtesy of London Weekend Television, London, England.)

Relevant Information about the Family Background

John Pollock was born in 1920 in Bristol, England. He was educated up to the completion of secondary school. He was raised in the Church of England until his late teens. He was then briefly a member of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church before he joined the Roman Catholic Church, when he was about 19 years old. Later—I did not learn exactly when—he broke with the Roman Catholic Church, and by 1967 he no longer considered himself an active member of this church. At an early age he developed a strong interest in spiritualism, occultism, and psychical research. He said that he first became interested in reincarnation through reading at the age of 9 a novel by Rider Haggard. He had become a firm believer in reincarnation even before his daughters' tragic deaths.

Florence Pollock's parents were members of the Salvation Army, and she grew up as a member of that group. At about the time of her marriage to John Pollock, she joined the Roman Catholic Church. When he discontinued membership in it, so did she. Her departure was somewhat hastened by unkind letters and snubs she received from fellow parishioners after the twins' case received publicity in newspapers and magazines during the 1960s.

An important difference between the twins' parents is that John Pollock believed strongly in reincarnation before they were born, whereas Florence Pollock did not. She allowed the evidence of the twins' case gradually to work on her, and by the 1970s she had also come to believe in reincarnation.

The Lives and Deaths of Joanna and Jacqueline

Joanna was the third child and first daughter in the family. She was born in Bristol on March 25, 1946. Another son was born after Joanna, and then Jacqueline, who was born in Hexham on April 13, 1951. (The two girls were 5 years apart in age.) When Joanna was about 13 months old, the family moved from Bristol to Newcastle. Thereafter they lived in the region of Newcastle until a later move, in the mid-1960s, to Scarborough. During the lives of Joanna and Jacqueline, Florence Pollock worked with her husband in his business, and the older girls were largely raised by Florence's mother, who lived with the family for about 20 years.

Perhaps because Joanna and Jacqueline were the only girls in a family having four sons (after a fourth son was born in 1955), they were extremely close to each other. One never did anything without the other (despite the disparity in their ages). As the older sister, Joanna tended to "mother" Jacqueline, who, for her part, accepted the attention and leadership of Joanna.

Joanna used to like wearing costumes and acting in little plays that she wrote. She was a generous girl and shared freely whatever she had with her playmates. She was fond of other children, not just of Jacqueline only.

Both Joanna and Jacqueline enjoyed combing other people's hair; and they particularly liked to comb their father's hair, although Joanna, being older, did this more than Jacqueline.

Joanna had been attending school for about 5 years when she died. Jacqueline, on the other hand, had only begun school about a year or less before she died.

Joanna had an unusual premonition that she would never grow up. She would say, "I will never be a lady." John Pollock said that "she used to go on about this constantly."

At the age of about 3, Jacqueline fell onto a bucket and received a wound on the forehead above her right eye, near the root of her nose. This required three stitches, and a scar still remained at the time of her death, although it was fading. Florence Pollock said that Jacqueline's scar of this wound healed with a slight depression of the skin of the area. It became more prominent during cold weather. John Pollock believed that the family had given considerable attention to Jacqueline's scar out of fear that a permanent scar might remain where she had been injured. Figure 25-22 shows Joanna and Jacqueline in about 1956. The scar on Jacqueline's forehead, indicated by an arrow, is barely discernible in the photograph. Figure 25-23 shows a sketch that I made (in 1967) of a photograph of Jacqueline which showed the scar distinctly.

On the morning of May 5, 1957, Joanna and Jacqueline were walking from their home to the church where they were to attend Sunday School. A young boy (a friend) was walking with them. Suddenly, a woman automobile driver directed her car deliberately at the children on the sidewalk and ran over them. It is not known whether the children saw the car coming at them, but even if they had, they could not have escaped, because there was a wall on the outer side of the sidewalk over which they could not have climbed in time to avoid the car. The two girls were apparently killed instantly; the boy died on the way to the hospital.

John Pollock told me that the woman who killed the children had not long before been forcibly separated from her own children. (I think this may have been the result of a dispute over custody of the children with a former husband, but I am not sure about this detail.) She became so angry over the loss of her children that she appears to have thought that if she could not have children herself, no one else should have any. With this idea in mind she decided deliberately to kill some children with her car, and Joanna, Jacqueline, and their boy companion became her victims. She was later confined to a mental hospital.

John Pollock's Experiences after the Death of Joanna and Jacqueline

I am not going to say that the deaths of Joanna and Jacqueline affected John Pollock more than Florence; but their reactions differed. Florence found the loss too fraught with suffering to think about, and as late as my first interview with her (in 1963) she became emotionally disturbed by discussion of their deaths. (Nevertheless, when Gillian and Jennifer were born, Florence experienced a sense of peacefulness, and she stopped grieving for Joanna and Jacqueline.)

In contrast to his wife, John Pollock liked to think about the dead girls, although not necessarily to dwell on how they had died. He believed not only that

the girls had survived death, but that they remained close to the family. On the very afternoon of their deaths, he had a vision of them in heaven. Later, he found that he could feel a sense of their being close, in a top room of the house (although they had slept in a lower room), and he would go to this upper room with the idea of feeling closer to the dead girls.

When Florence became pregnant again, John developed an *idée fixe* that she was going to have twins and that the twins would be Joanna and Jacqueline reincarnated. Florence did not share his conviction that she was going to have twins and believed even less that their dead daughters would reincarnate. A little surprisingly, her physician also remained convinced that she was going to have a single baby only. He could hear only one fetal heart beat, and he palpated in Florence's uterus what he thought was only one set of fetal limbs. John Pollock dismissed all such negative evidence as worthless and persisted in his belief that Florence would have twins. He happened to be at work when Gillian and Jennifer were delivered, and a friend, who had the news first, came to him and said: "I have good news for you." To this he replied: "Yes, I know, twins."

Statements and Recognitions Made by Gillian and Jennifer

Gillian and Jennifer made only a few statements and recognitions related to the previous lives. Table 25-15 gives a summary of these. The twins made these statements and recognitions between the ages of about 3 and 7. I learned about the first 10 items of Table 25-15 in August 1963, and so all of these must have occurred before Gillian and Jennifer were 5 years old. Item 11 occurred after they had started to go to school, and I learned about it in 1967.

In 1982 John Pollock remembered four more recognitions of places that the twins had made in Hexham when they were about 4 years old. These occurred on the occasion of the visit when they spoke about the swings in the park at Hexham before they could have seen the playground or swings. (Either he had not mentioned these items to me before, or I had not made notes of them.) I have not included these recognitions in Table 25-15, partly because 20 years had elapsed since they had occurred and partly because Florence Pollock was no longer alive to corroborate her husband's account of them.

Gillian's and Jennifer's Behavior Related to the Previous Lives

Circumstances and Manner of Gillian's and Jennifer's Speaking about the Previous Lives. I have already emphasized that Gillian and Jennifer did not make many statements about the previous lives. The few they did make nearly all occurred either in connection with some object being recognized or, in the case of the swings in the park at Hexham, a nearby stimulus like the park at Hexham. Their reference to having eaten lunch at school (in Hexham) occurred in association to their mother's suggestion that if they did not like the lunch at home they could eat lunch at school. John Pollock remarked that when they had burst out

Table 25-15 **Summary of Statements and Recognitions Made by Gillian and Jennifer**

Item	*Informants*	*Verification*	*Comments*
1. Recognition of dolls that had belonged to Joanna and Jacqueline	John Pollock, Gillian's and Jennifer's father		After the deaths of Joanna and Jacqueline, their toys had been packed in a box that was put in an attic. Years later the box was opened, and the toys taken out and left lying around. When the twins saw the dolls, Gillian claimed the one that had belonged to Joanna, and Jennifer claimed the one that had belonged to Jacqueline. John Pollock was certain that the girls claimed the dolls spontaneously; he did not hand them to the twins. The two dolls were markedly different from each other. The twins were about 3 years old at the time of this recognition. John Pollock was certain that the twins could not have seen the dolls before the occasion when they recognized and claimed them.
2. Santa Claus had given the dolls to them.	Florence Pollock, Gillian's and Jennifer's mother	Florence Pollock	I believe this item occurred immediately after the twins had recognized the dolls. Joanna and Jacqueline had received the dolls as Christmas gifts.
3. One of the dolls was called Mary.	Florence Pollock	Unverified	Florence Pollock could not remember (in 1967) which twin had made this statement. She was also unsure that one of the dolls had

Table 25-15 *(continued)*

Item	*Informants*	*Verification*	*Comments*
			been called Mary when owned by Joanna or Jacqueline.
4. Recognition of toy clothes wringer that had belonged to Joanna	Florence Pollock		Like the dolls, the toy wringer had been put away in a box after the deaths of Joanna and Jacqueline. Later, it was brought out and left lying around. When Gillian saw it, she immediately went for it and claimed it as hers. She said: "Look! There is my toy wringer." Florence Pollock was sure that Gillian had never seen the toy wringer before she recognized it. John and Florence Pollock both commented that Gillian and Jennifer did not dispute ownership of the toy wringer, as they usually did when one had something and the other did not.
5. Santa Claus had given the toy wringer to her.	Florence Pollock	Florence Pollock	Gillian made this statement at the time she recognized the wringer. Joanna had received the toy wringer as a Christmas gift.
6. The car had knocked one of them down, and blood ran down her face.	Florence Pollock	John Pollock	Florence Pollock heard Gillian and Jennifer more than once discussing details of the accident in which Joanna and Jacqueline had been killed. This item was the only detail that she remembered.

7. Recognition by Gillian of the mark on Jennifer's forehead	Florence Pollock
8. Recognition by Jennifer of Florence Pollock's smock	John Pollock

John Pollock remembered that when he went to the hospital to identify the dead bodies of his daughters, Jacqueline's head was bandaged above the eyes as if her head had been injured.

Gillian pointed to the birthmark on Jennifer's forehead and said: "That is the mark Jennifer got when she fell on a bucket." Jennifer had not fallen on a bucket or otherwise acquired a scar on her forehead; but Jacqueline had fallen on a bucket, and her wound required stitching.

When John Pollock had a milk delivery business, Florence helped him, and she used to wear a smock when she worked. Soon after the deaths of Joanna and Jacqueline, she stopped working in the milk business, and the smock was put away. Gillian and Jennifer had never seen it before John Pollock happened to take it out and put it on to protect his clothes while he was doing some painting. Jennifer, seeing him with the smock on, said: "Why are you wearing mummy's coat?" Gillian was present at this moment, and Jennifer became annoyed with her because she seemed not to recognize the smock. When Florence Pollock was wearing the smock, Jacqueline would have seen her often with it on; Joanna, however, would rarely have seen her wearing it,

Table 25-15 *(continued)*

Item	*Informants*	*Verification*	*Comments*
			because Florence would have finished work for the day and taken the smock off before Joanna came home from school. Gillian and Jennifer were about 4½ years old when this and the following item occurred.
9. Her [Jennifer's] mother had worn the smock when delivering milk.	John Pollock	John Pollock	This item followed the preceding one immediately. When John Pollock heard Jennifer say the smock was her mother's, he asked her how she knew this, and Jennifer then made the statement of this item.
10. Recognition of the location of children's swings in the park at Hexham	John Pollock Florence Pollock		When the Pollocks moved from Hexham to Whitley Bay, Gillian and Jennifer were infants of 9 months, and they had not been back to Hexham before the visit during which this item occurred. They then went there for a day only. As the family were walking along a road in Hexham near the park, but not within sight of the swings, Gillian and Jennifer said that they wanted to go across the road to the park and the swings. Florence Pollock said that the twins had mentioned the swings even before the park itself was in sight. Gillian and Jennifer were about 4 years old when they were taken back to Hexham.

11. They had stayed at school for lunch at Hexham.	John Pollock Florence Pollock	John Pollock Florence Pollock	This item occurred when Gillian and Jennifer grumbled one day about the lunch they were having at home. Florence Pollock said that if they did not like the food at home they could stay at school for lunch. To this they said: "Well, we have done that before." Asked where they had done this, they said they had done so at Hexham. Florence Pollock said they (meaning Gillian and Jennifer) had never been to school at Hexham, but they insisted that they had. The above account derives from John Pollock's statement about it. Florence Pollock did not remember that the twins had said *where* they had had lunch at school. She remembered only that they claimed to have had lunch at school. Joanna and Jacqueline had sometimes had lunch at school in Hexham. This item occurred after the twins started school, so they were at least 6 years old at the time. They had never, however, had lunch at their school.

with some allusion to the previous lives, such as the one just mentioned, he and his wife could never persuade them to enlarge on the theme or give more details. (He implied that Gillian and Jennifer had referred to the previous lives unexpectedly at other times, but he did not mention any other examples.)

Florence Pollock said that she heard Gillian and Jennifer more than once talking to each other about the fatal accident in which Joanna and Jacqueline had died (see item 6 of Table 25-15). John Pollock described these occasions to me as if the children used the present tense and seemed almost to be reliving the accident when they talked about it together. However, Florence did not remember this feature of how they spoke to each other. (I mentioned earlier that discussion of the fatal accident to Joanna and Jacqueline disturbed her, and as we talked about it, she obviously wished to move on to another topic; this may have prevented her from remembering or telling me the details of how Gillian and Jennifer had talked with each other about the accident.)

Behavior Shown by Both Gillian and Jennifer. Gillian and Jennifer showed several features of behavior in common. They were extremely close to each other and, for example, had sympathetic feelings and even physical symptoms simultaneously. If one was given a disciplinary smack, the other would cry. If one had a toothache, the other was apt to complain of toothache a few minutes later. John Pollock told me he knew of no instance when one of the twins unexpectedly developed a feeling or symptom the other was having when they were geographically apart; however, as they were nearly always together until their late teens, not many occasions for such "long-distance" expression of sympathy could have occurred.

Gillian and Jennifer tended to look toward their maternal grandmother for guidance and care, just as Joanna and Jacqueline had done. (I mentioned that their grandmother had mainly raised the older girls.) This behavior was inappropriate for Gillian and Jennifer, because Florence Pollock was no longer working and had more time to spend with her younger girls than she had had with the older ones.

Gillian and Jennifer both enjoyed combing the hair of other people, especially their father's. (As I mentioned, Joanna and Jacqueline had also enjoyed doing this.)

Florence Pollock said that Joanna and Jacqueline had been inclined to cross roads carelessly; but Gillian and Jennifer would stop and hold their mother's hands while crossing a road. She thought that they had a stronger fear of roads and vehicles than other children of the family or other children of their age whom she had known. However, she also thought that the cautiousness of Gillian and Jennifer might have derived from her own concern when crossing a road. She herself had always been somewhat uneasy about crossing roads, and she thought that she had become more so after the deaths of Joanna and Jacqueline. Her example and precepts might account for the great care that Gillian and Jennifer showed in crossing roads.

John Pollock did not think that Gillian and Jennifer showed fear of roads and vehicles under ordinary circumstances; however, he may not have had Florence's opportunities for observing the children's usual reactions. He did, however, witness the following incident involving a vehicle. Gillian and Jennifer hap-

pened to be in an enclosed alley (near their house) that had an automobile in it. The driver of the car got into it and started the engine intending to back out of the alley. Gillian and Jennifer immediately clung tightly to each other and cringed at one side of the alley; they seemed terrified. John Pollock thought the situation of being in an enclosed alley (from which they could not have escaped if the car driver had moved the car forward instead of reversing it) had perhaps reminded Gillian and Jennifer of Joanna's and Jacqueline's inability to escape from the crazed woman driver who had aimed her car at them.

Behavior in Which Gillian and Jennifer Differed. The behavior of Gillian and Jennifer (when young children) differed in several ways that corresponded to behaviors shown by Joanna and Jacqueline. The following remarks apply to their behavior up to the age of 9. Later, Gillian and Jennifer showed somewhat different behavior, even reversing some previous tendencies.

Gillian was more independent than Jennifer and less demonstrative of her affection toward their parents; she tended to "mother" Jennifer, and Jennifer accepted Gillian's leadership and advice. Gillian also showed more interest than Jennifer in other children, especially babies.

Gillian was more generous than Jennifer, and if she had some candies, she would tend to give them away to other children as Joanna had done.

Gillian early showed an interest in playing at acting with costumes as Joanna had done. Jennifer did not initially show the same interest in this activity, although she entered into it with Gillian.

Gillian gave a general impression of being more mature than Jennifer in her way of thinking.

Florence Pollock told me that overall Gillian's behavior resembled Joanna's more than Jennifer's resembled Jacqueline's. In one respect indeed, Jennifer seemed unlike Jacqueline. Although Jacqueline had been a docile child, Jennifer was not. Her mother described her at the age of 9 as "fiery," and her father said that she was "willful." However, the comparison may not be valid, because Jacqueline had died at the age of 6, and we do not know what she might have been like if she had lived to be 9.

Gillian's and Jennifer's Appearances

Jennifer's Birthmarks. Figure 25-22 shows the scar from the wound on Jacqueline's forehead above her right eye near the root of the nose. As I mentioned, the scar itself is not distinctly visible in the photograph, which was taken when Jacqueline was about 5 years old; and for this reason I have also reproduced a sketch (Figure 25-23) that I made in 1967 from a photograph of Jacqueline that John Pollock showed me. In it the scar on Jacqueline's forehead was distinctly visible.

Figure 25-20 shows Jennifer's birthmark at the same site a few weeks after the twins' births when they were being baptized. Florence Pollock said that the area of the birthmark was slightly depressed when Jennifer was born. It had a white linear central area and a redder peripheral area. Like Jacqueline's scar it became more prominent during cold weather.

Figure 25-22 Jacqueline (left) and Joanna (right) Pollock as they appeared in about 1956, when Joanna was approximately 10 years old and Jacqueline approximately 5 years old. The arrow points to the location of the scar on Jacqueline's forehead (to the right of the midline just superior to the nose). The scar is barely visible in the photograph.

Figure 25-23 Sketch made in 1967 from a photograph of Jacqueline Pollock showing the scar of the wound on her forehead above the root of her nose.

Figure 25-24 Sketch of birthmark on Jennifer's forehead made in August 1963. The birthmark was then an area of hyperpigmentation about 1 centimeter long and 6 millimeters wide.

Figure 25-25 Jennifer Pollock as she appeared in November 1978, when she was just over 20 years old. The birthmark, an area of erythema, could still be seen on the lower part of her forehead, to the right of the midline.

John Pollock said that as the reddish area of the birthmark diminished, "the birthmark appeared as a dark line on the forehead." In August 1963 I made a sketch of the birthmark as it then appeared (Figure 25-24). It was then an area of hyperpigmentation about 1 centimeter long and 6 millimeters wide. Some photographs which were taken earlier do not show the birthmark (Figure 24-28) or show it only faintly (Figure 24-29).

This birthmark faded as Jennifer grew up, and at one time I thought that it had completely disappeared. However, in 1978 it was still distinctly visible, as I think Figure 25-25 shows. The birthmark, an area of erythema, was then approximately 1.5 centimeters long and 1 centimeter wide.

Jennifer also had a hyperpigmented nevus on the left side of her waist just above the iliac crest (Figure 25-21). When I examined it in 1963, Jennifer was under 5 years old. The birthmark was a roundish area of increased pigmentation approximately 1 centimeter in diameter. It corresponded to a nevus that Jacqueline had had at the same place.

Other Relevant Medical Information. Gillian had no birthmark on her forehead at the site of Jennifer's. She also had no nevus in the same place as that on Jennifer's waist. Nor did any other member of the family; Florence Pollock told me that they had examined themselves after Jennifer's birth to see whether the birthmark on her waist was unique among them.

In 1980 Jennifer gave birth to a boy. John Pollock, and also Gillian, told me that this boy did not have a nevus on his left waist at the site of Jennifer's.

Neither Gillian nor Jennifer had a birthmark corresponding to a wound in Joanna and Jacqueline when they were killed.

The Physiques of Gillian and Jennifer. Gillian and Jennifer looked much alike during the years when I knew them, and by the criterion of facial resemblance an observer would certainly declare them to be monozygotic twins. I mentioned this facial resemblance in Chapter 24 and believe that Figures 24-28 and 24-29 show it.

Gillian and Jennifer both had blue irides. (Jacqueline's irides had been blue, but Joanna's had been brown. John Pollock's irides were brown, Florence's a dark blue.)

Joanna and Jacqueline had had different physiques. When they died, Joanna being 5 years older, was much taller than Jacqueline. However, Joanna was slender, whereas Jacqueline was stocky. Figure 25-22 shows these differences.

To some degree Gillian and Jennifer showed differences in physique that corresponded to those between Joanna and Jacqueline. Jennifer was slightly heavier at birth than Gillian; she weighed 2500 grams and Gillian weighed 2400 grams. (The figures are approximations of those given to me in pounds and ounces.) When they were young children, Gillian had a more slender physique than Jennifer, who resembled Jacqueline in being somewhat stocky.

Differences between Gillian and Jennifer in Gait and in the Use of Writing Tools. I described these differences in a section of Chapter 23.

The Determination of the Twins' Zygosity

The members of the Pollock family were agreeable to a test of their blood groups for determining the zygosity of Gillian and Jennifer. Accordingly, their family doctor drew samples of blood from the twins, their parents, their maternal grandmother, and three of their brothers. The blood was then analyzed at the Regional Transfusion Center of the National Blood Transfusion Service in Sheffield.

The analysis showed that "there is a 99.84% chance that the twins Jennifer and Gillian are monozygotic."

Gillian's and Jennifer's Later Development

When I met Gillian and Jennifer in 1978 and Gillian in 1982, they said that they remembered nothing of the previous lives of Joanna and Jacqueline. Their stance about their own case was indeed one of mild skepticism. This came from puzzlement about whether a process like reincarnation really could occur. They did not challenge or deny the testimony of their parents on their own case, and they willingly participated in a television program (early in 1979) that was almost entirely devoted to their case.

A possible exception to their seeming complete amnesia to the previous lives occurred in some inner visions that Gillian had during 1981. She described to her father a scene in which she was playing in a sandpit with her brothers. The sandpit was in the garden of a large detached house, and Gillian gave a detailed description of the house and its gardens with lawns and orchards. Gillian's description accurately fitted a house at a place called Whickham where the family had lived when Joanna was a young child. They left the house when she was 4 years old. Gillian believed her vision of this scene was a memory of a place where she had lived since her birth. Her father had some difficulty in explaining to her that she had never been to Whickham and could not have seen the house she described, let alone have lived in it.

When Gillian had been young, she had wanted to become a nurse, joining a profession that harmonized with her strong interest in other children. However, she did not pass the entrance examination for nursing school. She and Jennifer both left school at the age of about 16 and became employed as clerks in foodstores. John and Florence agreed that Gillian was still more independent and did more things on her own than Jennifer. Jennifer tended to ask advice of Gillian, was troubled when separated from her, and more dependent on their mother. Jennifer was also more sensitive than Gillian and would be brought to tears more easily than Gillian, who was "tougher." John Pollock summarized his views on these differences by saying (in 1978) that Gillian "has always seemed older than Jennifer."

The twins remained as close to each other as they had ever been, and John Pollock expressed concern about what would happen if and when they married.

In 1978 Gillian and Jennifer were showing little interest in boys and had had few dates. They had said they would not marry until they were about 30. About a year later, however, a young man broke down Jennifer's resolve on this matter, and she married him. Gillian continued to live with her father, and the separation did not trouble the twins as much as John Pollock had expected.

In one respect the twins had modified their behavior, if we compare them with each other and with what they had shown when younger: Gillian had become frugal, and Florence Pollock regarded Jennifer as then being more generous than Gillian.

The twins had also developed differently in physique. When they were about 11, Jennifer had passed Gillian in height, and in 1978, Jennifer was slightly more

than 4 centimeters taller than Gillian. (Florence Pollock and I measured the twins against a doorframe.) Jennifer was also about 3 kilograms heavier than Gillian.

Comment

Readers should judge for themselves whether John Pollock's belief in reincarnation biased his observations and reports of the statements and behavior of Gillian and Jennifer. To a journalist who once suggested to him that this had happened, he replied that if he had *not* believed in reincarnation, he would not have made the observations about Gillian and Jennifer that he and Florence were willing to share with other persons interested in the case; there would almost certainly have been no case, or none worth reporting.

Since Gillian and Jennifer had identical genetic material, we cannot explain Jennifer's two birthmarks (and Gillian's not having similar birthmarks) by a genetic factor.

We might attribute Jennifer's birthmarks to some intrauterine event that affected her but not Gillian. However, this alone would not explain the close correspondences in appearance and location between Jennifer's two birthmarks and the wound and birthmark at the same sites that Jacqueline had.

Because Florence Pollock was familiar with the wound on Jacqueline's forehead and with the nevus on her left waist, we should consider the hypothesis of maternal impression in this case. Florence Pollock in no way shared her husband's strong conviction that Joanna and Jacqueline would be reborn as twins. She certainly did not hold an image of Jacqueline in her mind during her pregnancy with the twins. On the other hand, John Pollock did hold such an image. The intensity of his desire and his expectation for the reincarnation of his dead daughters perhaps makes a *paternal* impression the principal alternative to reincarnation for interpreting this case.

DISCUSSION OF TWIN CASES

I will divide most of my concluding remarks in this chapter between those concerned with the physical features of twins and those bearing on their psychological or behavioral aspects.

Physical Features of Twins

It did not need the cases reported (or referred to) in this chapter to raise doubts about the sufficiency of presently known physical causes of the differences between monozygotic twins. In Chapter 16 (and again in Chapter 22) I drew attention to the fact that 62% of monozygotic twins are discordant for cleft lip. Yet cleft lip is often cited as a birth disorder for which a genetic factor seems well established. Embryologists facing these data may fall back on the belief that some

subtle, undetectable variation in the crowded uterine environment—perhaps a diminished blood supply to one twin—could cause the discordance.[22] Such an explanation could even be invoked in the cases of conjoined twins discordant for cleft lip, such as those reported by Robertson and McKenzie (1964) and Sangvichien (1937). (These authors, I should add, did not mention this explanation for the discordance.)

In other cases of discordance for birth defects between monozygotic twins, at least when there is reason, from earlier cases not involving monozygotic twins, for suspecting a genetic factor, authors may adduce the ideas of incomplete penetrance and somatic mutation. The authors of a report of monozygotic twins one of whom had a giant pigmented nevus (while its partner was normal) proposed these and other hypotheses to account along genetic lines for the difference between the twins (Cantu et al., 1973). Adjunctive hypotheses of the kind I have mentioned often appear designed, like Ptolemaic epicycles, to "save the theory." I am in no way denying that such explanations may apply at some stage of the physical processes involved in the occurrence of a giant pigmented nevus. Yet I am entitled to remark that the giant pigmented nevus illustrated by Cantu et al. in their report closely resembled the largest nevus, a "bathing trunk" one, on Ma Khin Hsann Oo (Figures 9-6 and 9-7), who remembered the previous life of a woman who was burned to death.

Burn et al. (1986) reported a case of Duchenne muscular dystrophy in one only of a pair of monozygotic twin girls. This disorder is X-linked and ordinarily occurs only in males, although like hemophilia females carry it. Burn et al. stated that "X inactivation, *by chance*, resulted in two contrasting cell masses with different active X chromosomes" (p. 494; my italics). Here we are asked to be content with the concept of chance for the occurrence of a grave, ultimately fatal disease.

Halal (1991) reported a case of monozygotic twins only one of whom had fibular aplasia; the other twin had ectrosyndactyly of the hand. Paes (1995) later reported another instance of fibular aplasia in only one of monozygotic twins. In the absence of any known etiologic factor in these cases, both Halal and Paes designated them as "sporadic," which means, I would say, having no explanation.

Also pertinent here is the observation by Schinzel, Smith, and Miller (1979), who found that although birth defects occur more often among monozygotic twins than among dizygotic ones, the birth defects of monozygotic twins are not often concordant. Equally relevant is the report by F. Lenz (1935) that in some female monozygotic twins, one was distinctly more masculine than the other. Such observations suggest that birth defects in monozygotic twins are not fully explained by genetic factors. So do, if only indirectly, the studies by Steinmetz et

[22]In Chapter 16 I drew attention to the importance of the uterine environment in understanding at least some of the differences between monozygotic twins. Two of the authors I cited there believed that the differences in the uterine environment (including the blood supply) of monozygotic twins invalidates the claim that comparisons of monozygotic and dizygotic twins can help us to distinguish the different influences in development of genetic and environmental factors (Phillips, 1993; B. Price, 1950).

al., with magnetic resonance imagery, which showed that all of 20 pairs of monozygotic twins were discordant in their brain-surface anatomy. In their words: "The findings indicate that the development of the convolutions of the brain is strongly influenced by nongenetic factors—that is, by environment, experience, *or chance*" (Steinmetz et al., 1994, p. 953; my italics again). Some birth defects may well derive from differences in the uterine environment; yet even allowing for birth defects due to gestational abnormalities that affect one twin more than the other, we have room for other explanations—such as the one offered in this work—for the discordance in birth defects between monozygotic twins.

Behavioral Features of Twins

Investigators of the behavior of twins have hitherto focused on only two possible causative agents that may explain differences and similarities between twins: genetic factors and (postconceptional) environmental ones. A report of studies of the personalities of twins reared apart and together asserted: "Because identical twins share all their genes, any differences between them *must be* environmental in origin" (Tellegen et al., 1988, p. 1031; my italics). No one could state more succinctly the dogma that the present work calls into question.

Investigators of the behavior of twins have given much more attention to the similarities between twins of a monozygotic pair than to their differences. Yet marked differences in behavior between twins of a monozygotic pair may be observed within the first months of life (R. S. Wilson, Brown, and Matheny, 1971). R. S. Wilson et al. studied 17 behavioral traits in twins between 6 months and 6 years old. They found that concordance rates between monozygotic twins rarely rose above 60% and usually were much lower (although they were higher than those for dizygotic twins).

Parents may be more sensitive to the differences between twins than psychologists are. From a study of parental responses to the behavior of twins, Lytton (1977) concluded that parents respond to the differences between twins more than they create such differences by their own conduct.

The Ishwara and the Pollock twins were monozygotic, and in each case the members of the pair showed markedly different behavior during early childhood. I found no evidence that these differences derived from parental influence. They may have derived instead from the different previous lives that the twins remembered.

The often noticed differences in the personalities of conjoined twins strongly suggest the influence of some third factor additional to genetic and environmental ones. Conjoined twins are always monozygotic, and they inevitably have a closely similar—almost identical—environment. Yet H. H. Newman (1940) stated from extensive experience that conjoined twins

> are almost without exception more different in various ways than any but a very few pairs of separate one-egg twins. One of the most difficult problems

> faced by the twinning specialist is that of accounting for the unexpected dissimilarity of the components of Siamese [conjoined] twin pairs. (p. 68)

One could find no better example to illustrate Newman's point than the 19th-century twins, Chang and Eng, from whose case the term "Siamese twins" derives. Chang was apt to be cross and irritable, whereas Eng was good-natured; Chang drank alcohol, especially in the twins' later years, whereas Eng was a teetotaller; what one liked to eat, the other disliked (Daniels, 1962; Luckhardt, 1941; H. H. Newman, 1940). Chang and Eng never said anything indicative of their having memories of previous lives. I suggest nevertheless that their markedly different personalities might have derived in part at least from different behavioral memories (for example, of consuming alcohol or not taking it) that had their origin in different previous lives.

Many investigators have tried to identify the contributions of genetic factors and environmental influences by comparing the incidence of a particular behavior in monozygotic twins reared apart and together, in monozygotic twins compared with dizygotic twins, and in siblings adopted away and remaining in the family of the biological parents. Variants of these research designs have been claimed to show a genetic contribution for religious behavior (Waller et al., 1990), criminality (Dalgard and Kringlen, 1976), and alcoholism (D. W. Goodwin et al., 1974). The authors of such studies have not considered that some of the traits they attribute to genetic factors might arise from similar experiences in previous lives. I have given in this work examples of children who remembered previous lives and who showed, when still young, unusual piety, tendencies toward criminal behavior, and cravings for alcohol.

The solved cases of twins who remembered previous lives show that the majority of previous personalities had known each other and the majority had also had some relationship or acquaintance with the twins' parents. If twins (or ordinary siblings) had lived previous lives together in a family of pious persons, of criminals, or of alcoholics, we should expect that they might show tendencies in these directions derived not from their genes but from habits acquired in the previous lives.

I do not have twin cases that illustrate these particular traits, but the cases of Ma Khin San Tin and Ma Khin San Yin will serve to illustrate, in principle, the point I wish to make. They were probably dizygotic; but it is conceivable that they were monozygotic, and I ask this to be supposed for the purpose of my argument. I also ask that readers credit them with having had real memories of the previous lives of two Japanese soldiers who were brothers. Suppose now that these twin girls had been separated at birth and raised in different Burmese families. In that event they would have shown the differences their mother noted in Ma Khin San Tin and Ma Khin San Yin, raised as they were in the same environment; and they would have shown additional differences attributable to the different environments in the two rearing Burmese families. They would also have shown, however, remarkable similarities in their personalities, such as in their masculine behavior

and in the wide range of "Japanese" behavior that Ma Khin San Tin and Ma Khin San Yin showed. In behavioral traits, summed item by item, they would have resembled each other much more than they would have differed from each other. We could not assign this resemblance either to genetic factors or to postconceptional environmental ones.

A reader may now say that I am offering reincarnation as an explanation for the *different* behavior shown by some monozygotic twin pairs (such as the Ishwara twins and the Pollock twins) and also for the *similar* behavior in other monozygotic twin pairs (such as I imagined Ma Khin San Tin and Ma Khin San Yin might have been). I agree that I am doing this, but can see no reason why reincarnation may not explain some differences and also some similarities. I repeat, however, that I am not proposing reincarnation as an explanation of all differences and all similarities between twin pairs; but I think it may make an important contribution to both.

A Paranormal Factor in Twinning?

I began this chapter by referring to the idea that twinning may be considered a type of birth defect. It differs from the other types of birth defects already described in this work by the presumed simultaneous—and perhaps coordinated—activity of two discarnate personalities. If two persons who had loved each other in one life wished to be reborn together in another one at the same time, they would need to influence reproduction in one of two ways. For dizygotic twins the problem would consist in maneuvering two ova into positions where they could be fertilized at about the same time. For monozygotic twins there would need to be some cleaving force that would divide a fertilized ovum soon after it had been fertilized. I am not suggesting that the discarnate personalities involved in these activities exert anything like conscious control over them. If such processes occur, they lie far outside conscious control just as, for most of us, our heartbeats and digestion do. About the details of such processes I can say nothing; I will remark, however, that once a reader becomes committed to believing that a discarnate personality can influence the form of an embryo, he or she can as readily believe that it could divide a fertilized ovum.

Part VIII

General Discussion

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GENERAL DISCUSSION

INTRODUCTION

Further Comments on the Interpretation of the Cases

Concerning the authenticity of the cases I have little to add beyond what I stated in Chapter 15. I do not think the cases with birth defects and other kinds of cases described in the later chapters of this work tip the balance concerning authenticity to one side or the other in any important way. On the one hand, I have for the cases in these later chapters few postmortem reports that could correct the memories of informants about the location of wounds on a previous personality. On the other hand, I think I showed that although we may sometimes go wrong in relying on oral informants, we shall not do so in about seven-eighths of the cases. Perhaps some readers will also agree with me that informants are less likely to make errors in remembering wounds when these involve the major mutilations to which birth defects (in the cases of this work) so often correspond than when they remember the smaller, punctuating wounds made, for example, by a bullet or knife.

I also can add nothing further to what I said in Chapter 15 concerning alternative interpretations of the cases. No case is perfect; all have flaws. We can imagine the perfect case (Stevenson, 1973), but I do not expect to find it, and I doubt whether my successors ever will. Nevertheless, I believe that reincarnation is the best interpretation, although by no means the only one, for the stronger cases without birthmarks or birth defects. By "stronger cases" I mean those in which the two families have had no acquaintance with each other before the case developed and in which the subject made correct specific and verified statements about the previous personality, which statements were recorded either before the two families met or within a few months of their doing so. These cases are not numerous, and we can probably count only about 50 of them in a collection of

now more than 2,500 cases.[1] They are, however, not the only ones for which reincarnation seems to me to be the best interpretation. In this category I include also those more numerous cases in which the subject had one or more than one unusual birthmark or birth defect that corresponded closely to a wound (or wounds) or other mark (or marks) on a deceased person whose life the subject remembered or with whom others identified him or her.[2] I think that reincarnation is at least a plausible interpretation for most of the cases I have described in this work—as well as for many others of which I have published reports elsewhere. I propose therefore in this last chapter to write as if this were so; and I will devote it to some conjectures—no more than that—about processes that may be involved in the transfer of memories (of both mental and physical properties) from one person who dies to another, later-born person. I have already described in Chapter 14 some factors that correlate with others in the cases and some that do not. In this chapter I will discuss some additional factors that figure prominently in the cases.

Before continuing I wish to emphasize again a disclaimer that I made earlier. This is that I do not offer an interpretation for *every* birthmark and *every* birth defect. For most birthmarks and birth defects the present work can offer no understanding of their causes. Nor does it explain the absence of birthmarks and birth defects in cases similar to those I have described in all other respects, including (for example) memories of a life that ended with a fatal shooting. My task is the more modest and more manageable one of trying to understand why birthmarks and birth defects occurred in the cases I have been able to investigate and report here.

[1]As this work nears completion, our files include 28 cases in which someone, usually a member of our own team, made a written record of what the subject said before his or her statements were verified, usually also by one of us (Haraldsson, 1992; Mills, Haraldsson, and Keil, 1994; Stevenson 1966/1974, 1975b, 1977; Stevenson and Samararatne, 1988). In another 25 or so cases we reached the scene of the case soon after it developed, but after the two families concerned had met.

[2]This is not to say that all the cases with birthmarks and birth defects provide evidence of equal strength; and I should identify for readers at least some of the cases that I consider stronger. I include in this group the following 15 cases, which I list with a phrase or two indicating their special features: Chanai Choomalaiwong (two birthmarks of different sizes corresponding to bullet wounds of entry and exit; Chapter 5); Maung Tin Win (two birthmarks of different sizes corresponding to bullet wounds of entry and exit; Chapter 5); Alan Gamble (two birthmarks of different sizes corresponding to bullet wounds of entry and exit; medical document; Chapter 6); Necip Ünlütaşkıran (six birthmarks corresponding to stab wounds; medical document; Chapter 6); Hanumant Saxena (unusual, hypopigmented birthmark corresponding to shotgun wound; medical document; Chapter 6); Sunita Khandelwal (long distance between families concerned; medical document; Chapter 6); Cemil Fahrici (two birthmarks of different sizes corresponding to bullet wounds of entry and exit; Chapter 10); Ma Choe Hnin Htet (unusual, linear hypopigmented birthmark; medical document; second, experimental birthmark; Chapter 10); Corliss Chotkin, Jr. (two birthmarks, both predicted; medical document; Chapter 12); Lekh Pal Jatav (extremely rare birth defect of unilateral brachydactyly; Chapter 17); Ma Khin Mar Htoo (rare birth defect of unilateral hemimelia; Chapter 17); Semih Tutuşmuş (rare birth defect of microtia; medical document; Chapter 18); Thiang San Kla (two unusual birth defects; Chapter 19); Jennifer Pollock (two birthmarks on monozygotic twin; none on co-twin; Chapter 25); Indika Ishwara (birth defect on monozygotic twin, none on co-twin; long distance between families concerned; medical document; Chapter 25).

LIMITS TO OUR PRESENT KNOWLEDGE FROM GENETICS AND ABOUT ENVIRONMENTAL INFLUENCES

The explanatory value of the idea of reincarnation will gain no support from my buffeting genetics and the influence of the environment, and I do not intend to do this. As I am, however, offering reincarnation as a third factor supplementing, but not replacing, genetics and environmental influence, I may help its acceptance by drawing attention to gaps in our understanding that the last two factors have not filled and may never fill.

Genes and the Forms of Organisms

Given the view of most scientists today that we are comprised only of our physical bodies, the proposal that discarnate personalities have anything to do with our physical form must appear an act of great boldness, almost of effrontery. I think I should therefore state clearly that nothing emerging from the data of this work or my discussion of them calls into question anything that we know about genetics. I have deliberately said "that we know *about*," because genetics itself is an evolving discipline. We cannot foretell what ideas may succeed the dominant nucleocentric genetics of today. Perhaps cytoplasmic inheritance will prove to be more important than it now seems to all but a handful of biologists (Commoner, 1968; Grimes, 1990; Sager, 1966; Sapp, 1986, 1987). Biologists may turn their attention again to epigenetic events in the cytoplasm without the ordered working of which genes could not give their instructions and have their effects on organisms (Commoner, 1961; Hubbard and Lewontin, 1996; Lewontin, 1991). Some have already done so (Grimes and Aufderheide, 1991; Ho et al., 1983; Malacinski, 1990; Nanney, 1958; Prehn, 1994; Rubin, 1988, 1990; Sonneborn, 1960, 1963; Strohman, 1993, 1994). One epigenetic process—imprinting of the genome—shows that genes themselves are not the stable, predictable units they were once thought to be (Hall, 1990; Peterson and Sapienza, 1993). Shapiro has described genomes as "true intelligent systems, which can be readjusted when conditions require" (Shapiro, 1991, p.4).

No less important is the question of limits to what we can learn *from* genetics. The cases of the present work sap under the assumption often expressed that genetics (with natural selection) can adequately account for the forms of organisms. It seems incontestable that genes (or some heritable factors) have an influence on form. As obvious examples, we can cite the thicker lips of Negroes compared with those of Caucasians, the form of Mongolian eyes compared with that of Caucasian eyes (a difference I illustrated and discussed in Chapter 22), and the Farabee type of brachydactyly, which I mentioned in connection with the case of Lekh Pal Jatav in Chapter 17. It seems unlikely, however, that genes alone can explain the forms that different organs have. "The average human protein is more than 99 percent identical in amino acid sequence to its chimpanzee homolog" (King and Wilson, 1975, p. 112); and yet humans differ immensely from chimpanzees in form, capacities, and behavior. In addition, genes alone—which provide instructions for the production of amino acids

and proteins—cannot explain how the proteins produced by their instructions come to have the shape they develop and, ultimately, determine the form of the organisms where they are. Biologists who have drawn attention to this important gap in our knowledge of form have not been a grouping of mediocrities (Denton, 1986; Goldschmidt, 1952; B. C. Goodwin, 1985, 1988, 1989, 1994; Gottlieb, 1992; Grassé, 1973; E. S. Russell, 1916/1982; Sheldrake, 1981; Tauber and Sarkar, 1992; Thompson, 1917/1942). Lillie (1927) stated the problem succinctly:

> Those who desire to make genetics the basis of physiology of development will have to explain how an unchanging complex [the genome in today's term] can direct the course of an ordered developmental stream. (p. 367)

Buss (1987) cited Lillie's statement approvingly and added: "Lillie's challenge remains today" (p. 54). More recently, B. C. Goodwin (1989) has echoed the objection by saying:

> Since genes make molecules, genetics is a powerful tool for producing differences in the molecular composition of organisms and for identifying the morphological, behavioural or metabolic consequences of these differences. But it does not tell us how the molecules are organised into the dynamic, organised process that is the living organism. (p. 27)

One of the founders of molecular biology has written:

> Genetic information is laid down in a linear script. Since it is one-dimensional, we don't know how it specifies structures in three dimensions, on either the molecular or the macroscopic scale. (Perutz, 1989, p. 214)

I am not suggesting that any of the dissident biologists I have cited, who have insisted that genetics and natural selection have failed to explain adequately the form of living organisms, would welcome the addition of the psychic factor that I propose from the evidence in the cases described in this work. On the contrary, I think that most of them would accuse me of trying to revive vitalism, which Driesch (1908, 1914a, 1914b) expounded and which they perhaps thought had died with him. Yet I cannot object if what I propose is called *vitalism.* Although the word has become a term of abuse with some biologists, I think a new generation of them will one day accept it as an important truth.

Here I need to state another disclaimer: The present work itself contributes nothing important to our understanding of how living organisms come to have the forms they do. I claim that it does contribute information relevant to dermatology and to teratology; but that contribution is only to identify mental images as capable under certain circumstances of acting like rubella or thalidomide in interfering with developmental processes. The cases of this work add nothing to our knowledge of morphology. To be sure, they offer to embryology the idea of a mental

component that may influence embryonic and fetal development. This idea may stimulate research programs that could ultimately increase our understanding of living forms. In the meantime, however, what von Baer, the founder of embryology, wrote more than 150 years ago remains true:

> Many a man will receive a prize; but the palm will go to the fortunate person who is able to show us how the forces that form an animal body derive from the general powers and the life-plan of the Universe. The tree that will furnish the wood for this person's cradle has not yet sprouted. (von Baer, 1828, p. xxii; my translation)

The delay in awarding what we may call "von Baer's Prize" may be due to the dominance among biologists of a mechanistic concept of living organisms and a largely reductionist approach toward their study. Yet a few dissident scientists have called for a biology free of the belief that the subject will ultimately be reduced to physics and chemistry (Elsasser, 1987; Polanyi, 1958; E. S. Russell, 1945; Weiss, 1973).

The Influence of the Environment

Under this heading I wish not to deny that environmental influences can affect our personalities, but to insist that no one stage of life is more important than any other with regard to environmental influences.

It has been believed for centuries (in the West) that childhood was a period of special sensitivity to environmental influences on the development of personality. "Just as the twig is bent, the tree's inclined" (A. Pope, 1734/1978, p. 288). This doctrine, hardened into dogma, has been held fanatically by psychoanalysts and behaviorists—the single concept they had in common—and by nearly all experts on child development of other persuasions. Worse still, many psychotherapists—even well-trained ones—preach and practice the groundless idea that a single event of childhood can ruin a personality for life. Struggling against this fiction numerous authors have repeatedly drawn attention to the absence of evidence supporting the idea of childhood as a period of special sensitivity, the events of which have an irremediable effect on the later personality. A list of such authors includes Galton (as far back as 1875), L. J. Stone (1954), myself (1957), the Clarkes extensively (A. D. B. Clarke, 1978; A. D. B. Clarke and A. M. Clarke, 1954, 1976), on to Bohman and Sigvardsson (1979), Cass and C. B. Thomas (1979), Oyama (1979, 1981), A. Thomas (1981), and Kagan (1984). In 1981 Oyama wrote optimistically: "Students of development are beginning to move away from reflex assumption of long-term predictability [of development], though the belief in fixed potential, whether rooted in the genes or in early experience, dies hard" (p. 578). It does indeed, and in my view it will not die so long as the search for relevant factors in development is restricted to genes and the postnatal (or postconceptional) environment.

I do not mean by the foregoing remarks to deny an importance in human development to environmental influences. Also, what comes first will influence

what happens later. I only deny that infancy and childhood are more important periods in human development—or becoming—than any other ones. Child abuse is bad, but it is no worse than adult abuse, except that it occurs to persons who are small and weak. Moreover, the majority of abused children do not develop into persons who are themselves delinquent, criminal, or violent (Widom, 1989).

My descriptions of the unusual behavior shown by the subjects of international cases, such as those of Burma who seemed to remember the lives of Japanese soldiers, show that I fully acknowledge the important influence of the environment on human personality. If we consider these cases (admittedly unsolved) to be best interpreted as instances of reincarnation, they tell us that acculturation—that is, the influence of the environment—may persist beyond the frontier of death.

THE DUALITY OF MIND AND BRAIN

Accepting that reincarnation provides the best explanation for most of the cases reported in this work entails belief also in an interactionist dualism with regard to the relations between mind and brain. The principal rival to this theory is that of mind/brain identity, according to which what we call our minds are the subjective experiences of brain states. In this view minds have no causal efficacy, and mental activity derives exclusively from that of the brain. The identity theory, sometimes called epiphenomenalism, is the reigning orthodoxy today among nearly all philosophers, psychologists, and neuroscientists. Their views affect those of other educated people so "it is assumed by the majority of modern Western educated people that in some form or other the materialistic conception of human personality must be the right one" (H. H. Price, 1959, p. 187). The observations presented in this work (and many other observations also) tell us that it is not the right one. I do not propose to enter into an extensive review of the mind/brain problem, but readers may find interactionist dualism easier to conceive and accept if I point to some of the deficiencies of the identity theory.

To provide a definition of mind I begin with consciousness. It is that of which we are directly aware. *Percipio, ergo sum*, I would say. In the words of Eddington (1929): "Mind is the first and most direct thing in our experience; all else is remote inference" (p. 37). Eddington's use of the word *mind* corresponds to what I mean by consciousness because he links it with awareness. Yet since the middle of the 19th century, at least, we have known that much of the contents and most of the processes of our minds are not conscious. The principal ingredients of the unconscious levels of our minds are our memories. Memories are private (although we may attempt to summarize them in words or actions expressed to other persons). They are also unique to the person having them and therefore the best, perhaps the only, criterion of personal identity (Madell, 1981; Singer and Salovey, 1993; Teichman, 1988).

Observations of persons whose brains have been damaged through injury or illness show how much we require a healthy brain in order for certain mental events,

such as recovering memories, to occur. They show, however, only that for such events a healthy brain is necessary; they do not show that it is necessary and sufficient.

The problem of how we access our memories is one of the most difficult in psychology. Neuroscientists and psychologists cannot tell us either how we store memories or how we retrieve them. Suggestions that experiences leave "traces" in the brain (whether in altered neural networks or otherwise) have not so far led to further understanding, and one psychologist actually recommended abandoning the idea of "mediationism," that is, the belief that some sort of trace mediates memory (Watkins, 1990).

The identity theory also fails to explain or even help us to understand our perceptions of colors and shapes, which cannot correspond to anything in the brain. "The data of our sense-experience...have qualities not possessed by brain processes. When one sees something which looks yellow, the causally relevant brain processes are not yellow, so what is it that *is* yellow?" (Mundle, 1971, p. 160). The identity theory equally fails to help us understand the lack of isomorphism between our perception of, say, a three-dimensional chair and the by no means chairlike array of cerebral neurones that assist that perception.

To these questions the answer I favor is that the yellow and the chair shape that we perceive are in the mind. During lifetime under ordinary conditions the mind is tuned to the brain so that when the brain is properly stimulated the mind perceives colors and shapes. A useful analogy here is that of a television set; it shows colored forms when appropriately tuned to receive on its screen electrons released by the electromagnetic waves emanating from a transmitting station that has its camera focused on corresponding objects.

I do not think that philosophical inquiry will resolve the issue of monism versus dualism regarding the mind/brain problem.[3] Dualism will ultimately prevail when the evidence of telepathy and other paranormal processes becomes sufficiently persuasive. For me the existing evidence suffices, and I think it would prove so to many other scientists, if they would examine it carefully. Unfortunately, most of them have ignored the evidence of such phenomena or dismissed it as insubstantial. As the evidence for the occurrence of paranormal phenomena accumulates—admittedly with slow and intermittent progress—this move becomes increasingly difficult. Skeptics about these phenomena often object that we still have no satisfactory theory of how minds can interact directly without

[3]Nevertheless, philosophers have done much to clarify the issues regarding the mind/brain relationship. Apart from those I have cited (or will cite later), interested readers may profit as much as I have done from studying critiques of the identity theory by philosophers (and some psychologists and neuroscientists) (Almeder, 1992; Beloff, 1965, 1994; Gauld, 1982; Kripke, 1980; Lund, 1985; Madell, 1988; Malcolm, 1977; Penfield, 1975; Popper and Eccles, 1977; Smythies and Beloff, 1989; and Strawson, 1989).

There have been other philosophers, however, who have affirmed that the mind/brain problem is illusory; for them further developments in neuroscience will explain consciousness and reduce the mind to the activity of the brain (Churchland, 1986; Dennett, 1991). There have also been other neuroscientists of the same opinion (Changeux, 1983; Damasio, 1994).

brains. They should think about the sage remark of Charcot: "La théorie, c'est bon, mais ça n'empêche pas d'exister [Theory is all right, but it does not prevent something from happening]" (Freud, 1893/1924, p. 12). Nor should the lack of an explanatory theory prevent us from acknowledging the occurrence of "strange facts in search of a theory" (Mundle, 1973, p. 1). The present work alone contains several examples of knowledge subjects had about a deceased person that they could not have acquired through normal means.[4]

The idea that the brain is an instrument of the mind is, in the West, at least as old as Hippocrates (1923), who said "to consciousness the brain is the messenger" (p. 179). William James (1890) and Henri Bergson (1913) were in modern times among the first to advance the same idea. Although they were both fully convinced of the occurrence in some circumstances of paranormal cognition, neither developed a coherent theory of a mind/brain relationship that would take account of telepathy and clairvoyance. Later, however, Thouless and Wiesner (1946-49) did just that. They suggested that minds normally receive information by reading brains and normally influence events by instructing brains to carry out muscular activities; abnormally, however, minds may receive information directly from other minds and may also occasionally influence events directly without cerebral and muscular mediation. The title of the paper by Thouless and Wiesner included the word *paranormal*, which I have myself repeatedly used in this work. I regard this word as previously useful, but now handicapping. It derives from a negative definition of the events to which it refers, such as direct communication between minds *without the known sensory organs*. When such communications become widely accepted as actually occurring, even though rarely, we shall pass beyond a negative definition of such events and can stop using the word *paranormal*.

To assert that present knowledge of the brain cannot explain either normal memory or paranormal cognition is not to provide evidence that minds might survive the deaths of bodies. The cases reported in this work, and some other types of cases also, however, do provide such evidence, and readers need to decide for themselves to what extent they find this evidence convincing.

Before leaving the topic of the mind/brain problem, I wish to discuss one further aspect of it that I think bears importantly on the concept of minds as potentially separable from bodies and capable of surviving bodily death.

[4]The following examples are only a few of the instances of paranormal cognition that we may appraise as such without regard to the interpretation of reincarnation: Nirankar Bhatnagar's knowledge that Mukhtiar Dayal's name was written on the door of his house (Chapter 4); Maung Zaw Thein Lwin's knowledge of rupees that U Mar Din had hidden (Chapter 5); Juggi Lal's knowledge that Puttu Lal's name was (in part) tattooed on the arm of Puttu Lal's daughter (Chapter 10); Brijendra Singh's knowledge that Raj Bahadur's ornament was with a pawnbroker (Chapter 13); and Indika Ishwara's knowledge that Dharshana Samarasekera had written his name on soft concrete at a house in Balapitiya (Chapter 25).

The Concept of Mental Space

An important error in philosophy and hence in psychology was Descartes' (1641/1912) assertion that although bodies have the property of extension, minds do not. Henry More (1700/1925) and later David Hume (1738/1911) said this was a mistake, as have some subsequent philosophers; but the idea that minds cannot have the property of extension has had wide acceptance. Yet the briefest introspection will assure anyone that mental images do have extension. Imagine a cheetah running after a gazelle, and you will find that the images you have of each animal have some extension and are also in some spatial (or extensional) relation to each other. The images exist in your mental space. Some longer introspection can show you also that your mental space differs from the physical space with which you are familiar. Walk around a building and notice how the images of it in your mind change as you proceed, while the building remains unchanged. As you do so, you can have an awareness of two distinct spaces, the phenomenal one and the physical one.

Conceptions of mental space have to include a capacity for interaction between a mind (in mental or phenomenal space) and a brain (or parts of a body) in our familiar physical space. I think no one knows how such interaction could take place; it may be one of many ideas that observations force us to accept before we understand any process that could implement the assumed connection. It has been objected that minds, if they are different in substance from bodies, could not influence bodies; but there is nothing illogical in believing that two different substances may interact. Moreover, reasonable conjectures have been made about how a mind might influence a brain (Eccles, 1986, 1989, 1990; Wisdom, 1952).[5]

The further question arises of whether all our mental spaces are somehow joined, as are the seas of the earth around the continents and the continents under the seas. I am inclined to think our mental spaces are so united, although only a handful of mystics and religious geniuses claim to realize this directly.

The idea of mental space seems important if we are to conceive a plausible realm where discarnate personalities exist between terrestrial lives.[6] Some of the subjects reported in this work, and some whose cases I have described elsewhere, claimed to remember existences and events that occurred in a space different from our familiar physical space. I need to emphasize that with a few exceptions in

[5]The cases of the present work suppose an influence of the mind not only on the brain, but on other organs of the body also. The cases of stigmatism, of blisters raised with hypnosis, of local physical changes occurring during the reliving of a physically traumatic event, of maternal impressions, and those suggestive of reincarnation whose subjects have birthmarks and birth defects all suggest that under some circumstances consciousness may directly affect various parts of the physical body.

[6]Several authors, some of them philosophers with an appreciation of paranormal phenomena, have developed the concept of mental space. They include: Broad (1923/1952), Ducasse (1951), Poynton (1983, 1994), H. H. Price (1953), Smythies (1951, 1960, 1974, 1988, 1989, 1994), and Whiteman (1973).

which the subjects showed verified knowledge of *terrestrial* events occurring while they were ostensibly discarnate, most of their statements about a discarnate realm remain unverified; examples of claimed discarnate existences in a nonphysical space with verifiable details occurred in the cases of Veer Singh, Disna Samarasinghe, and Maung Aye Kyaw. If during our familiar life our minds are already in a mental space, as I believe, we might say that at death our bodies leave us, while we continue to exist in our mental space.

Release from the physical body would obviously deprive us of the kinds of perceptions our sensory organs and brains mediate. It might at the same time, however, make available to us other perceptions of different kinds, so that we would no longer "see through a glass, darkly." Ducasse (1951) and H. H. Price (1953, 1972) developed ideas of "another world" that show agreement with the statements about discarnate realms that some of the children who remember previous lives have made.

The "other world" that I am trying to describe—partly from what the subjects of cases have described and partly from evidence from other kinds of cases[7]—would probably have different "laws" than those that physicists describe. That world would be more "imagy" (to use H. H. Price's term) and less verbal than our familiar existence. Communication would be by processes similar to those of telepathy between living persons. Driesch (1930) suggested that "the means of communication that are normal for a dead person are 'paranormal' for a living one" (p. 26; my translation). Time would certainly be experienced differently, and movement might be faster than the speed of light. "Now" might equal "here," so that thinking about a person would result in being instantly with the person thought about.

WHAT FEATURES OF HUMAN PERSONALITY MIGHT BE CONVEYED FROM ONE LIFE TO ANOTHER?

In this section I will address the question of those features of human personality that might survive death and become expressed in another incarnation. What parts of all that we now are may survive death and manifest again? I suggest that we call these parts of ourselves *diathanatic*, meaning what may pass across the barrier of death.

[7]The principal "other kind of case" is that of persons who come close to death and survive. The features of such experiences show remarkable uniformity in different patients of the same culture (Greyson, 1985; Greyson and Stevenson, 1980; Noyes and Kletti, 1976; Owens, Cook, and Stevenson, 1990; Sabom, 1982).

Persons having these experiences often say afterward that they seemed to view their physical bodies as from another position in physical space (autoscopy); that they seemed to be somehow embodied in a body different from their familiar one; and that they seemed able to move from place to place effortlessly and rapidly.

Individuality versus Personality

In discussing what aspects of personality might reincarnate, Ducasse (1951) made the useful distinction between *personality* and *individuality*.[8] A personality comprises our currently observable behavior and accessible thoughts; individuality, on the other hand, includes personality and all that we have ever been as well. For example, I could at one time speak Spanish well enough to conduct interviews in that language, but now cannot. The ability to speak Spanish is not part of my personality, but it remains part of my individuality. If I were to take up Spanish again as a language to speak, I think I would progress more rapidly—because a capacity to speak Spanish is part of my individuality—than I would if I had never spoken Spanish. This permits me to think that if, in some future life, I were to study Spanish seriously again, I would find it easier than would persons whose individualities did not include, as mine would, an ability at one time to speak Spanish.

It seems to me likely that those aspects of a person that may be diathanatic will reflect the individuality more than the personality of the previous life or lives. The processes after death may include a sort of rendering down of attainments, so that the subject who remembers a previous life may have a greater capacity to learn what the previous personality of his memories knew than another person of comparable age who had another kind of previous life; but he would not bring with him all the skills of that life and manifest them untaught in this life. Aptitudes may be diathanatic, skills not so, or much less so. (Mozart and other child prodigies are possible exceptions; but we notice and remember them precisely because they are so exceptional.) Distinguishing between aptitudes and skills may help us to understand, for example, why subjects of international cases in Asia who remember a previous life in, say, England or the United States do not speak English in childhood; but these subjects may say—as some of them have done—that they found English easy to learn in school. Yet there are exceptions among our cases, and a few subjects seem to have demonstrated skills without reduction from a previous level of competence. For example, Disna Samarasinghe's father said that she (as a young child) knew how to cook rice better than his wife (Disna's mother), and Disna also knew how to make thatch roofs without being instructed.

[8]Sixty years before Ducasse, Myers had used the same words, *personality* and *individuality*, to make essentially the same distinction (Cook, 1994; Myers, 1892, p. 305). Myers was considering aspects of human personality that might survive death, but, unlike Ducasse later, he did not extend his discussion to include the possibility of reincarnation.

The distinction I wish to make may be valid for one life, but is no more than conjecturable if we apply it to putative reincarnations. If we confine ourselves to the phenomena of the cases, they provide no evidence of a fully persisting individuality. What we observe may be *either* a remnant of a previous personality the rest of which has become extinguished *or* an obtruding part of a previous personality the rest of which has survived—absorbed into the individuality—but does not become expressed. We cannot, however, choose between these alternatives. The entire previous personality never manifests in the new physical body. Nevertheless, I permit myself a few speculations about aspects of individuality that may persist from one life to another.

If everyone reincarnates—something that I certainly cannot assert from our meager data, and yet would not deny as a possibility—the majority of persons are born only with individualities manifesting from whatever previous lives they may have had. Thus they might show, for examples, interest in particular countries, preferences for certain foods, cravings for alcohol, effeminacy (in a male), a quick temper, or a tendency toward criminality. These traits would distinguish them from their parents and siblings and seem normally inexplicable.

In other behavior that is diathanatic, one person would not be distinguishable from another in his or her immediate group, because large parts of culture—by which I mean here the beliefs, customs, rituals, and social habits held in common by a group of people—may be diathanatic. All members of the group would bring with them, if they reincarnate in the same region at about the same time, the elements of the same culture. These could include a wide variety of attitudes ranging from international animosities to concepts about what happens after death and in the processes of reincarnation. As I have said before (for example, in my report in Chapter 18 of Sylvia Hirst Ewing's case), what one believes antemortem may powerfully influence what happens to one postmortem.[9]

The physical form of the individuality may be, at least to some extent, diathanatic also. In discussing the asymmetrical size of breasts in Chapter 23, I mentioned Lamarck's concept of the inheritance of acquired characteristics (Lamarck, 1809/1960). I suggested there and repeat now that acquired characteristics of form may be diathanatic. The children of a burly blacksmith—to use a standard example of Lamarckism—do not inherit his muscular development; instead, however, a child born after the blacksmith's death, if he remembers the blacksmith's life, might also benefit from the blacksmith's physical exertions.

Diathanatic Features of a Particular Personality

Students of child psychology have taken a long time to free themselves from the idea that an infant's mind is empty until "the senses...let in particular ideas" (Locke, 1690/1947, p. 9). Experiments particularly destructive of the Lockean *tabula rasa* have shown that infants a few days or weeks old can closely imitate with their faces the varying expressions on the face of a person they look at (Field et al., 1982; Meltzoff and Moore, 1977). Even more importantly, child psychologists have discovered increasing evidence that the rudiments of distinctive and even abnormal behavior manifest early in infancy. In Chapter 23 I mentioned observations of effeminate behavior, including a feminine gait, in male boys (even infants) who in

[9]A diathanatic belief about possibilities for reincarnation may explain why there are so many sex-change cases in Burma and Thailand, whereas we have learned of none at all among the Druses of Lebanon and the Tlingit of Alaska. If one believes when alive that it is impossible to change sex from one life to another, the belief may act as a kind of posthypnotic suggestion, preventing the occurrence of what is disbelieved. The absence of sex-change cases in the culture would serve to reinforce the belief that it is impossible to change sex.

adulthood became homosexual (Zuger, 1984, 1988). Infants only a few days old may show marked differences in temperament, such as in the frequency and duration of their spontaneous crying (Korner, 1971) and in the levels of their activity (H. R. Schaffer and Emerson, 1964). Psychologists aware of these early expressions of differences in infancy search for explanations in the infant's genes or in its prenatal (that is, uterine) environment. I am suggesting that the search should extend farther back—into possible previous lives. If successful, this could help us to understand better some of the differences that we can observe in newborn infants.

In some unusual persons something more than individuality seems to be diathanatic. These are the rare anomalous persons who have specific memories of a deceased person—what I call a previous personality. Compared with the general population, these persons occur so rarely that their condition—of having specific memories—may be a defect. Certainly the memories are rarely of advantage to the person who has them; and often—as I mentioned in Chapter 1—they entail considerable misery of which many of the cases described in this work provide poignant examples. Be that as it may, we need to consider what aspects of personality may, on occasion, be diathanatic. They are of three general types.

First, there are behavioral memories. Examples occur in the specific phobias that correspond with the mode of death in the previous life. I have shown that these may sometimes be expressed in an infant's behavior before it has the capacity to explain why it is afraid of whatever terrifies it. Behavioral memories, however, include much more than phobias, and we need to subsume under this category a wide variety of aversions, animosities with proclivities to violence, addictions, philias, postures, gestures, play, aptitudes, and skills. The unusual behaviors of children who remember a life as a person of the opposite sex or as a person of another country also illustrate this type of memories.

Second, some mental images are diathanatic. I believe these are mainly items of episodic rather than semantic memory, to use Tulving's (1972) vocabulary. For the same distinction Koestler (1969) used the more graphic term *picture-strip* memory, which he distinguished from what he called the "abstractive" type of memory. Subjects having such memories seem during their infancy to have an assortment of mental images that include scenes of the previous life and particularly of how it ended.[10] As they acquire speech, they begin to communicate something of the images with whatever vocabulary they have then attained.

And yet for some subjects the memories are not exclusively episodic, that is, of events. These subjects also remember names of people and places. They thus show some verbal memory of the previous life. If they did not do so, we should have very few solved cases to discuss. The capacity to bring over proper names from previous lives seems to vary greatly from one culture to another. It is weak in the subjects of Sri Lanka and the United States and unusually strong among those of Burma. Subjects of India are intermediate in this respect.

[10]Some readers will have noticed that a subject may remember events *just before* the previous personality died, but not remember exactly how he or she died.

Third, there are memories of physical wounds and other marks on the previous personality's body. How could a memory of these be conveyed through death and rebirth? These may be—almost certainly must be—of several types.

Some birthmarks and birth defects seem to have corresponded to visual images the subject had of, for example, how the previous personality was killed. A child may say, pointing at a birthmark: "I was shot here." If the birthmark is on the front of the body, the child's statement suggests a visual type of memory. Ma Myint Thein (Chapter 17) even remembered a ring, a wristwatch, and a gold bracelet that had, she said, been in the visual field of U Sein Maung as he held up his hands to plead for his life and then received the first slash of the killing sword on the hands, to which slash she attributed the severe birth defects of her hands.

There must, however, also be another type of memory that does not have a representation in a conscious mental image. Some birthmarks, especially those on the back, correspond to wounds or marks that the subject could never have had in his visual field. Victor Vincent (in the case of Corliss Chotkin, Jr.; Chapter 12), speaking to Corliss's mother, pulled up his shirt and pointed at a scar he had on his back, saying that a birthmark there on the child she would later bear, after his death, would be one sign by which she could recognize that he had reincarnated. (The scar was a residue of an operation on his chest, a biopsy or pleural drainage.) Unless Victor Vincent had used mirrors—which I think unlikely—he had never seen the scar on his back. Numerous other previous personalities also had visually inaccessible wounds, for example on their heads or backs, to which nevertheless birthmarks on a subject corresponded. Examples of these occurred in the cases of Maung Sein Win (Chapter 4), Nirankar Bhatnagar (Chapter 4), Maung Tin Win (Chapter 5), Chanai Choomalaiwong (Chapter 5), and Sunita Khandelwal (Chapter 6). These cases oblige us to think that there must be not only a memory of visual images, but some kind of corporeal memory that in some way becomes transferred diathanatically without there ever being any corresponding mental image in consciousness.

Even these two types do not comprise all the kinds of images we need to suppose in the previous personality, either during the previous life or during a discarnate phase between lives. There are cases in which birthmarks have occurred that did not correspond to any wound on the skin or elsewhere. I am thinking here of such cases as those of Sunita Singh (Chapter 6), Narong Yensiri (Chapter 6), and Ariya Noikerd (Chapter 19), in which birthmarks corresponded to blood on the body of the previous personality. In the case of Ma Chit Chit Than (Chapter 8), her birthmark corresponded to a red medicine spilled on the previous personality's face just before she died. In my report of the case of Jacinta Agbo (Chapter 7), I explained that the wide birthmark extending entirely around her head almost certainly corresponded not to a surgical incision on the previous personality's scalp, but to a bandage placed around his head after the operation to elevate portions of the skull knocked in by a club that hit him on the head.

Nearly all the cases of experimental birthmarks also involved no wound or other break in the previous personality's skin. In all but one of these cases, some black or colored substance was applied to the previous personality's skin, but the skin

was not penetrated. (In some of these cases of experimental birthmarks, we cannot speak of the mark applied to the skin as diathanatic without supposing the process of death to be prolonged—as indeed some modern physicians do. I say this because in 13 of the 20 cases of experimental birthmarks summarized in Table 10-4, the mark was applied to the previous personality's skin *after* he was judged to have died.)

In addition to the cases just mentioned, birth defects in a few others corresponded not even to a mark on the body of the previous personality, but instead to an idea that he had before dying or could be reasonably conjectured to have had. The birth defect of Bruce Peck's forearm corresponded to his grandfather's wish not to have a hand if he were reincarnated (Chapter 17). The cases of Wijeratne (Chapter 17) and Ma Khin Ma Gyi (Chapter 25) also suggest the power of a mental image—without a wounding or marking of the body—to produce a birth defect. In each of their cases the previous personality was guiltily aware of offenses that might bring retribution. Such thoughts in the minds of the previous personalities were the only identifiable causative factors in the birth defects of these subjects.

Before leaving the topic of the several kinds of memories that may be diathanatic, I wish to give some additional emphasis to a point that I made in Chapter 14. This is that abundance of a subject's memories of one type shows no correlation with abundance of memories of the other types. We have therefore subjects, like Bruce Peck, who had a birth defect reasonably attributable to a previous life, but no imaged memories of that life and only two behavioral memories: a phobia of water and an interest in fishing. As a contrast to him, we might take Ratana Wongsombat, a subject of Thailand. She remembered the previous life of a woman who died immediately after a surgical operation. She had many detailed memories of events in that woman's life and pronounced behavioral memories also; but she had no birthmark corresponding to the woman's surgical operation or to anything else on her body.

Philosophers will probably note that I avoid saying whether the phenomenal personality that comes to expression in an infant's body is the same or not the same as that of the deceased person whose memories the infant, within its means, may communicate. The Buddha, when asked whether what was reborn was the same or not the same as the person who had died, rejected the question as one of those "which tend not to edification"; or he would reply, gnomically, "to say that he is both reborn and not reborn would not fit the case" (Warren, 1896/1963, p. 125). The Buddha did not deny, however, that there is some continuity between lives; and his entire teaching focused on this fact, as he considered it, and its moral implications (Carrithers, 1983).

THREE WAYS IN WHICH EXPERIENCES OF A PREVIOUS LIFE MIGHT INFLUENCE ONE'S PHYSICAL BODY

I can think of three ways in which experiences in a previous life might influence the physical body in which, on reincarnating, one found oneself. These are: by the selection of parents, by the selection or rejection of zygotes and

embryos, and by a direct influence on an embryo. I will next discuss each of these possibilities.

Selection of Parents

I think it probable that the majority of reincarnating persons become associated with a new body in the selection and form of which they have had no influence. They have Hobson's choice and must take whatever body becomes available. Here is a situation where chance may operate. Yet the determination of parents may not always be random. I do not think it is. For reasons that I have mentioned often, same-family cases are weak in the evidence of a paranormal process—apart from most of those having birthmarks and birth defects. Nevertheless, in the same-family cases (as well as in ones involving previous friendship between the families concerned), we can perhaps discern the power of love in attracting discarnate persons to the parents (or a sibling) they will have in their next life.[11] There is a line by Jacques Delille which says: "Le sort fait les parents, le choix fait les amis" (Fate chooses our relatives, we choose our friends) (Delille, 1837, Canto 1, p. 75). This aphorism, written from the perspective of a single life, is wrong from that of reincarnation. It is wrong even for one life, because we do not *choose* our friends; we *make* our friends through acts of goodness toward other persons. Friends being made, a bond of attraction between them exists and, I suggest, may persist beyond death. It is this bond of friendship—strongest usually in families, but not restricted to them—that may attract us unconsciously to those who will be our relatives in a new life.

There are, in addition, a few cases about which it may be correct to speak of voluntary selection of parents. In a small number of them, a child has provided evidence of remembering the life of a person who had said he would be reincarnated as the child of the subject's parents. The cases of William George, Jr. (Chapter 10), Corliss Chotkin, Jr. (Chapter 12), and Wijeratne (Chapter 17) are

[11]One of the questions I am most frequently asked is how it happens that children who remember previous lives are found so much more readily in certain parts of the world than in others. An obvious part of the answer is that cases can develop more readily in countries like those of South Asia, where parents believe in reincarnation and will (usually) allow a child to express memories of a previous life if it wishes. I think, however, that other factors must enter into the observed differences in the incidence of reported cases in different parts of the world. I adumbrated some provisional answers elsewhere (Stevenson, 1987). Suffice it to say here that personal attachments, by which I mean emotional bonds between family members, seem to me stronger in the countries with a high incidence of reported cases than in those with a lower incidence. This is one of many questions requiring further study. In the meantime it would be wrong to cite the paucity of cases in the West as weighing against the authenticity of the cases elsewhere. Dr. Johnson wisely said of "second sight" in the "western islands" of Scotland that it "implies only the local frequency of a power, which is nowhere totally unknown; and that where we are unable to decide by antecedent reason, we must be content to yield to the force of testimony" (Johnson, 1775/1930, p. 99).

examples of this feature. I have had little personal experience in the investigation of the cases that occur among Tibetan lamas. I believe, however, that the claims made that some lamas can achieve a capacity for directed reincarnation (Norbu and Turnbull, 1969) deserve careful investigation.

My suggestion that love draws us again to those we have loved before does not account for the subjects whose cases illustrate what I call the geographical factor. For them we have to think of some other influence. A number of persons seem to become "entrapped" and remain in a discarnate existence near where they died until some appropriate, although involuntary, parent comes along.[12]

We have also studied a few cases in which the discarnate personality seemed unable to leave his or her dead body. Instead, as the subject later remembered, he or she followed the body as it was carried or moved from place to place. Parents who approach such a body may be at risk for having a child who remembers the life of the body's previous tenant.[13]

The Selection and Rejection of Zygotes and Embryos

The second opportunity for the previous personality to influence the kind of body in which it will reincarnate occurs in the possibility that the discarnate personality may reject zygotes (or embryos) of the parents that seem to it undesirable. More conceptuses are lost than develop into born babies. If fertilized eggs that are lost before implantation are included, "about 52 percent of all pregnancies end before the 28th week, and all but 6 percent of this 52 percent occurs before an abortion is recognized clinically" (A. B. Little, 1988, p. 241). Boklage (1990) stated that "at least 73% of natural single conceptions have no real chance of surviving 6 weeks of gestation. Of the remainder, about 90% will survive to term" (p. 75).

During the pregnancy cravings to which I have drawn attention in a number of cases, a pregnant woman experiences some unusual behavior, such as a strong desire for a particular food or alcohol, or unusual piety, which corresponds to similar behavior that the subject of the case later shows and that inquiry reveals the previous personality also to have shown. If discarnate personalities can influence pregnant women to the extent of altering their appetites or other behavior, they can presumably also induce endocrinological or other biochemical changes that would terminate a conceptus.

[12]Cases illustrating the postmortem entrapment that I am here considering include those of: Puti Patra, Ma Hsann Aye, Ma Khin Mar Htoo, the Ven. U Narada, and Maung Win Aung. Also, all the cases of Burmese subjects who remembered previous lives as Japanese soldiers or American and British airmen killed during World War II illustrate this kind of local detention.

[13]Subjects whose cases illustrate attachment of the discarnate personality to the dead body include: Yusuf Köse, Maung Aye Kyaw, Maung Win Aye, and Ma Hmwe Lone.

The task—if we may call it such—of eliminating unwanted conceptuses occurs particularly where the sex of the body of the next incarnation is important. Even in countries like Burma, where 208 (26%) of 787 subjects remembered a previous life as a person of the opposite sex, subject and previous personality are of the same sex in the majority of cases (Stevenson, 1983, p. 214). There are even cultures, such as those of the Druses of Lebanon and the Tlingit of Alaska, where, so far as we know, no sex-change cases whatever occur. Because Y chromosome-carrying sperms are more motile than X chromosome-carrying ones (Rohde, Porstmann, and Dörner, 1973), a possible psychosomatic process exists for the selection of embryos of the desired sex: through psychically induced changes in the viscosity of the fluids through which the sperm must swim to reach an ovum.

There are other situations in which a discarnate personality might monitor the zygotes of potential parents in order to choose a desirable one or reject an undesirable one. We have seen that the previous personalities of twins have often had a close and loving relationship. If two such persons, finding themselves discarnate, wish to be born again as twins, they would need to wait for two ova to be fertilized at about the same time. (Perhaps they could cause two ova to be released at the same time.) Alternatively, in the cases of monozygotic twins, the discarnate personalities must somehow cause a single zygote to divide.

Discarnate personalities need to monitor and select zygotes in yet another situation: that posed in cases of experimental birth defects in which the previous personality has died of sickle cell disease.[14] The parents of such a child are heterozygous for the sickle cell trait, and therefore, on average, one in four of their children will be homozygous for the trait and clinically ill. If a baby has died of sickle cell disease and its body has been mutilated by its parents, they recognize it as reborn (and cured of the tendency to die young) when the mother gives birth to another baby with a birth defect that corresponds to the mutilation of the dead child. In order to accomplish this "cure," the reincarnating personality must monitor the zygotes and reject any that are homozygous for the sickle cell trait.

How a discarnate personality can learn the sex or other qualities of zygotes I do not pretend to know or even guess. I can only say that the paranormal cognition required is no greater than that shown by a few great sensitives (clairvoyants), such as, for example, Olga Kahl (Chapter 3) and Stefan Ossowiecki (Borzymowski, 1965). Therefore, in principle, I do not consider the task impossible.

[14]I have assumed the cause of death as sickle cell disease in order to discuss the example of a disease the genetics of which are well known. In fact, as I explained in Chapter 20, sickle cell disease, although an important cause of the high infant mortality in West Africa, is by no means its only cause. Malnutrition, dysenteries, malaria, and pneumonia all contribute to this high mortality. Among the peoples of West Africa who practice mutilation of dead babies, the parents rarely know of what illness, in medical terms, a child has died. This means that they may mutilate the bodies of children who have not died of sickle cell disease as well as the bodies of those who have.

Direct Influence of a Discarnate Personality on an Embryo or Fetus

The concept of a direct influence by a discarnate personality on an embryo or fetus entails topical correspondences between the form of the discarnate personality (or at least its potentiality for influencing form) and the developing organism it affects. This idea, in turn, obliges us to consider how the influencing form can be conveyed from one body to another. We can ask at the same time how all the other kinds of memories may be carried from one life to another. This important topic leads me to speculations—in the next section—about a vehicle that might convey memories from one life to another. In the course of conjecturing this vehicle, I will consider how it might exert a direct influence on a developing human organism.

A VEHICLE FOR CONVEYING MEMORIES FROM ONE LIFE TO ANOTHER: THE PSYCHOPHORE

The memories of the previous personality must be conveyed in the interval between death and birth in or on something. A disembodied existence is difficult to conceive, and for me the task has proven close to impossible, as it has for some philosophers who have considered the problem (Broad, 1962; Wheatley, 1979). We therefore need to imagine a vehicle for memories between lives. For this vehicle I proposed the word *psychophore*, which means "soul-bearing" (Stevenson, 1987).[15]

Although I cannot say of *what* substance the psychophore might be made, I can assert that, if such a vehicle exists, it must be made of *some* substance. How otherwise could mental images have extension? Joseph Priestley (1777) saw this clearly, more than two centuries ago, when he wrote:

> If the architypes [*sic*] of ideas have extension, the ideas which are expressive of them, and are actually produced by them, according to certain mechanical laws,

[15]Some readers may ask why I need to propose a new word for an intermediate vehicle when I could adopt existing words from religious traditions, especially those of South Asia. It is true that references to "subtle bodies" occur in the *Upanishads* (R. E. Hume, 1931; p. 396, p. 436); and the *Tibetan Book of the Dead* (Evans-Wentz, 1927/1957) assumes that discarnate personalities have postmortem bodies. One can, however, find corresponding references in other religious traditions. For example, in the Bible we read: "There are also celestial bodies, and bodies terrestrial....There is a natural body, and there is a spiritual body" (1 Cor. 15:40-44). To give another example, the discarnate persons that Er said he observed, as described in the tenth book of *The Republic* (Plato, 1935), were fully embodied. Offered these and other choices from past and present cultures, it would be invidious to adopt the vocabulary of one to the neglect of the others. Second, I wish to avoid the connotations that words or phrases derived from religious traditions would entail. Third, and most important, the immense literature of South Asian and other religions derives ultimately from the personal experiences of sages and seers. We should respect their reports for the wisdom they may transmit, but they are outside the publicly observable phenomena with which modern science is concerned.

> must have extension likewise; and therefore the mind in which they exist, whether it be material or immaterial, must have extension also. But how any thing can have extension, and yet be immaterial, without coinciding with our idea of mere empty *space*, I know not. I am therefore obliged to conclude, that the sentient principle in man, containing ideas which certainly have parts, and are divisible, and consequently must have extension, cannot be that simple, indivisible, and immaterial substance that some have imagined it to be; but something that has real *extension*, and therefore may have the other properties of matter. (p. 38)

More recently, McGinn (1991) grappled with the mind-brain problem and, appraising the plausibility of the idea of a mental substance, pointed out that "we can assert that a gap has been filled without being able to say how it is filled" (p. 119).

Even though I cannot describe the substance of the psychophore, I can offer some conjectures about its form. I think that immediately after death the psychophore's form would correspond closely to that of the dead physical body. We might call this shape the *tautomorph*, meaning a duplicate in form of the most recent physical form. Within groups of peoples a *eumorph* highly regarded by its members may emerge. In Western countries the female eumorph may resemble the Venus de Milo, but among the Khoikhoi (Hottentots) the eumorph would include steatopygy. During discarnate existence, the form of the psychophore may become modified in the direction of the local eumorph or may regress toward some more universal *urmorph*.

In the cases of subjects with birth defects or unusual physiques related to previous lives, the psychophore would not return to the eumorph, but would retain the form of the tautomorph. It would then act as a kind of template affecting the form of the developing embryo or fetus. The physical form of the baby would then correspond, more or less, to the shape of the tautomorph. Fingers or hands cut from the previous personality's body would be missing or at least malformed in the subject's body that that personality influences.

How the psychophore exerts its influence on embryo or fetus future research may elucidate. In the meantime, it may help to use the analogy of scaffolding in the erection of a building. The scaffolding is not the same as a wall that is built from the scaffolding, but it is essential to the building of the wall; should workmen fail to erect scaffolding in a particular part of a building being constructed, it will have no wall where the scaffolding is missing. (Like all analogies, this one is imperfect, because the psychophore must have internal structures as well as external boundaries.)

I assume further that the anatomical parts of the psychophore come into correct topical apposition with corresponding parts of the developing organism. If this were not the case, fingers chopped off a deceased person's hand would not result in missing fingers in a baby, but perhaps in missing toes. But this is not what we find; chopped-off fingers are followed by absent fingers, not absent toes.

The cases of experimental birthmarks (Chapter 10) and experimental birth defects (Chapter 20) show that either the psychophore may not become detached

from the dead body for as long—in some cases—as 2 days, or that, after becoming detached, it remains topically in correspondence with the dead body until after the body has been marked or mutilated, as the case may be. The case of Anurak Sithipan (Chapter 10) shows that slippage may occur between the mark made on a dead body and the apparently corresponding birthmark.

In Chapter 3 I presented data which show that maternal impressions are much more likely to occur during the 1st trimester of a pregnancy than during the 2nd and 3rd ones. Warkany (1971, p. 14) faulted Dabney (1890) for accepting into his series some cases in which the maternal impression had occurred late in the pregnancy, long after the limbs and organs of the fetus had been fully formed; but if paranormal forces are in play, they may act destructively on tissues already formed as well as on those in a stage of being formed. We have some cases of the reincarnation type in which the previous personality died after the subject's conception, sometimes just a few days or weeks before his or her birth. And yet there seemed to be an effect on the subject's fetus corresponding to the wounds or marking of the previous personality. In most cases, however, the previous personality had died months or years before the subject's conception. In such cases the psychophore could act on the embryo from its conception on.

Do the data entail that a discarnate personality endures and perhaps suffers from the previous personality's wounds throughout the entire interval between death and birth? Not necessarily. The adult patients who remembered beatings and other trauma experienced when they were children and who had an accompanying recurrence of the related physical changes did not have and suffer from the physical wounds of their injuries during all the intervening years. These physical wounds only appeared again when the memories of their first occurrences became intensely revived. I suppose that, similarly, the discarnate personality may be released from the suffering of wounds received just before death and perhaps experience nothing more of it until the next incarnation.[16] The psychophore may therefore influence the subject's embryo or fetus without concomitant renewal of the previous personality's conscious suffering.

Exceptions to this suspension of suffering may occur. A few discarnate personalities who manifested in announcing dreams showed (or mentioned) the previous personality's wounds to the dreamer. Examples occurred in the cases of Ali Uğurlu (Chapter 5), Alan Gamble (Chapter 6), Necip Ünlütaşkıran (Chapter 6), Daw Khin (Chapter 14), U Aung Gyi (Chapter 17), Maung Hla Hsaung (Chapter

[16]B.G. Braun (1983) reported the case of a woman who had been tortured by her mother and brother. They had put burning cigarettes to her skin. She subsequently developed multiple personality disorder. On occasions when the personality who had been burned was in "control of the body," red spots approximately the size of the end of a cigarette would appear on the patient's body. The spots remained for from 6 to 10 hours. The controlling personality said that these red spots corresponded to the torturing cigarette burns of her childhood. The spots recurred each time this personality returned. B.G. Braun obtained independent confirmation that cigarette burns had been inflicted on the patient.

17), and Semih Tutuşmuş (Chapter 18). A contrary example occurred in the case of Ariya Noikerd, who remembered the life of her older brother, Apirak, who was killed in a road accident and then cremated without the blood having been wiped from his face. Ariya had a prominent nevus flammeus on her face and part of her head where the blood had been left on Apirak. Yet between Apirak's death and Ariya's birth, their mother dreamed of Apirak (who was asking to return) and saw him without blood on his face (Chapter 19).

The Psychophore as a Field or Federation of Fields

The concept of a field, borrowed from physics, has proven of some value in embryology. Morphogenetic fields were first conceived as gradients of influence exerted by chemical substances on the growth and form of developing tissues (Gurwitsch, 1922; Spemann, 1921; Weiss, 1923, 1939, 1973). As early as 1945, Murphy (1945) adopted the concept of fields from biology and applied it to help in understanding paranormal phenomena. The concept is not fashionable among modern biologists, but not without important support also (De Robertis, Morita, and Cho, 1991; Gilbert, Opitz, and Raff, 1996; B. C. Goodwin, 1982, 1990; Opitz, 1985, 1993).[17]

Morphogenetic fields, even when restricted to biology, apart from paranormal phenomena, seem to require some feature not included in our present concepts of matter.[18] We require this feature in order to understand how, when an adult loses a permanent tooth with a resulting hollow in the maxilla or mandible, the hollow gradually becomes filled with bone. Similarly, we need the concept of a field to explain the growth of fingertips complete with nails after amputation of the end of a finger (at least in a child). I gave references to this phenomenon in the report of the case of Yusuf Köse (Chapter 17). Holes in the ears of some subjects that corresponded to holes for earrings in a previous life sometimes closed up, leaving only a pit or even just an area of hyperpigmenta-

[17]Wolkowski (1988) reviewed the development of the concept of fields in physics and its later application to biology. He also proposed the word *phoron* to describe "an entity related to a field that carries a message, a signal, a communication. It is tied to a field or resembles a field, because it is not just a field in the physical sense. Having two aspects—physical and informational—its essential feature is its informational content, which establishes form" (p. 464; my translation).

[18]The words *matter* and *material* are not easy to handle without causing misunderstanding. One does not have to read far in physics to appreciate this. I want to say that morphogenetic fields may include gradients both of recognizable chemical substances and also of psychic forces that we can only identify as yet by their effects.

For the better understanding of paranormal phenomena Wassermann (1993) adapted the idea of "shadow matter," which is conceived as a duplicate of "ordinary" physical matter and collocal with it (E. W. Kolb, Seckel, and Turner, 1985). Wassermann conjectured that the shadow matter, ordinarily closely attached to its physical counterpart, may become detached from it. It might then act as a vehicle for mental capacities expressed away from the physical body. This idea could explain out-of-the-body experiences and even the survival of human personality after death. Wassermann, however, considered his theory to be a materialistic, not a mentalistic one.

tion. We can fairly ask how the cells at the edges of these anatomical absences "knew" to duplicate themselves in ways that would fill up the empty space and make the defective part resume its normal form. These phenomena suggest to me that morphogenetic fields have a nonmaterial component and also that they persist throughout life. They appear to have much less corrective power in adults than in children and much less in humans than in some lower animals. E. S. Russell summarized a large number of observations of what he called "the directiveness of organic activities" in nonhuman animals. It would be unfair, however, to enroll him as a vitalist; he merely asserted that directiveness and creativity were *biological* facts that could not be squeezed "within the materialistic frame" (E. S. Russell, 1945 p. 192). Maturana and Varela (1987) similarly emphasized the ability of living organisms to develop and to reproduce themselves as well as to repair and regenerate their tissues (at least in part). This ability, for which they suggested the word *autopoiesis*, distinguishes what is living from what is not.

I conceive the psychophore as itself having fields that act on the material morphogenetic fields of the developing organism and as maintaining nonmaterial morphogenetic fields throughout a person's life and afterward. The field that succeeds the morphogenetic one, after the organs have been formed, should properly be called *morphostatic*. It does not generate structure, but maintains or replaces it.

A few cases in this work provide some evidence of field effects that I believe we can attribute to the psychophore of the previous personality. I am thinking here of instances in which the subject's body showed an affected area that was larger than the corresponding area damaged in the previous personality's body.

One example of such a field effect occurred in the case of Selma Kılıç, who remembered the life of a young girl who died of nephritis (Chapter 21). Selma herself had nephritis; and she also had a prominent birthmark on the skin of her back at the approximate level of the left kidney.

Lekh Pal Jatav's case gave us another example of a field effect (Chapter 17). He recalled the life of Hukum Singh, who had had the four fingers (but not his thumb) of his right hand accidentally cut off. Lekh Pal had marked brachydactyly (of the right hand) that included the thumb as well as the other four fingers.

A third instance of a field effect occurred in the case of Faris Yuyucuer (Chapter 19). He remembered the life of a young boy, Hasan Derin, who, before he drowned, had been circumcised and had had a urethral calculus removed. Faris was born with a markedly diminutive penis.

A fourth example occurred in the case of Augustine Nwachi (Chapter 17). He—a subject who had no imaged memories of a previous life—was identified as the reincarnation of his grandfather Dominic, who died (probably) of a generalized bacteremia following a (presumed) wound and gangrene of two toes. Although Dominic's entire foot was swollen, only two toes were involved in the gangrenous mortification. Yet Augustine was born with the distal third of his foot absent (except for some nubbins suggesting an attempt at toes). An effect on the morpho-

genetic field of the entire foot is suggested by the absence of the distal third of the foot, even though only two toes were involved in gangrene. The nubbins representing toes must also derive from a morphogenetic field that tried—if I may use that teleologism—with only partial success to influence the tissues of the stunted foot.

A fifth example occurred in the case of Daw Aye Than (Chapter 5). In commenting on her case I suggested that the asymmetry of her breasts might have derived from a field effect of which another expression was the prominent linear birthmark below her right breast.

A sixth example came to my attention in 1994. It is that of a child in northern India who was born with the right hand and distal half of the right forearm absent. He remembered the previous life of a man the fingers of whose right hand were entangled and mangled in a machine. The subject's birth defect was therefore appreciably greater than the injury to the previous personality. I have seen the subject of this case only fleetingly, and Dr. Satwant Pasricha will publish a detailed report of it.

I think we can postulate field effects in the several cases in which the subject's fingers or toes were not only defectively short but involved in a syndactylous process. Examples of this feature occurred in the cases of Maung Hla Hsaung, Maung Aung Htoo, Ma Khin Mar Htoo, Ma Hsann Aye, Ma Win Yee, Ahmet Balcı, and Daw Oo (all in Chapter 17).

We also have cases in which the birthmark or birth defect on the subject was appreciably smaller than the corresponding wound or lesion on the previous personality. The two nevi on William George, Jr., were smaller in size than the nevi on his grandfather to which informants said they corresponded in location (Chapter 10). In the case of Maung Myint Soe, informants said that the preauricular appendage he had was smaller than one to which it corresponded on U Sein Htun, whose life Maung Myint Soe remembered (Chapter 18). In the case of Maung Htoo, leprosy had eaten away large parts of U Paw Kywe's nose and mouth; yet Maung Htoo, who remembered U Paw Kywe's life, was born with an intact nose and had only a cleft lip and palate (Chapter 18). We can find another example, although an unverified one, in the case of Maung Aung Than (Chapter 19). He said that as U Ba Kyar, whose life he remembered, was being killed, his murderer chopped off his penis. Maung Aung Than had a normal penis except for congenital absence of the foreskin. In cases of this last group—with birthmarks and birth defects smaller or more restricted than the lesions to which they corresponded—we have to suppose either an attenuation of the disturbance in the psychophore's morphogenetic field or a greater than ordinary resistance of the developing embryo's (or fetus's) tissues to whatever disturbing influence the psychophore exerted.

Evidence from Other Phenomena for the Psychophore

I am not daunted by knowing that the psychophore is, at this stage, a largely imaginary construction intended to satisfy for the time being a need to con-

ceive a vehicle that would convey memories from one terrestrial life to another. The history of science offers many examples of successful concepts that preceded observations directly confirming them. Sometimes the concept led to the search for such direct evidence. William Harvey discovered the circulation of the blood without knowing about the existence of connections between the smaller arteries (arterioles) and the smaller veins (venules). From the strength of other evidence, he assumed there must be some connection. He published his discovery in 1628. He did not use a microscope, but in his day microscopes were crude, and even if he had looked, he would not have seen the capillaries. It was only in 1661, 4 years after Harvey's death, that Malpighi was able to see the capillaries, which Harvey had imagined more than 30 years earlier. Similarly, Mendeleev's periodic table of the elements predicted the discovery of several elements unknown at the time he developed his table. We could extend this list: Genes, photons, atoms, and viruses were all assumed to exist long before anyone found substantial evidence that they do exist.

It happens, however, that we have a small amount of evidence for the psychophore from sources outside the cases of children who remember previous lives. I will next briefly review two sources of independent evidence for a body such as I conceive the psychophore to be.

Apparitions. Most apparitions (of a person not physically present to the percipient) do not furnish any evidence that the person perceived is embodied. Even when the experience contains verifiable information about a distant person of which the percipient could not have had normal knowledge, we can explain the experience adequately by attributing it to telepathy or perhaps clairvoyance. I say this even of those remarkable cases in which the percipient saw the appearing person with, and perhaps pointing at, some wound of which the percipient could have had no normal knowledge.[19]

It seems to me, however, that we cannot satisfactorily explain collective apparitions by telepathy or clairvoyance. Collective apparitions are among all apparitions an important minority. Thus Myers (in *Phantasms of the Living*) stated:

> Where several persons have been together when the phantasm occurred,...it will be found that in nearly two cases out of three the phantasm is perceived by all or most of the persons so situated that they would have perceived it had it been an objective reality. (Gurney, Myers, and Podmore, 1886, Vol. 2, p. 278)

[19]Readers wishing to study examples of apparitional figures with wounds of which the percipient had no normal knowledge can find them in the reports of Barrett et al., (1882, pp. 124-126), Gurney and Myers (1889, pp. 412-415), Myers (1889, pp. 17-20), and Wesley (1738-1791/1913, Vol. 2, pp. 335-336).

The location of fatal wounds has also been conveyed paranormally and seemingly at the moment of death to percipients who were dreaming (Flammarion, 1920, pp. 103-104; Gurney, Myers, and Podmore, 1886, Vol. 1, pp. 365-366).

In the later Census of Hallucinations (of the Society for Psychical Research), when two or more persons were present and had the possibility of perceiving the apparition, about one-third of the experiences were collective (H. Sidgwick and Committee, 1894). Still later, in a further study of the frequency of collective apparitions, Hart found that they occurred in 26 (56%) of a series of 46 cases (Hart and Collaborators, 1956, pp. 204-205). The incidence of collective apparitions varies somewhat according to the criteria adopted for "being present" at the time any one of two or more persons has an experience of this type. The three series I have just cited, however, show that collective apparitions form an important subgroup of apparitions.

A few collective apparitions may result when one person present perceives the apparitional figure first and speaks or gestures in such a way as to induce agreeing hallucinations in the other persons present, thus giving rise to a spurious appearance of a simultaneous collective perception. However, this seems to happen only rarely. Most cases require some other explanation.

Gurney believed that telepathy between the several percipients participating in a collective apparition adequately explained collective apparitions (Gurney, Myers, and Podmore, 1886). Myers (in the same volume) dissented, and he favored interpreting collective apparitions by supposing that the appearing figure was both an active agent and, in some sense, present at the time the percipient saw him or her. Gurney's explanation of collective apparitions as resulting from a kind of telepathic infection among the group of percipients requires the sudden manifestation of quite unusual paranormal powers between persons who have never previously shown such communications with each other. It also fails to explain why the different percipients of a collective apparition often see the appearing figure from the perspective of their physical locations. I side with Myers in this controversy, believing that collective apparitions favor the idea that the appearing figure is really "there," where the percipients perceive it to be.

Some other features of apparitions suggest that some of them have a substantial quality, a something that is present where they are seen to be. For example, they are sometimes reflected in mirrors, sometimes intercept light or cast a shadow, sometimes walk around objects, such as furniture that happens to be in their way, and sometimes can themselves be walked around.

In one type of apparition the appearing person has the experience of being in the place where he or she is seen to appear at the same time. These are sometimes called "reciprocal cases" and also "bilocations." These cases necessarily involve living persons, not dead ones. They do not all suggest substantiality of the appearing figure.

We can account for many reciprocal cases by supposing a kind of shared hallucination—one shared, that is, between the primary agent (who is the appearing person) and the percipient. The Polish clairvoyant Stefan Ossowiecki undertook an experiment of this kind. He determined to transport himself to an acquaintance's apartment and there appear to her while his body remained at his

home some distance away. He did not inform her of his intention in advance. The experiment succeeded in that the acquaintance said that she saw Ossowiecki in her apartment, and called his name three times, at the time he experienced himself as being there with her (Borzymowski, 1965). We could account for this case by supposing that the strength of Ossowiecki's impulse to visit the acquaintance telepathically stimulated her to hallucinate his presence in her room just at the time when he hallucinated himself to be there. (I am not saying that I think this the best explanation for Ossowiecki's experience; but I do not see how we can exclude it as a plausible interpretation of the case.)

There are other reciprocal cases, however, in which the appearing person takes cognizance of the physical place where he or she is seen and adapts to it. He or she may move to look at or embrace a particular person in this area (Flammarion, 1921, pp. 145-146, pp. 147-148; Funk, 1907, pp. 185-186; Gurney, Myers, and Podmore, 1886, Vol. 1, pp. 162-164; Lee, 1875, pp. 288-290; E. M. Sidgwick, 1891, pp. 41-46). In some instances the appearing person may speak to the percipient, perhaps offering advice or assistance (Carty, 1963, pp. 56-82; Laurentin and Mahéo, 1990; Marinelli, 1993). To the perceiver of the appearing person, that person seems to control the movements of the perceived figure; and the appearing person may feel himself or herself to be somehow embodied at the place where he or she is seen.

Informants for nine cases that my associates and I have studied have reported seeing the previous personalities concerned in these cases as apparitional figures between the death of the previous personality and the subject's birth. Among the cases of the present work, this feature occurred in the cases of Ma Khin Mar Htoo (Chapter 17) and Maung Myo Min Thein (Chapter 18). Other examples of such apparitions occurred in the cases of Maung Yin Maung and Chaokhun Rajsuthajarn.

I leave this digression on apparitions without asserting that they provide conclusive evidence of a vehicle for consciousness (other than the physical body), such as I envisage the psychophore to be. Apparitional cases of the types I have mentioned do no more than suggest such a body, but they do that much.[20]

Phantom Limbs on Congenital Amputees. So far as I know, Valentin (1847) was the first observer of phantom limbs to have questioned persons born with congenital absence of parts of extremities about their sensations of having a normal limb in place of the defective one. He described the cases of three congenital amputees who had phantom limbs or parts of limbs and two others who did not. After Valentin, later observers reported individual instances of phantoms in congenital amputees (Mikorey, 1952; Poeck, 1963; Sohn, 1914). These reports seem to have been little noticed; and some authors denied, on theoretical

[20]I have provided an extremely condensed discussion of the evidence I interpret as supporting the judgment that at least some apparitional figures are substantially present in the physical space where they are seen. Readers interested in fuller reviews of this important topic should consult Gauld (1982), Gurney, Myers, and Podmore (1886), Hart and Collaborators (1956), Stevenson (1982), and Tyrrell (1953).

grounds, that congenital amputees could have phantoms because there could have been no sensory stimulus to the brain from an absent part (Bailey and Moersch, 1941; L. C. Kolb, 1954). Investigations in the 1960s overturned these objections when subtle, indirect lines of questioning showed that among 101 cases of congenital aplasia, 18 had phantoms (Weinstein and Sersen, 1961; Weinstein, Sersen, and Vetter, 1964).

I am sure that none of the mentioned observers ever thought of attributing phantom limbs of congenital amputees to previous lives; for them the phantoms simply showed the integrity of the central nervous system with perhaps the ability to imagine the defective limb as being whole. Mikorey (1952) speculated that phantoms in congenital aplasia give some support to the Aristotelian idea of an innate *entelechy* in living organisms—conceived by Aristotle (1985) as a plan that guides morphogenesis; and he (Mikorey) referred to the use of this term and concept in the advocacy of vitalism by Driesch (1908, 1914b).

I am not asserting that phantom limbs in congenital amputees provide strong evidence of an intermediate corporeal vehicle, such as I conceive the psychophore to be. Nevertheless, two further facts deserve noting.

First, "the majority of subjects with congenital aplasia experience the phantom as normal in size and in the extended position" (Weinstein, Sersen, and Vetter, 1964, p. 278). This contrasts with the experience of postnatal amputees, the majority of whom experienced their phantoms in some abnormal position.

Second, some of the subjects of the cases I have described in this work have commented on their small size as young children in comparison to the larger (adult) bodies they remembered having had in a previous life. They seemed to have, as it were, phantom adult bodies.[21] These references to previous adult bodies, however, expressed memories of a previous incarnation, not of an existence between death and presumed rebirth.

Comment. When I was investigating the cases of this work in which subjects have been born with absent parts of extremities, it never occurred to me to ask the subjects whether they had the experience of a phantom limb. Future investigators might learn something of value by putting questions about phantom limbs to such subjects.

[21]In the report of Govind Narain Mishra's case (Chapter 11) I gave in a note a list of subjects who spoke as young children about an awareness of having been physically bigger in the previous life they remembered. In most such subjects, so far as I know, the awareness of having had a large, adult body was not stimulated by particular events. In the case of Marta Lorenz, however, she felt herself to be in an adult body (and dying) at times of having severe laryngitis from (or with) which Sinhá, the person whose life Marta recalled, had died (Stevenson, 1966/1974). Another subject, Yusuf Eldeen, of a (still unpublished) case in Lebanon told me that he remembered as a young child (about 4 or 5 years old) walking to the village where he recalled having lived (as an adult) in a previous life; and as he walked on the road nearing the village he felt himself to be in a large body.

In Chapter 14 I discussed several features of the cases that correlate or do not correlate with the occurrence of birthmarks and birth defects. I reserved for this chapter, however, what I consider the most important factor in their occurrence. I did this so that when I discuss it readers could have before them the data of the cases with birth defects (and other cases of the later sections of this work) as well as those from the cases with birthmarks.

CONCENTRATION OF ATTENTION AS A GENERATIVE FACTOR IN BIRTHMARKS

In trying to understand the anomalous occurrence of a birthmark on Punkaj Chauhan's abdomen, although there were none corresponding to other wounds that Munnu Babu (the previous personality of the case) received, I suggested that perhaps Munnu Babu had given more attention, as he was dying, to the wound on his abdomen than he had to the other wounds he received (Chapter 14). I wrote that this may have occurred if Munnu Babu had had his assailant in view before he lost consciousness and died, his attention thus focused on the wound the assailant then inflicted.

If this conjecture has any merit, we should expect to find some evidence elsewhere of a correlation between increased attention to a wound and the occurrence of a corresponding birthmark or birth defect. We may not find direct evidence of such a connection, but perhaps the prominence of violence in the cases can provide some indirect evidence.

Violence as a Concentrator of Attention

A reader of this work who has already read numerous descriptions of murders and other violent deaths figuring in the cases I have described may see no need for me to emphasize the role of violence in the cases. There is, however, a need to understand *why* and *how* violence seems to be so important in the cases.

A violent death has several concomitants of which the following seem the most important:

1. It is nearly always fraught with physical pain, often of great severity;
2. It is nearly always sudden, at least in times and places without modern medical facilities. Where those facilities now exist, medical intervention may prolong life after some wound occurring violently, even though death finally comes; but medical care was rarely available in the cases with which this work is concerned. The fatal act of violence is always sudden, even if the ensuing death is not;
3. It is always premature, because even a very old person would have lived a little longer, if he or she had not been killed violently;
4. It is nearly always unexpected; a person who had thought he would go on living, at least for some time, must confront the imminence of death. Dr. Johnson, during his efforts in 1777 to save the Reverend William Dodd from being hanged

for forgery, wisely remarked: "When a man knows he is to be hanged in a fortnight, it concentrates his mind wonderfully" (Boswell, 1791/n.d., p. 725). This being so, the awareness that one was about to be cut to death with a sword or run over by a train would produce even greater concentration. (In Chapter 18, in the report of Maung Myint Soe's case, I drew attention to an important parallel between many of the children who remember previous lives and persons who have undergone severe stress in this life: in both groups the past can become vividly and at times dominantly present.)

I think that all four of the features just mentioned increase the attention given to the occasion of violent death, fixing the memory of it and making that memory somehow more transmissible to a later-born person. Presumably the fixation will be greater according to the linkage in the mind of the dying person between the fatal wounds and the ensuing death.

This suggestion receives support from the frequent close temporal connection between the wounds and the death. Table 26-1 lists 62 cases with a violent death that I have grouped according to the time that elapsed between the fatal wounding and the previous personality's death. (I have given detailed reports of all the cases elsewhere in this work.) For 52 of these cases we verified sufficient details of the previous personality's death to permit reasonably accurate estimates of the interval between wounding and death. For 10 cases we lacked such verification, and I have accepted the subject's account of the sequence of events before death. I have not included in the table any unsolved cases. I also have not included any cases of experimental birthmarks, tattoos, or holes pierced for earrings. Nor have I included cases in which doubts exist concerning the correspondence between wounds and birthmarks.

Among the 62 cases listed in Table 26-1, death occurred in 36 (58%) immediately after the wounding or within 5 minutes. In another 7 cases (11%) death occurred within an hour of the wounding, and in another 10 cases (16%) within 24 hours. In only 9 cases (14.5%) was death prolonged beyond a day after the wounding.

The relevant factor here is not the physical suffering associated with a wound, but the attention the wounded person gives to the wound, perhaps because of that suffering but also, it may be, for some other reason, such as the fear of imminent death.

Other Concentrators of Attention

In the cases with natural death we can often notice other factors that may have concentrated a person's attention on a wound or injury that later corresponded to a birthmark.

The piercing of ears to hold earrings often occurs as a rite of passage that would focus a person's attention on the ears. Afterward every time that person attached an earring to an ear he (or she) would give more attention to the holes pierced in the ears. During many years of a person's wearing earrings, the earring

Table 26-1. **Interval between Time When Wound Was Received and Death**

Category of Interval between Wounding and Death[a]	*Subject*	*Previous Personality*	*Number of Previous Personalities in Category*
1. Instant death after wounding; not more than 5 minutes between the two events	Hanumant Saxena	Maha Ram Singh	
	Wilfred Meares	Victor Smart	
	Nasruddin Shah	Hardev Baksh Singh	
	Som Pit Hancharoen	Nai Soey	
	Yvonne Ehrlich	Martha Demmer	
	Mahmut Ekici	Mahmut Namik	
	Daw Aye Than	Ma Tin	
	Sunita Singh	Ram Dulari	
	Maung Mhat Tin	Maung Aung Su	
	Maung Win Aung	U Sein	
	Metin Köybaşı	Haşim Köybaşı	
	Bhopal Singh	Hardyal Singh	
	Chanai Choomalaiwong	Bua Kai	
	Semihe Atasoy	Nesime Doğruel	
	Cemil Fahrici	Cemil Hayik	
	Ma Mu Mu	Daw Ngwe Khin	
	Tong In Songcham	See	
	Narong Yensiri	Pan Srisukit	
	Navalkishore Yadav	Krishna Yadav	
	Ravi Shankar Gupta	Munna	
	Ma Khin Mar Htoo	Kalamagyi	
	Ngozi Uduji	Ogbonna Iregbu	
	Maung Myo Min Thein	Ven. U Warthawa	
	Ma Hmwe Lone	Ko Hmwe	
	Thiang San Kla	Phoh	
	Celal Kapan	Saban Sağır	
	Aristide Kolotey	Poepak	
	Charles Porter	Not known	
	Derek Pitnov	Chah-nik-kooh	
	Daw Aye Myint	U San Nyunt	
	Ven. U Narada	U Khone Min	
	Ma Myint Thein	U Sein Maung	
	Daw Tin Hla	U San	
	Ven. U Sandimar	U Maung Gyi	
	Maung Aung Than	U Ba Kyar	
	Daw Oo	Daw Nge Kyi	
			36

(*continued*)

[a]In choosing categories in this table I have sometimes used an average of the estimates of different informants. If the wounded person was said to have died "the following day" (after being wounded) I placed the case in category 3 (death between 1 hour and 24 hours). For convenience in finding the relevant case report I have listed the cases by the subjects' names with the name of each previous personality in the next column. In the last 10 cases of Category 1 the mode of death was not independently verified.

Table 26-1. *(continued)*

Category of Interval between Wounding and Death[a]	*Subject*	*Previous Personality*	*Number of Previous Personalities in Category*
2. Between 5 minutes and 1 hour	Maung Zaw Thein Lwin	U Mar Din	
	Yahya Balcı	Süleyman Ridvan	
	Maung Tin Win	U Thet Tin	
	Sampath Priyasantha	Yasupala	
	Ma Tin Yee	Maung Hla Maung	
	U Tint Aung	Bo San Pe	
	Maung Aung Myint	Maung Hla Maung	
			7
3. Between 1 hour and 24 hours	Sunita Khandelwal	Sakuntala	
	Dellâl Beyaz	Zehide Köse	
	Ali Uğurlu	Süleyman Abdülatif	
	Henry Demmert III	Henry Demmert, Jr.	
	Maung Htay Win	U Chit Saya	
	Tali Sowaid	Said Abul-Hisn	
	Semir Taci	Sekip Karşanbaş	
	Necip Ünlütaşkıran	Necip Budak	
	Maung Kyaw Myint	Maung Mya	
	Mehmet Samioğlu	Ali Köybaşı	
			10
4. Between 1 day and 3 days	Ma Myint Myint Zaw	Maung Pho Zaw	
	Jacinta Agbo	Nsude Agbo	
	Mehmet Karaytu	Haydar Karadöl	
			3
5. Between 4 days and 7 days	Alan Gamble	Walter Wilson	
	Maung Naing	Maung Tin	
	Semih Tutuşmuş	Selim Fesli	
	Süleyman Çapar	Mehmet Bekler	
			4
6. More than 7 days	Juggi Lal Agarwal	Puttu Lal	
	Derek Betus	Maithripala	
			2
		Total	62

holes would thus receive much attention. Similarly, any mark or injury on a part of the body that was not covered by clothing would probably receive more attention from the person having it than other parts of the person's body. Here I am thinking of the cases in which tattoos figured.

Increased attention on the part of the previous personality to a particular region of the body may have played a part in the birthmarks occurring in the cases of Savitri Devi Pathak (in which a crushed finger had a residual subungual

hematoma), Linda Chijioke (in which abraded skin at the top of the head occurred), and Santosh Sukla (in which red lines in the eyes were prominent). (Reports of these three cases are in Chapter 8.) Increased attention almost certainly played an important part in the birth defect of the left ear of Ruvan Ranatunga, who remembered the life of another child, Sampath, who also had an abnormality of the left ear; Sampath's mother had repeatedly tried to shape his ear into a normal form by massaging it, which must have concentrated more of Sampath's attention on the ear than it would otherwise have had (Chapter 18). Concentrated attention may also have contributed to some, but perhaps not to all of the nevi on subjects that corresponded to nevi on the previous personality. This would be likely to be the case in which a nevus was large and frequently exposed to view by other persons.

I subsume all the cases of this group under the heading of vanity, but use this term broadly and with reference to any feature of the skin to which a person gives special attention.[22]

In a second group of cases with natural death, a person's attention became directed toward a particular part of his or her body, because it had become the site of a potentially fatal disease. Such attention may help us to understand, at least in part, the birthmarks (and other congenital abnormalities) corresponding to wounds of surgical operations and to lesions associated with fatal diseases, as in the cases of Maung Htoo (Chapter 18), Augustine Nwachi (Chapter 17), and Selma Kılıç (Chapter 21).

In a third group of cases with natural death, persons thinking they will die and wishing to be identified upon reincarnating may draw the attention of other persons to marks, such as scars or nevi, that they already have and say that survivors would be able to recognize them in the next incarnation because of birthmarks corresponding to these marks. The cases of Corliss Chotkin, Jr. (Chapter 12) and William George, Jr. (Chapter 10) belong in this group. The act of predicting that existing marks, such as scars or nevi, will reappear, as it were, in another life obviously focuses the attention of the person who makes such a prediction on the scars or nevi and may thereby increase the likelihood that birthmarks will occur at the same sites in another body.

I believe, therefore, that in nearly every case with violent death and in many with natural death we can see that in one way or another the previous personality's attention probably became concentrated on the wounds or marks to which the subject's birthmarks or birth defects later corresponded. Such concentration may

[22]When Queen Etheldrida, the foundress of the monastery of Ely, was dying (apparently of the plague), she developed a large and painful swelling (bubo) on her neck. She regarded this as a just punishment for the pleasure she had taken as a young princess in wearing jeweled ornaments on her neck, saying:

> I know that I deservedly bear the weight of my sickness on my neck, for I remember, when I was very young, I bore there the needless weight of jewels; and therefore I believe the Divine goodness would have me endure the pain in my neck, that I may be absolved from the guilt of my needless levity, having now, instead of gold and precious stones, a red swelling and burning on my neck. (Bede, 737/1975, p. 196)

occur with great intensity just before a violent death; or it may occur over a longer period of time in cases with natural death. Concentrated attention thus seems to play as great a part in the birthmarks and birth defects of children who remember previous lives as it does in persons who develop stigmata, *oedème bleu*, and blisters from suggestion, as well as in the cases of the pregnant women who figure in cases of maternal impressions.

The influence of concentrated attention, particularly that accompanying strong affect, on memory has received some attention from psychologists (Butler, 1877/1981; Kupalov and Gantt, 1927; Thorndike, 1905; Yerkes and Dodson, 1908), but less than it deserves, perhaps because of insufficient evidence, until recently, from experiments with human subjects (Dutta and Kanungo, 1975).

I have suggested concentrated attention as *one* generative factor in the causation of birthmarks and birth defects in these cases. I do not put it forward as an adequate explanation for all cases. It does not account for the cases of experimental birthmarks unless we gratuitously assume that some persons about to die or who have just died have a preternaturally increased attentiveness to marks put on their bodies. Even more important, the factor of concentrated attention does not explain the many instances of violent deaths of previous personalities whose lives were later remembered by subjects who had no birthmarks or birth defects corresponding to wounds on the previous personality. Table 14-1 shows that in the cases of seven of the nine cultures for which we have comparable data, the incidence of birthmarks and birth defects was appreciably lower than the incidence of violent death. In 51% of 710 cases the previous personality died violently, but the incidence of birthmarks and birth defects (in a somewhat larger series of cases) was only 35%. If we assume that the factor of concentrated attention comes into play in all cases of violent death, we obviously need to search for additional factors that must occur before a subject remembering a life ending in violence has a birthmark or birth defect. In Chapter 14 I suggested some other factors, such as the reactivity of the subject's skin, that may be important.

THE MORPHOLOGICAL CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MENTAL IMAGES AND PARTS OF THE PHYSICAL BODY

Throughout this work I have described a variety of cases in which the data leave no room for doubt concerning a correspondence in form between an image in the mind of a person and a physical lesion of some kind—either in that person or in another one. I brought my readers through lengthy details about stigmatism, blisters raised by suggestions, wounds revived by vivid memories, and maternal impressions in order to show the strength of the evidence for such correspondences. The principal cases of this work go further, therefore, not in the principle of such topical correspondences between mental images and bodily parts, but in suggesting that some mental images affecting physical bodies may survive death, persist in a discarnate personality, and later influence the surface or the form of another physical body.

This problem of morphological correspondence has perplexed investigators for more than a century, and we are no nearer to a solution for it than was Gurney in 1887. In discussing the erythematous crosses induced by suggestion during hypnosis (to which I referred in Chapter 3), he first referred to blisters so induced and then continued:

> If it was hard to conceive the correspondence of a patch of minutely localised erethism with the idea of the locality, what are we to say when the patch corresponds with the idea to the extent of being cruciform? It cannot be pronounced impossible that the cerebral area involved in the idea of a cross should itself be cruciform; since the same elements are no doubt involved as where a cross is visibly presented, and in the case of a visible cross the configuration with which the fibres start from the stimulated part of the retina may be preserved at their central terminus.[23] But no one has ever supposed that a nervous impulse transmitted from ideational tracts to lower centres, and thence to the periphery, was conveyed by fibres which retained precisely similar spatial relations, so that the course of the discharge, wherever cut across, would present a similar section. Passing inwards from the periphery along the track of nervous disturbance, should we find cruciformity of area all the way? And if not, where does it stop? And if it stops anywhere, what is the connection between the cruciform effect at the periphery, and the cause (even if we assume that to be cruciform) in the brain? (Gurney, 1887, p. 105)

It would be a mistake to scout this morphological correspondence between mental images and physical lesions because we cannot as yet explain it. Instead, we should heed Bacon's advice (1620/1960): "The world is not to be narrowed till it will go into the understanding..., but the understanding to be expanded and opened till it can take in the image of the world as it is in fact" (p. 276).

I said earlier that I suppose the psychophore to be in topical correspondence with all parts of the physical body. I now go further and suggest that the mind has (or can sometimes have) a directly modifying effect on all parts of the physical body.

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

I believe that the cases I have described in this work strongly suggest—although they certainly do not prove—an influence by a deceased person on the embryo of a person who will be born later and (in most cases) come to have mem-

[23]This is a point that I do not myself concede, as I explained earlier in discussing the lack of isomorphism between mental images and the configurations of neurones in the brain. Gurney yielded the point with regard to perception, but denied the possibility of a purely physical transmission of the form of a mental image such that it becomes accurately represented in the skin.

ories of the events in the life of that deceased person. For these cases reincarnation seems to me an interpretation that we should take seriously.

If reincarnation is accepted as the best interpretation for at least some of the cases, they further suggest an interaction between mind and body during life and the survival of mind after death. They also suggest that the form of a deceased person concerned in such a case can influence the form of the succeeding person who will remember the first person's life. And finally, they suggest that memories of the first person's life exist on some intermediate vehicle between death and presumed rebirth.

We are almost completely ignorant of why, if reincarnation occurs, only a few persons remember a previous life. A violent death figures so prominently in the cases we have been able to study that it is difficult to avoid concluding that such a death plays an important part both in the occurrence of imaged memories and in that of birthmarks and birth defects. Violence may act through concentrating attention and fixing memories; and attention concentrated on a part of the body may be a factor in generating birthmarks and birth defects in cases without a violent death. The many cases of violent death without birthmarks or birth defects, however, oblige us to search for other factors that may be as important as violence, or more important, in determining the outcomes with which we are concerned.

CAN THOUGHTS HEAL AS WELL AS DESTROY?

This work describes many gruesome murders and their apparent consequence in the further suffering of serious birth defects. If we accept them as instances of reincarnation, they show the appallingly destructive power that thoughts may sometimes have on physical bodies. It is only right to ask whether thoughts cannot equally exert a healing and restorative effect. Drawing this work to a close, I propose to discuss briefly this possibility.

In considering miracles of healing, I am not a follower of David Hume (1748/1985), who wrote: "A miracle is a violation of the laws of nature; and...a firm and unalterable experience has established these laws" (pp. 30-31). Hume was not the best advocate of his own assertion, because immediately before making it he discussed the case of a man in Sumatra who expressed doubt that water could become hard in Muscovy. Hume excused the Sumatran on the grounds that he had no experience of conditions outside a limited geographical region. Hume himself was no less limited in his experience, not so much geographically as diachronically. If anyone had told him about what we experience today with radio and television, he would have dismissed the claims as a purported miracle violating "the laws of nature." I find it surprising that a person of Hume's wisdom did not understand that what we call "the laws of nature" are just as much the creation of man as are the laws a nation makes against crime. We have discovered (or declared) new "laws of nature" since Hume's day, and I believe there remain still other laws that are yet to be discerned and communicated.

From this preamble I turn to a short review of cases of patients who recovered fully and unexpectedly from ordinarily fatal illnesses without any possibility of attributing their recoveries to conventional medical treatment.

The New Testament provides us with numerous testimonies of sudden and complete healings. The miracles attributed to Jesus have not been equalled in abundance up to our day, but we nevertheless have many reports of similar unexpected healings that some may call "miraculous."

Sudden, unexpected cures of grave illnesses, usually attributed to the intervention of Jesus or a saint, were reported frequently in Europe during the Middle Ages (Augustine, c. 413-426/1950; Bede, 737/1975; Colgrave, 1940; Gregory, 593/1959; Ward, 1987). Accounts of such inexplicable healings diminished in later centuries, and yet occasional reports of them occurred in the 18th century (Carré de Montgeron, 1745; Wesley, 1738-1791/1913, Volume 3, pp. 77-78), the 19th century (Trochu, 1927), and in this century also (Arnold, 1965; Carty, 1963; Marinelli, 1993).

Nearly all the records of such healings, from those of the Bible almost to our own times, lack the careful medical documentation we should require today, and no one has authority to speak on the subject of miraculous healings unless he or she has assimilated the lessons in West's (1957) study of claimed miraculous healings at Lourdes. He showed how even the most conscientious observer of unexpected healings may be misled in the absence of sufficient information about a patient's medical condition. Since West's study, requirements for certification of a cure at Lourdes as "miraculous" have become much more rigorous (Dowling, 1984).

During the past several decades, physicians have published a small number of reports of inexplicable healings that have received adequate medical appraisal. Gardner (1983) reported seven unexpected cures from grave illnesses or injuries, three of which were observed by physicians (which does not mean that the remaining reports were inauthentic). Gardner suggested that such unexpected healings should encourage us to reappraise the miracles of healing reported by Bede and other medieval authors. I will next cite some additional modern cases deserving attention.

Kirkpatrick (1981) reported an unexpected healing of systemic lupus erythematosus well documented with results of medical examinations, including a renal biopsy. Kessel (1959) reported a case of spontaneous disappearance of bilateral pulmonary metastases secondary to a renal adenocarcinoma. Meares (1978) described a complete remission from metastases in the ribs secondary to an osteogenic sarcoma. Blades and McCorkle (1954) reported a spontaneous recovery from a case of untreated bronchogenic carcinoma (with metastases to the skull) proven histologically as well as from gross inspection during thoracotomy. Salmon (1971, 1972) reported the complete recovery from an extensive sarcoma of the pelvis (also proven histologically); the patient began to recover during a pilgrimage to Lourdes.

Recoveries of the kinds I have just cited may occur more frequently than most physicians realize. For example, Chauvin (1991) cited an otherwise unpub-

lished seemingly miraculous cure (at Lourdes) of an enormous fibroid tumor of the uterus. The case happened to come under his own observation, and he was able to examine a confirming medical record of it. Everson and Cole (1966) summarized data on 176 reported cases of "spontaneous" regression of cancer from 1900 on. Boyd (1966) added another 61 cases. Challis and Stam (1990), searching the medical literature from 1966 to 1987, identified a further 504 cases deserving credence, making a total of 741 cases reported over a little less than 90 years. O'Regan and Hirshberg (1993) published a vast bibliography of spontaneous remissions of cancers and other diseases. Even so, such unexpected recoveries must be rare events. Their infrequency, however, does not justify neglecting the knowlege that they do occasionally happen, and "rarities and reports that seem incredible are not to be suppressed or denied to the memory of men" (Bacon, 1605/1915, p. 29).

The unexpected healings to which I have drawn attention are not necessarily due to altered images in the minds of the patients. We might assume that this was true of the cases in which some religious intercession was sought; and Meares's patient engaged in intense meditation and attributed his recovery largely to this measure. No such altered mental state was claimed for Kessel's patient or for that of Blades and McCorkle. I mention these unexpected healings to show the ability of some persons to recover from life-threatening illnesses without conventional medical treatment (or when this alone would ordinarily be insufficient). Altered mental imagery may play a significant part in some of these recoveries, although obviously other restorative forces may be in play as well.

Some physicians and other therapists have encouraged and instructed their patients in the deliberate use of imagery to restore their health (Epstein, 1986; Sheikh, 1984), and at least one patient prescribed and used imagery in healing himself (Shattock, 1979). In Chapter 2, I cited reports of the successful application of imagery in amplifying women's breasts.

Cancer is not only invasive; it is often destructive of the tissues it encounters. And yet in the cases of healings from cancer that I have cited, form as well as function became restored. The healed person's body can only have reconstituted its normal form if the plan for that form had somehow been preserved; and I consider this preservation some additional evidence for a vehicle that I am calling the psychophore.

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The cases I have described in this work lead me to conclude that sometimes mental images in the mind of a deceased person who has survived death can influence the form of an embryo or fetus so as to cause birthmarks and birth defects. This is a conclusion at variance with assumptions the majority of scientists hold, and because it must seem startling to many readers, I do not wish to be charged with claiming more than I do.

An effect of a deceased persons's mental imagery on an embryo or fetus probably occurs only rarely, and I think that the vast majority of babies will experience no effect whatever of the kind I am suggesting. Furthermore, even in these cases, the effect of mental imagery will interact with the influence of other factors, such as genetic and cytoplasmic ones, that contribute to the final form of a baby.

We can discern the vectorlike result of such interaction in the case of Dulcina Karasek (Chapter 23). Dulcina was anatomically a female, and she had enough female hormones and a sufficient female reproductive tract to marry and conceive a baby. At the same time, she had marked hirsutism, small breasts, and a pelvic basin of masculine type, so that she could not give birth to a baby through the pelvic outlet in the usual way. If we interpret her claimed memories of the life of Zeca Martins Ribeiro as evidence of Zeca's reincarnation as Dulcina, we can suppose that Zeca's masculine psychophore had a definite but partial influence on Dulcina's otherwise female body.

We may draw another example from the case of Ma Khin Ma Gyi, although the pertinent detail is not adequately verified. Ma Khin Ma Gyi remembered the previous life of her maternal grandfather while her twin sister, Ma Khin Ma Nge, remembered the life of their maternal grandmother. Ma Khin Ma Gyi had legs that were markedly thicker than those of her sister, whose legs were slender. I believe that Ma Khin Ma Gyi's physique resulted when a basically feminine form was modified by the psychophore of her grandfather, who, I assume, was heavier than his wife (Chapter 25).

Other relevant examples, even though not of anatomical form, occurred in the cases of U Kalar (Chapter 22) and Maung Aung Ko Thein (Chapter 25). These Burmese subjects both remembered the previous lives of Indians, and they both had darker skins than other members of their Burmese families, just as most Indians have appreciably darker skins than most Burmese. I never met U Kalar, but I have met Maung Aung Ko Thein and observed that although his skin was darker than that of other members of his family, it was not as dark as that of most Indians. We could say that the pigmentation of his skin showed a compromise between the usual Burmese complexion and the usual Indian one.

The close facial resemblances between monozygotic twins can help to remind us of the primacy of biological (that is, material) processes in developing the forms of our bodies. We can indeed obtain from this fact a crude measure of how unimportant in most cases the influence of the psychophore on form must be. In Chapter 25 I cited the data of several investigators that, taken together, show that about 5% of monozygotic twins differ in physical appearance from each other. In the 5% of monozygotic twins who are not alike, we need to admit some factor or factors other than the genetic one to account for the dissimilarity between the twins. I am not, however, suggesting that the differences between these twins all necessarily derive from their psychophores. Much of the differences could arise from postconceptional events during the twins' gestations.

The mental influence from the previous personality that I am suggesting does not therefore replace recognized physical processes that influence form, pig-

mentation, and other aspects of a physical body. Instead, it acts superveniently—in rare instances, I think—to inhibit or otherwise modify these processes. Borrowing a term from genetics, we could say that the psychophore shows "variable expressivity." I referred to this almost meaningless phrase during my review of Marfan syndrome in Chapter 16. I use it here not to conceal ignorance, but to acknowledge it.

Hoping by the above remarks to avoid being misunderstood, I will close by returning to the question I raised in Chapter 1, where I deplored the widespread surrender to the idea of chance as adequately explaining the uniqueness of each human being. It has been rightly said that each human being is in some respects like all other human beings, in other respects like many other human beings, and in still other respects like no other human being. I hope by this work to contribute to a better understanding of the third of these features of our being—our uniqueness.

The child's question: "Mother, why is it *me* who is me?" deserves a serious answer. An adult might put the question a little differently and ask: "Why was I born the way I was instead of being different or even being somebody else?" In studying children who remember previous lives, I have groped toward an answer to this question. We should certainly use the word *evolution* sparingly in referring to these children; they show scanty evidence of any development beyond that of the lives apparently remembered. Nevertheless, perhaps the contribution to each person's uniqueness that the cases of this work suggest entails the recognition that we may be involved in two kinds of evolution: a biological one and a mental or spiritual one, the two being periodically linked in the process of reincarnation. Perhaps, too, a great poet, Edmund Spenser (1596/1908, p. 748), was right when he wrote:

> For of the soule the bodie forme doth take:
> For soule is forme and doth the bodie make.

Appendix C

Summaries of Important Features of Principal Cases Described in This Work

This appendix lists all the principal cases described in this work in the order of their appearance in the work. The list provides the important features of the cases, particularly those relevant to the birthmarks and birth defects.

Cases mentioned briefly only because of a particular feature, such as many of the cases referred to in Chapters 23 and 24, are not listed in this appendix, but are included in the list of Appendix D.

The first seven cases (in Chapter 3) are of the maternal impression type; all the remaining cases (except for a few included to illustrate particular features) are of the reincarnation type, that is, they are suggestive of reincarnation.

The following abbreviations have been used: S = Subject; PP = Previous Personality; BMBD = Birthmark or Birth Defect; MOD = Mode of Death of Previous Personality; A1 (or other letters and numbers) in the column of Comments = category of cases with medical documents as given in Table 13-1; Mg = Maung (Burmese honorific); PL = Previous Life; CORT = Case of the Reincarnation Type; N.A. = Not applicable.

Subject	*Previous Personality*	*Country of S*	*Number, Type, and Location of BMBD*	*Nature and Location of Wound or Mark on PP*	*MOD of PP*	*Relationship Between Two Families*	*Comments*
Calvin Ewing (Male)		USA	Congenital sinus near inner canthus of right eye				Maternal impression case.
Astride Stevaux (Female)		France	Malformed, shortened middle 3 fingers of left hand				Maternal impression case.
Hamad Mishlib (Male)		Israel	Hyperpigmented macule on right forearm				Maternal impression case.
Ajaj Andary (Male)		Lebanon	Hyperpigmented macule on lateral side of right upper arm				Maternal impression case.
Mazid Sowaid (Male)		Lebanon	Hyperpigmented macule on right cheek				Maternal impression case.
Sampath Priyasantha (Male)	Yasupala de Silva	Sri Lanka	Absence of both arms Talipes equinovarus of both feet	Arms and legs almost entirely cut off	Sword wounds	Acquainted	Maternal impression case; possible CORT.
Laadley Ali (Male)		India	Absence of both legs Absence of distal half of left forearm				Maternal impression case.

Chapter 4 **Birthmarks Related to Previous Lives without Verification of Possible Corresponding Wounds**

Subject	*Previous Personality*	*Country of S*	*Number, Type, and Location of BMBD*	*Nature and Location of Wound or Mark on PP*	*MOD of PP*	*Relationship Between Two Families*	*Comments*
Tinn Sein, U (Male)	Unsolved (Japanese PP) (Male)	Burma	Hyperpigmented macule, center of chest	Bullet wound in chest (according to S only)	Gunshot (according to S only)	Unsolved	
Sein Win, Mg (Male)	Unsolved (Japanese PP) (Male)	Burma	Large puckered mark, back of left shoulder Smaller puckered mark, anterior upper left chest	Unknown	Bullet from airplane (according to S only)	Unsolved	Entry/exit wound case.
Myint Aung, Mg (Male)	Unsolved (Japanese PP) (Male)	Burma	Hyperpigmented linear mark on front of neck	Knife slash on front of neck (according to S only)	Suicidal slitting of throat with knife (according to S only)	Unsolved	
Lûtfi Sarıkaya (Male)	Unsolved (Male)	Turkey	1 major, 3 minor hypopigmented marks on chest	5-6 stab wounds (according to S only)	Knifed (according to S only)	Unsolved	
Duran İncirgöz (Male)	Unsolved (Male)	Turkey	Hypopigmented raised puckered mark, right buttock	Gunshot wound of right buttock (according to S only)	Gunshot (according to S only)	Unsolved	Birthmark suppurating soon after birth.

Chapter 4 *(continued)*

Subject	*Previous Personality*	*Country of S*	*Number, Type, and Location of BMBD*	*Nature and Location of Wound or Mark on PP*	*MOD of PP*	*Relationship Between Two Families*	*Comments*
Henry Elkin (Male)	Unsolved	Alaska (Tlingit)	Small depressed puckered mark, left upper chest Larger depressed puckered mark, left upper back	Unknown	Gunshot (according to S only)	Unsolved	Entry/exit wound case.
Aye Kyaw, Mg (Male)	Shwe, Mg (Male)	Burma	Elongated hairless puckered mark on left parietal area of head	Unknown	Probably shot	Not acquainted, lived in nearby villages	Birthmark may correspond to head injury PP received at age 2.
Aye Myint, Daw (Female)	San Nyunt, U (Male)	Burma	Large hairless area on top of head Linear, partially hypopigmented mark on abdomen (not seen by I.S.)	Unknown	Probably killed with sword	Acquainted	Mark on abdomen bleeding at birth. Mark on head suppurating at birth. Sex-change case.

Nirankar Bhatnagar (Male)	Shiv Dayal Mukhtiar (Male)	India	Hyperpigmented hairless area on top of head	Unknown	Killed in riot	Acquainted

Chapter 5 **Birthmarks Corresponding to Wounds Verified by Informants' Memories**

Subject	*Previous Personality*	*Country of S*	*Number, Type, and Location of BMBD*	*Nature and Location of Wound or Mark on PP*	*MOD of PP*	*Relationship Between Two Families*	*Comments*
Zaw Thein Lwin, Mg (Male)	Mar Din, U (Male)	Burma	Hyperpigmented hairless scarlike area on back of head	Head injury; exact location uncertain	Head injury from fall	Acquainted	Birthmark suppurating at birth.
Yvonne Ehrlich (Female)	Martha Demmer (Female)	Brazil	Area of erythema on back of head ("salmon patch") Similar mark on forehead	Wound on back of head Head wound on left temple	Bomb blast	Related (PP=S's great-aunt)	Birthmark on forehead faded by age 1.
Mahmut Ekici (Male)	Mahmut Namik (Male)	Turkey	Depressed rectangular scarlike birthmark on abdomen	Probably stab wound in abdomen	Stab wound	Related (PP= S's cousin)	Birthmark bleeding at birth. Occasional pain at site of birthmark.
Som Pit Hancharoen (Male)	Nai Soey (Male)	Thailand	Hyperpigmented nevus (or supernumerary nipple) under left nipple	Stab wound probably to left side of chest	Stab wound	Father/S had heard of PP	Birthmark oozing at birth.
Ali Uğurlu (Male)	Süleyman Abdulatif	Turkey	6 marks on abdomen (4 depressed hairless	4-5 stab wounds in abdomen	Stab wounds	Slight acquaintance	Birthmarks were lenticu-

	(Male)		areas, 2 hyperpigmented macules)				lar in shape (characteristic shape of stab wounds). Birthmarks bled during first 40 days after S's birth.
Chanai Choomalai-wong (Male)	Bua Kai Lawnak (Male)	Thailand	Small round hyperpigmented puckered hairless area on back of head (left parietal) Larger hyperpigmented puckered hairless area on frontal area of left side of head	Bullet wound to back of head Exit wound near left eye	Gunshot	Slight acquaintance	Birthmarks probably shifted in location. Entry/exit wound case. Headaches at site of birthmarks when S talked about PL.
Tin Win, Mg (Male)	Thet Tin, U (Male)	Burma	Small round slightly depressed and puckered mark on right side of abdomen Large hyperpigmented nevus on right lower back Round hyperpigmented mark on right knee	Bullet wounds to (probably) lower abdomen and knee	Gunshot	Related (PP= S's mother's previous husband)	Birthmarks on abdomen and back less prominent in adulthood than at birth. Entry/exit wound case.

Chapter 5 *(continued)*

Subject	*Previous Personality*	*Country of S*	*Number, Type, and Location of BMBD*	*Nature and Location of Wound or Mark on PP*	*MOD of PP*	*Relationship Between Two Families*	*Comments*
Yahya Balcı (Male)	Süleyman Ridvan (Male)	Turkey	Round puckered hairless mark on abdomen	Bullet wound in abdomen Exit wound in back	Gunshot (rifle)	Acquainted	Discrepant testimony about a possible second birthmark on back. Birthmark discharged for 40 days after birth.
Aristide Kolotey (Male)	Peopak (Male)	Ghana	Linear hypopigmented mark on chest and upper abdomen	Large cut in middle of chest	Probably drowning	Related (distantly)	S had no imaged memories.
Aye Than, Daw (Female)	Tin, Ma (Female)	Burma	Linear scarlike mark on abdomen Asymmetrical breasts	Burst abdomen	Asphyxiated in fire	Friends	Birthmark faded some. Relationship of S's asymmetrical breasts to PL not clear.

Chapter 6 **Birthmarks Corresponding to Wounds Verified by Medical Records**

Subject	*Previous Personality*	*Country of S*	*Number, Type, and Location of BMBD*	*Nature and Location of Wound or Mark on PP*	*MOD of PP*	*Relationship Between Two Families*	*Comments*
Metin Köybaşı (Male)	Hasim Köybaşı (Male)	Turkey	Raised hyperpigmented mark on right side of neck Hyperpigmented macule with hypopigmented papules on left side of neck	Incision by medical examiner and removal of bullet on right side of neck Bullet wound on left side of neck	Gunshot	Related (cousins)	A1 (postmortem report). Entry/exit wound case. Marks on left side of neck noted only after investigators saw autopsy report and predicted them.
Tali Sowaid (Male)	Said Abul-Hisn (Male)	Lebanon	Area of reticulated hyperpigmented macules on right cheek Similar but fainter area on left cheek	Bullet wound of exit on right side of face Wound of entry on left side of face with damage to tongue	Gunshot (pistol)	Acquainted	A1 (hospital records). S slow to learn to speak, had speech impediment possibly related to PL injury. Entry/exit wound case.

Chapter 6 *(continued)*

Subject	*Previous Personality*	*Country of S*	*Number, Type, and Location of BMBD*	*Nature and Location of Wound or Mark on PP*	*MOD of PP*	*Relationship Between Two Families*	*Comments*
Alan Gamble (Male)	Walter Wilson (Male)	Canada (Tsimshian)	Small depressed mark on left palm Large round hyperpigmented mark on dorsum of left wrist	Gunshot wound to left hand and wrist, gangrene, amputation of left forearm	Gangrene from accidental gunshot wound	Related (PP= adoptive brother of S's father)	A1 (death certificate). S had swelling of left arm at or soon after birth that required 2-3 weeks hospital treatment. Continued occasional pain and swelling of left arm. Entry/exit wound case.
Sunita Singh (Female)	Ram Dulari (Female)	India	Large nevus flammeus over upper right chest and arm Hypopigmented depressed mark on middle of upper	Wound to right side of face Wound to right side of face and also neck Puncture wound	Knife or sword wounds	Slight acquaintance	A1 (post-mortem report). Birthmarks faded some since birth.

			sternum 2 long hypopigmented marks on neck	to upper chest Puncture wound to lower neck Wounds on left hand			Large nevus flammeus may correspond to blood left on PP's body at time of cremation.
Nasruddin Shah (Male)	Hardev Baksh Singh (Male)	India	Hypopigmented mark on left side of chest Birthmark on top of head Depressed area in middle of lower chest	Puncture wound of left chest Head wound above right ear Superficial wounds on each arm and right shoulder	Spear wound	No apparent connection, but villages only 10 km. apart	A1 (post-mortem report). First birthmark shifted in location. Second birthmark totally faded by time of investigation of case. Third birthmark apparently not related to PL. Ovoid shape of first birthmark resembled stab wound.

Chapter 6 *(continued)*

Subject	*Previous Personality*	*Country of S*	*Number, Type, and Location of BMBD*	*Nature and Location of Wound or Mark on PP*	*MOD of PP*	*Relationship Between Two Families*	*Comments*
Henry Demmert III (Male)	Henry Demmert, Jr. (Male)	Alaska (Tlingit)	Hyperpigmented macule below left nipple	Stab wound piercing left lung and heart	Stab wound	Related (PP= S's maternal uncle)	A1 (death certificate). Triangular shape of birthmark suggests wound of single-edged knife.
Narong Yensiri (Male)	Pan Srisukit (Male)	Thailand	Hypopigmented mark at sternum Hypopigmented and hyperpigmented mark at left costal margin Linear mark at clavicle Large hyper-pigmented areas on front and back of trunk	5 wounds (at sternum, below right nipple, on front of neck, on right upper abdomen, at the left costal margin)	Stab wounds	Related (PP= S's maternal grandfather)	A1 (post-mortem report). One informant mentioned birthmarks on back of head and forehead that had faded by age 3. Large hyper-pigmented areas were thought by family to cor-

							respond to blood left on body at time of cremation.
Necip Ünlütaşkıran (Male)	Necip Budak (Male)	Turkey	2 hairless areas on left parietal region of head Mark near right eyebrow (no longer visible) Mark near right lip (no longer visible) Hypopigmented depressed mark above left nipple Elevated hyperpigmented macule on left abdomen Mark on face (no longer visible) Mark on right ear (no longer visible) Depressed hyperpigmented mark on left back (not noted at birth) 2 marks on right shoulder (not noted at birth)	1 wound in left parietal area Wound of right eyebrow 2 wounds near right lip Wound to left chest Abdominal wound Wound in axillary line between 6th and 7th ribs that punctured lung 7 wounds to left arm	Stab wounds	Strangers	A1 (post-mortem report). Some shifting of birthmarks claimed. Several marks no longer visible. 3 marks not noted at birth. Larger birthmark on head bleeding at birth and for about a year after.

Chapter 6 *(continued)*

Subject	*Previous Personality*	*Country of S*	*Number, Type, and Location of BMBD*	*Nature and Location of Wound or Mark on PP*	*MOD of PP*	*Relationship Between Two Families*	*Comments*
Hanumant Saxena (Male)	Maha Ram Singh (Male)	India	Group of hypopigmented marks on chest	Major shotgun wound to chest Smaller wounds surrounding it	Shotgun	Lived in same village, acquainted	A1 (post-mortem report). Birthmark may have shifted in location since birth. Pain in area of marks since teen years.
Sunita Khandelwal (Female)	Sakuntala Maheshwari (Female)	India	Hairless hyperpigmented, slightly elevated and puckered nevus on the right side of head	Head wound; skull fracture	Head injury from fall	Strangers, long-distance (360 km.), although S's uncle had known PP's father slightly	A1 (hospital records). Birthmark bleeding at birth and for 3 days. PP's father saw head wound, but hospital records do not confirm

							such a wound specifically.
Dellâl Beyaz (Female)	Zehide Köse (Female)	Turkey	Hairless area on top of head	Wound on top of head Wounds above right eye and left eyebrow Bruise on one loin	Head injury from fall	Strangers	A1 (hospital and medical inquest records). Records do not specifically mention wound on head.
Wilfred Meares (Male)	Victor Smart (Male)	Canada (Haida)	Hairless area on back of head	Tongue injury Neck, wrist and rib fractures	Head injury (neck fracture)	Related (PP= S's maternal great-uncle)	A1 (post-mortem report). Birthmark oozing at birth and for 8 weeks. S's grandfather saw head wound, but medical report does not mention it.

Subject	*Previous Personality*	*Country of S*	*Number, Type, and Location of BMBD*	*Nature and Location of Wound or Mark on PP*	*MOD of PP*	*Relationship Between Two Families*	*Comments*
Susan Wilson (Female)	Susan Ford (Female)	Alaska (Tlingit)	Large hyperpigmented macule on left chest	Chest wound from surgical drainage	Lobular pneumonia and pleurisy	Related (cousins)	B3 (death certificate). Birthmark may have shifted in location. S apparently had no imaged memories of PL.
Muhittin Yılmaz (Male)	Muhittin Uğur Yılmaz (Male)	Turkey	Hypopigmented horizontal linear mark on abdomen	Probably surgical scar on abdomen	Possibly cancer of pancreas; jaundice	Related (PP= S's paternal grandfather)	Birthmark faded some.
Susumu Ogura (Male)	Shizuo Ogura (Male)	Japan	Hairless elevated crescent-shaped mark behind right ear	Scar from mastoidectomy of right ear	Mastoiditis, pneumonia	Related (PP= S's brother)	Birthmark had shifted some since birth. S had no imaged memories of PL.
Jacinta Agbo (Female)	Nsude Agbo (Male)	Nigeria	Hairless scarlike band encircling head	Probable scalp wound from surgical operation	Head injury	Related (PP= S's paternal uncle)	Birthmark may correspond to ban-

							dage that encircled head after surgery and with which PP's body was buried. Sex-change case.
Nyunt Win, Mg (Male)	Po Hla, U (Male)	Burma	Hyperpigmented hairy nevus on right cheek	Black scar remaining from cyst on right cheek	"Old age"	Neighbors, distantly related	Cyst had been punctured by PP 10 years before death and was not related to death.
James Wilder (Male)	James McIntosh (Male)	Canada (Gitksan)	Hyperpigmented macule on left upper abdomen	Bursting of cancer through abdominal wall	Cancer	Related (maternal cousins)	
Khin Sandi, Ma (Female)	Khin Mya, Daw (Female)	Burma	Hyperpigmented macule on lower back Hyperpigmented macule on left wrist	Bedsore on lower back Experimental mark on wrist made after PP's death	Hypertension, stroke	Related (PP= S's maternal grandmother)	Experimental birthmark. S left-handed, possibly corresponding to PP's loss of use of right hand after stroke.

Chapter 7 *(continued)*

Subject	*Previous Personality*	*Country of S*	*Number, Type, and Location of BMBD*	*Nature and Location of Wound or Mark on PP*	*MOD of PP*	*Relationship Between Two Families*	*Comments*
Bir Sahai (Male)	Megh Singh (Male)	India	Reddish purple depressed mark, left upper back	Carbuncle on back	Carbuncle; bacteremia	Strangers	

Chapter 8 **Birthmarks Corresponding to Other Types of Wounds or Marks on Deceased Persons**

Subject	*Previous Personality*	*Country of S*	*Number, Type, and Location of BMBD*	*Nature and Location of Wound or Mark on PP*	*MOD of PP*	*Relationship Between Two Families*	*Comments*
Santosh Sukla (Female)	Maya Devi (Female)	India	Red lines in eyes (particularly left eye)	Red line (or lines) in one eye	Illness (typhoid?)	Friends, distantly related by marriage	
Savitri Devi Pathak (Female)	Munni Singh (Female)	India	Bluish discoloration of left thumbnail	Thumbnail bruised in accident (subungual hematoma)	Illness (cholera?)	Strangers	Hematoma of nail still visible at death but not related to death.
Chit Chit Than, Ma (Female)	Khin San Tin, Ma (Female)	Burma	Area of erythema (nevus flammeus) above right eye	Red medicine spilled on right eye	Illness (breathing difficulty and cough)	Related (PP= S's sister)	Medicine was spilled shortly before death and was still present at death; PP's mother left it there as experimental mark. S reported to have some respiratory symptoms.

Chapter 8 *(continued)*

Subject	*Previous Personality*	*Country of S*	*Number, Type, and Location of BMBD*	*Nature and Location of Wound or Mark on PP*	*MOD of PP*	*Relationship Between Two Families*	*Comments*
John Rose (Male)	William Paul (Male)	Alaska (Tlingit)	Bluish-black mark on back of left hand	Tattoo of wolf's head on back of left hand	Heart disease	Related (PP= S's maternal great-great-uncle)	
Linda Chijioke (Female)	Ori Chijioke (Female)	Nigeria	Hyperpigmented mark with shorter hairs on top of head	Lesion on top of head from carrying loads	Natural (not specified)	Related (PP= S's paternal grandmother)	Birthmark may have been oozing at birth.
Pratima Saxena (Female)	Godavari (Female)	India	Hyperpigmented macule on upper pinna of each ear	Earring holes in upper pinna of each ear	Pulmonary tuberculosis	Related (PP= S's paternal grandmother)	S showed bronchopulmonary symptoms from birth. Birthmark on right ear faded, no longer visible.
Arya Bhushan (Male)	Unsolved	India	Several hyperpigmented depressed pits in helices of both ears	Unknown (earring holes conjectured)	Unknown	Unknown	S had no imaged memories of PL. Some pits had filled in.

Nyunt, Mg (Male)	Unsolved (Indian Hindu male conjectured)	Burma	Depressed mark on back of helix of each ear	Unknown (earring holes conjectured)	Head injury from fall (according to S only)	Unknown	S only informant for case. Facial appearance seemed Caucasian rather than Mongolian.
Htwe Yin, Ma (Female)	Unsolved (Indian male conjectured)	Burma	Holes (later depressions) on back of helix of each ear Tuft of hair on back of head present at birth	Unknown (earring holes, choti worn by Indian men conjectured)	Unknown	Unknown	S also said to be darker in complexion than family. Sex-change case.
Chinta Chandrasiri (Female)	Unsolved (Tamil female conjectured)	Sri Lanka	Hole in helix of each ear Red circular mark on forehead	Unknown (but marks corresponded in location to earrings and tilak mark worn by Hindu women)	Unknown	Unknown	Holes closed up; became hyperpigmented pits only. Red mark faded. S apparently had no imaged memories of PL.
Edward Taylor (Male)	Patrick Carter (Male)	Canada (Gitksan)	Hyperpigmented pits on helix of each ear	Marks (probably from earring holes) on ears	Heart disease	Related (distantly)	

Chapter 8 *(continued)*

Subject	*Previous Personality*	*Country of S*	*Number, Type, and Location of BMBD*	*Nature and Location of Wound or Mark on PP*	*MOD of PP*	*Relationship Between Two Families*	*Comments*
George Tomlinson (Male)	Isaiah Tomlinson (Male)	Canada (Tsimshian)	4 hyperpigmented marks or depressions on each ear	Earring holes (not independently verified)	Unknown	Related (distantly)	S not examined by I.S.
William Tolmie (Male)	Kah-kova (Male)	Canada (Tsimshian)	3 birthmarks on each ear	Earring holes (not independently verified)	Unknown	Related (PP= S's great-great-uncle)	S apparently had no imaged memories of PL. S not examined by I.S.
Antoinette Jacobsson (Female)	Unsolved (Female conjectured)	Canada (Tsimshian)	2 small holes (later pits) in lower lip	Unknown (but thought to correspond to hole for labret)	Unknown	Unknown	S had no imaged memories of PL.

Subject	*Previous Personality*	*Country of S*	*Number, Type, and Location of BMBD*	*Nature and Location of Wound or Mark on PP*	*MOD of PP*	*Relationship Between Two Families*	*Comments*
Ijeoma Nwangwu (Female)	Ugoihonwoke (Female)	Nigeria	Large hypopigmented area on abdomen	Ulcer on abdomen	Yaws	Related (PP= S's maternal aunt)	
Mhat Tin, Mg (Male)	Aung Su, Mg (Male)	Burma	2 hyperpigmented macules on chest and abdomen	Gunshot wounds; location unknown, but probably close to location of S's birthmarks	Gunshot (rifle)	S's parents had probably heard of PP	
Khin Hsann Oo, Ma (Female)	Ahmar Yee, Ma (Female)	Burma	Large areas over most of body of hyperpigmented nevi	Burns; locations not specifically noted	Crushed and burned in truck accident	Friends	
Shwe Yee, Ma (Female)	Unsolved (Japanese PP) (Male)	Burma	Large hyperpig-mented area on lower chest and abdomen	Unknown	Shot (according to S only)	Unknown	Birthmark may have corresponded to blood around PP's wound. Sex-change case.

Chapter 9 *(continued)*

Subject	*Previous Personality*	*Country of S*	*Number, Type, and Location of BMBD*	*Nature and Location of Wound or Mark on PP*	*MOD of PP*	*Relationship Between Two Families*	*Comments*
Win Aung, Mg (Male)	Sein, U (Male)	Burma	Large hyperpigmented areas of right arm and back	Right arm and side crushed	Run over by bulldozer	Related (PP= S's maternal grandfather)	Some of the hyperpigmented area on back had faded. S had complained of pain in area of birthmark when younger.
Patricia Fairley (Female)	Catherine Talbot (Female)	Canada (Tsimshian)	Large nevus flammeus on right forearm	Burn on forearm	Unknown	Related (PP= S's maternal great-aunt)	Burn had no connection with PP's death, but occurred many years earlier. S had complained of pain in area of birthmark when younger.

							Birthmark had faded some.
Yusuf Güven (Male)	Unsolved (Male)	Turkey	Large hyperpigmented macule on left chest Linear hyperpigmented mark on abdomen Hyperpigmented macule above umbilicus	S said PP was struck with stick, stabbed, and shot at sites of birthmarks	Stabbed, shot, and hit with stick (according to S only)	Unknown	Linear mark on abdomen bleeding at birth.
Po Thwai, U (Male)	Po Yee, U (Male)	Burma	Large nevus flammeus on left back Slight deformity and linear depression on right forefinger	Tattoo on back Snakebite on right forefinger Both unverified	Snakebite	Acquainted	S the only informant for case.
Sanjeev Sharma (Male)	Kirpa Devi (Female)	India	White hairs on left cheek	Elevated hairy nevus, with 2 white hairs, on left cheek	"Old age"	Related (PP= S's paternal great-grandmother)	A3 (photograph of PP). Facial resemblance between S and PP claimed. Sex-change case.

Chapter 9 *(continued)*

Subject	*Previous Personality*	*Country of S*	*Number, Type, and Location of BMBD*	*Nature and Location of Wound or Mark on PP*	*MOD of PP*	*Relationship Between Two Families*	*Comments*
Hla Ngwe, Ma (Female)	Nyunt Tin, Daw (Female)	Burma	Hyperpigmented macule on right upper abdomen	Birthmark on abdomen Experimental mark made near birthmark after death	Natural	Related (PP= S's paternal great-aunt)	
Cemal Kurt (Male)	Cemal Karacan (Male)	Turkey	Nevus flammeus on left forearm	Birthmark on left forearm	Heart disease	Related (distantly)	
Sein Nyunt, Mg (Male)	Khin Tin, U (Male)	Burma	Hyperpigmented macule on left upper back	Macule on left upper back	Drowning	Related (PP= S's paternal uncle)	S had no imaged memories of PL.
Dorabeth Crosby (Female)	Dorothy Willard (Female)	Alaska (Tlingit)	Puckered scarlike area on forehead Hyperpigmented macule on right forearm	Scar on forehead Macule on right forearm	Cardiovascular disease; heart failure	Related (PP= S's maternal great-aunt)	S's father had fainter macule on right forearm.
Yin Maung, Mg (Male)	Pe Tin, U (Male)	Burma	Hyperpigmented nevus on back of neck	Nevus on back of neck	Airplane crash	Close friends	A3 (newspaper report confirmed

			S also had severe dermatitis at birth, which lasted about a month and was thought to correspond to burns PP suffered at death				airplane crash with fire).
Birendra Narain (Male)	N.A.	India	Large hyperpigmented macule on back of left leg	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	S's grandfather (still living at S's birth) and earlier relative had macules at the same location; probably inherited. Not CORT.

Subject	*Previous Personality*	*Country of S*	*Number, Type, and Location of BMBD*	*Nature and Location of Wound or Mark on PP*	*MOD of PP*	*Relationship Between Two Families*	*Comments*
Cemil Fahrici (Male)	Cemil Hayik (Male)	Turkey	Hairless area on right side of neck under mandible Hairless linear area in left parietal area	Entry wound under chin Exit wound at top of skull	Suicidal gunshot wound	Distantly related, acquainted	Entry/exit wound case. Birthmark bled for a month after birth.
Semir Taci (Male)	Sekip Karşanbaş (Male)	Turkey	Scarlike marks on right thumb and index finger and on left index finger	Snakebites on fingers of both hands	Snakebite	Friends	A1 (hospital records).
Umar Khan (Male)	Unsolved	India	Puckered hairless area on top of head Smaller puckered hairless area near left ear	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Possible entry/exit wound case; but S did not state a MOD.
Juggi Lal Agarwal (Male)	Puttu Lal (Male)	India	Hyperpigmented linear mark behind right ear, with several punctate elevations below and one above	Inflammation, furuncle near right ear; possible scar of surgical incision	Complications from head injury	Strangers	Small marks below and above linear one may correspond to surgical stitch marks.

Navalkishore Yadav (Male)	Krishna Yadav (Male)	India	Area of erythema on back of head near neck	Marks and blood on back of neck made by rope, knife wounds	Suicidal hanging	Related (PP= S's father's cousin)	PP also had 2 linear scars on back of neck. Birthmark had faded by the time S was a year old.
William George, Jr. (Male)	William George, Sr. (Male)	Alaska (Tlingit)	2 hyperpigmented nevi, one on left shoulder, one on left forearm	2 hyperpigmented nevi, one on left shoulder, one on left forearm	Drowning	Related (PP= S's paternal grandfather)	PP's birth-marks were about twice as large as S's.
Huriye Bugay (Female)	Mediha Hamdi (Female)	Turkey	Hyperpigmented macule on back of upper right thigh	Hyperpigmented macule on right buttock	Cerebral hemorrhage	Related (PP= S's maternal grandmother)	S had no imaged mem-ories of PL. Birthmark on S's thigh had shifted loca-tion some (from her lower buttock) since birth.
Ampan Petcherat (Female)	Chuey (Male)	Thailand	Hyperpigmented macule on upper left chest	Mark with red ochre made on upper chest after death, side not remembered	Drowning	Strangers	Experimental birthmark. Sex-change case.

Chapter 10 *(continued)*

Subject	*Previous Personality*	*Country of S*	*Number, Type, and Location of BMBD*	*Nature and Location of Wound or Mark on PP*	*MOD of PP*	*Relationship Between Two Families*	*Comments*
Kim Sripayak (Female)	Trong (Female)	Thailand	Hyperpigmented macule on left forearm Hypopigmented mark below first birthmark	Mark with red lime made on left forearm after death	Unknown	Related (PP=S's sister)	Experimental birthmark. S had no imaged memories of PL.
Tin Yee, Daw (Female)	Than, Daw (Female)	Burma	Hyperpigmented macule on right leg	Mark made with soot on leg just before death	Natural	Related (PP= S's maternal great-aunt)	Experimental birthmark.
Tin Tun, Mg (Male)	Unsolved (Female)	Burma	Hyperpigmented macule on nape of neck	Mark made with grease on nape of neck just before death (according to S only)	Unknown	Unknown	Experimental birthmark. Sex-change case.
Myat Myat Htwe, Ma (Female)	Unsolved (Male)	Burma	Hyperpigmented macule on right upper arm Hyperpigmented macule on back of upper right thigh Hyperpigmented hairless area on top of head	Mark made with charcoal on right upper arm just before death (according to S only)	Automobile accident (according to S only)	Unknown	Experimental birthmark. Birthmark increased in size between ages 4 and 10. S did not mention the source of

							birthmarks 2 and 3. Sex-change case.
Myat Htun, U (Male)	Htun, U (Male)	Burma	Hyperpigmented macule on inner right elbow	Mark made with grease on right arm after death Also burn on chest	Probably natural	Related (PP= S's paternal grandfather)	Experimental birthmark. No birthmark corresponded to the burn on PP's chest.
Sanda Win, Ma (Female)	Baby Maung (Male)	Burma	Hyperpigmented macule on right wrist	Mark made with charcoal on right wrist	Natural	Related (PP=S's brother)	Experimental birthmark. Birthmark had apparently become smaller since birth. S had no imaged memories of PL. Sex-change case.
Anurak Sithipan (Male)	Chatchewan Sithipan (Male)	Thailand	Hyperpigmented macule on posterior aspect of right elbow	Mark made with charcoal on lateral aspect of upper right forearm near elbow after death	Drowning	Related (PP= S's brother)	Experimental birthmark. Locations of experimental mark and birthmark

Chapter 10 *(continued)*

Subject	*Previous Personality*	*Country of S*	*Number, Type, and Location of BMBD*	*Nature and Location of Wound or Mark on PP*	*MOD of PP*	*Relationship Between Two Families*	*Comments*
Anurak Sithipan *(continued)*							were somewhat different. Two of S's siblings had birthmarks on right arm, but smaller and in a somewhat different location.
Lipone Yangkhoonchow (Male)	Baby (Male)	Thailand	Hyperpigmented macule on lower left back	Mark made with red lime on back after death	Natural	Related (PP= S's brother)	Experimental birthmark. S had no imaged memories of PL.
Choe Hnin Htet, Ma (Female)	Lai Lai Way, Ma (Female)	Burma	Area of erythema on left back of neck Hypopigmented linear mark on chest and abdomen	Mark made with red lipstick on left back of neck after death Black mole on upper lip, accentuated with eyebrow	Died during surgery for congenital heart disease	Related (PP= S's maternal aunt)	A1 (hospital records). Experimental birthmark.

				makeup after death Surgical scar on chest			
Hla Win, Mg (Male)	Myint Lwin, Mg (Male)	Burma	Hyperpigmented mark on side and sole of left foot	Mark made with grease on sole of foot (probably left) just before death	Illness that had begun with development of furuncles on right thigh	Distantly related by marriage; knew about each other but not acquainted	Experimental birthmark. S had tendency to develop furuncles on thighs.
Zin Mar Oo, Ma (Female)	Kyaw Oo, U (Male)	Burma	Hyperpigmented mark extending almost completely around lower left leg above ankle	Mark made with soot on front of left leg above ankle just before death	Stroke	Related (PP= S's paternal great-uncle)	Experimental birthmark. Birthmark had faded completely by age 8. Sex-change case.
Myint Khine, Mg (Male)	(Male)	Burma	Hyperpigmented macule on left shoulder Hairless area on right temporal region of head	Mark made on left shoulder Head injury	Struck on head in logging accident	Related (PP= S's maternal great-uncle)	Experimental birthmark. Preliminary investigation only.
Moe Moe Than, Ma (Female)	(Male)	Burma	Hyperpigmented macule on lower left back	Mark made on lower left back	Hemorrhage	Unknown	Experimental birthmark. Preliminary

Chapter 10 *(continued)*

Subject	*Previous Personality*	*Country of S*	*Number, Type, and Location of BMBD*	*Nature and Location of Wound or Mark on PP*	*MOD of PP*	*Relationship Between Two Families*	*Comments*
Moe Moe Than, Ma *(continued)*							investigation only. Sex-change case.
Tin Aung, Ma (Female)	(Female)	Burma	Hyperpigmented macule on both shoulders	Marks made on both shoulders	"Old age"	Unknown	Experimental birthmark. Preliminary investigation only.
Kyaw Min, Mg (Male)	(Male)	Burma	Hyperpigmented macule on left leg at ankle	Mark on left leg at ankle	Stroke	Unknown	Experimental birthmark. Preliminary investigation only.
Tin Ngwe, Mg (Male)	(Female)	Burma	Hyperpigmented elevated hairy nevus on inner left thigh	Tattoo made on left thigh	Illness	Unknown	Experimental birthmark. Preliminary investigation only. Sex-change case.

Khin Nyo Htwe, Ma (Female)	(Female)	Burma	Hyperpigmented macule between eyebrows and on nose and forehead	Mark made with soot between eyebrows, smeared in an attempt to wipe off	Illness	Unknown	Experimental birthmark. Preliminary investigation only.

Subject	*Previous Personality*	*Country of S*	*Number, Type, and Location of BMBD*	*Nature and Location of Wound or Mark on PP*	*MOD of PP*	*Relationship Between Two Families*	*Comments*
Frank Dudley (Male)	Dadtookuch (Male)	Alaska (Tlingit)	Hyperpigmented mark under chin Red area on top of head	Entry wound under chin Exit wound at top of head (Secondhand verification only)	Gunshot	Related (PP= S's maternal great-great-uncle)	Entry/exit wound case. Red area on top of head completely faded.
Govind Narain Mishra (Male)	Unsolved (Male)	India	Hyperpigmented mark on right hip	Unknown	Snakebite	Unknown	Birthmark faded some, shifted location some.
Derek Betus (Male)	Maithripala (Male)	Sri Lanka	Hypopigmented mark on left great toe	Bite on left great toe	Dogbite; rabies?	Strangers	Birthmark faded completely.
Celal Kapan (Male)	Saban Sağir (Male)	Turkey	Scarlike vertical mark in center of forehead	Large wound on forehead Smaller wound on back of head	Struck on head with barrel	Acquainted, perhaps distantly related	Birthmark had faded some.
Faris Yuyucuer (Male)	Hasan Derin (Male)	Turkey	Nevus flammeus on left buttock that	Burn on left buttock	Drowning	Slightly acquainted	Birthmark faded com-

			later became a hyper-pigmented macule Also 2 birth defects (see Chapter 19)				pletely by age 6 ½.
Chit Htun, Mg (Male)	Po Htwe, U (Male)	Burma	Hypopigmented areas on chest, abdomen, back	Unknown	Stabbed with sword	Unknown	Birthmarks raw and bleeding at birth.
Ravi Shankar Gupta (Male)	Munna (Male)	India	Hyperpigmented linear mark across front of neck	Razor wound on neck	Decapitated	Slightly acquainted	A1 (court records). Birthmark shifted location and faded some.
Bhopal Singh (Male)	Hardyal Singh (Male)	India	Puckered mark on right neck Puckered depressed mark in middle of upper back	Wounds on right side of neck, abdomen, right lower back	Gunshot	Related (PP= S's maternal great-uncle)	B1. Birthmarks shifted location and changed size and then faded completely.

Subject	*Previous Personality*	*Country of S*	*Number, Type, and Location of BMBD*	*Nature and Location of Wound or Mark on PP*	*MOD of PP*	*Relationship Between Two Families*	*Comments*
Mu Mu, Ma (Female)	Ngwe Khin, Daw (Female)	Burma	2 depressed puckered marks on chest (one small, one large)	Shotgun wound to chest	Accidental shooting with shotgun	Related (cousins)	Birthmarks are said to correspond to two different sizes of shot.
Obike Nwonye (Male)	Nwachime Onyia (Male)	Nigeria	Large depressed mark with several small depressed marks within it on upper right chest	Shotgun wound to chest	Shotgun	Related (PP= S's paternal great-grand-father)	S apparently had no imaged memories of PL. Birthmark shrank in relative size as S grew.
Corliss Chotkin, Jr. (Male)	Victor Vincent (Male)	Alaska (Tlingit)	Hyperpigmented depressed puckered mark on right side of nose Hyperpigmented elevated mark on upper right back with 6 small hyperpigmented dots around it	2 surgical scars (on nose and back) not related to MOD	Natural	Related (PP= S's maternal great-uncle)	A1 (hospital records). First mark shifted location and then faded considerably. Second mark shifted loca-

								tion; also itched and became more pigmented. Hyperpigmented dots around second birthmark thought to correspond to surgical stitch marks.
Win Win Nyunt, Ma (Female)	Maung Ley, Mg (Male)	Burma	Hyperpigmented rectangular mark on left ankle Dark patch on buttock Bluish-black streak on inner right leg	Adhesive tape (holding transfusion needle to ankle) left on body Marks with charcoal made on lower back and on side of one leg	Leukemia	Related (PP= S's brother) (second PP= S's paternal grandmother)	Experimental birthmark. S apparently had no imaged memories of PL. S was identified with 2 successive PPs. Correspondence between 2 birthmarks and experimental marks confirmed only at secondhand.

Chapter 12 *(continued)*

Subject	*Previous Personality*	*Country of S*	*Number, Type, and Location of BMBD*	*Nature and Location of Wound or Mark on PP*	*MOD of PP*	*Relationship Between Two Families*	*Comments*
Win Win Nyunt, Ma *(continued)*							Birthmark on ankle faded some and apparently had earlier been hypo-pigmented. Sex-change case.
Mehmet Karaytu (Male)	Haydar Karadöl (Male)	Turkey	Depressed puckered mark in lower back, triangular in shape	Stab wounds, at least one probably in back	Stabbed	Strangers	Birthmark bled for a month after birth (after mother of S opened the swollen area with a pin). Triangular shape of birthmark corresponds to shape of wound made

							with a single-edged knife.
Tong In Song-cham (Female)	See (Female)	Thailand	3 hypopigmented linear marks on back	Axe wounds in back	Killed with axe	No acquaintance, but S's parents had heard of murder of PP	One birthmark bled at birth and for a week afterward.
Charles Porter (Male)	(Male)	Alaska (Tlingit)	Hyperpigmented macule on right flank	Spear wound	Stabbed with spear	Related (PP= S's maternal great-uncle)	Rhomboid shape of birth-mark may correspond to shape of spear blade.
Derek Pitnov (Male)	Chah-nik-kooh (Male)	Alaska (Tlingit)	Hypopigmented mark on abdomen	Spear wound in abdomen	Stabbed with spear	S's family knew about PP	S had no imaged mem-ories of PL. Birthmark had faded some and become smaller. Rhomboid shape of birth-mark corre-sponds to prob-able shape of spear wound.

Chapter 12 *(continued)*

Subject	*Previous Personality*	*Country of S*	*Number, Type, and Location of BMBD*	*Nature and Location of Wound or Mark on PP*	*MOD of PP*	*Relationship Between Two Families*	*Comments*
Myint Myint Zaw, Ma (Female)	Pho Zaw, Mg (Male)	Burma	Round depressed hypopigmented mark on left foot	Burn made with lighted cheroot at site of snakebite on left foot	Snakebite	Related (PP= S's brother)	Sex-change case.
Htay Win, Mg (Male)	Chit Saya, U (Male)	Burma	2 linear hypopigmented marks on left forefinger	Razor cuts made at site of snakebite on left forefinger	Snakebite	Related (PP= S's paternal step-grandfather)	
Naing, Mg (Male)	Tin, Mg (Male)	Burma	2 linear hyperpigmented depressed marks on left foot	Incisions made at site of snakebite on left foot	Snakebite	Neighbors	
Ramoo and Rajoo Sharma (Male)	Bhimsen and Bhism Pitamah (Male)	India	Hyperpigmented horizontal lines on abdomen (and lower chest of Ramoo)	Unknown Pressure from lathis conjectured	Strangled	Strangers, but Ss' mother had heard about murders	C1 (complete postmortem infeasible). Birthmarks possibly correspond to marks made by lathis used to pin down the PPs during the murder. Twin case.

Subject	*Previous Personality*	*Country of S*	*Number, Type, and Location of BMBD*	*Nature and Location of Wound or Mark on PP*	*MOD of PP*	*Relationship Between Two Families*	*Comments*
Semihe Atasoy (Female)	Nesime Doğruel (Female)	Turkey	Hyperpigmented macule on middle of chest Hyperpigmented macule on right back	4 bullet entry wounds on both sides of chest 3 exit wounds on back	Gunshot	Slightly acquainted	B2 (post-mortem report). Both birth-marks had faded.
Rajani Sukla (Female)	Dev Prabhu (Female)	India	Hyperpigmented puckered linear mark, with parallel hypo-pigmented mark between hairline and medial end of left eyebrow	Head injury on right side Head and eye injury on left side Wounds on left side of nose and lower lip	Fall from bicycle	Related (PP= S's sister)	C7 (post-mortem report).
Vasantha Gunasekera (Male)	Shelton Weerasinghe (Male)	Sri Lanka	Hypopigmented mark on upper right chest Depressed puckered mark on right upper back	Entry wound near left nipple Exit wound on left back	Shot	Slightly acquainted	C5 (post-mortem report). First mark faded, second may not be birthmark.

Chapter 13 *(continued)*

Subject	*Previous Personality*	*Country of S*	*Number, Type, and Location of BMBD*	*Nature and Location of Wound or Mark on PP*	*MOD of PP*	*Relationship Between Two Families*	*Comments*
Bhagwan Din Sharma (Male)	Chakko Lal (Male)	India	Linear birthmark on forehead Linear hairless area on back of head 2 puckered marks on right chest Puckered, almost hairless mark on chest near midline	Wound in belly below left nipple Wound on back of neck Body burned on front	Gunshot, burned	Strangers	D (court records). Discrepancy between birthmarks and wounds. Birthmark on forehead soft when S was born and for 2-3 years after. 3 eyewitnesses reported wound in chest, not mentioned in judge's summation of postmortem examination.
Pappu Singh (Male)	Lala Bhaiya (Male)	India	Hyperpigmented depressed mark	2 major wounds, 5 minor ones, on	Shotgun, axe	Acquainted	D (post-mortem

			below right nipple (supernumerary nipple)	left side of head Wound below left nipple 8 wounds of exit on right upper chest near axilla			report). Discrepancy.
Amitha Herath (Female)	H.M. Muthu-menike (Female)	Sri Lanka	Hyperpigmented mark on outer right foot near ankle	Snakebite on sole of right foot near 5th toe	Snakebite	Slightly acquainted	D (death certificate). Discrepancy.
Brijendra Singh (Male)	Raj Bahadur (Male)	India	Mark on left side of chest	Stab wound on left chest	Stabbed	Friends	D (post-mortem report). Discrepancy. Birthmark had faded completely. Birthmark and wound more than 15 cm. apart.
Pappu Tiwari (Male)	Prabhu Dayal (Male)	India	Large mark on left side of forehead and head Large depression of upper arm (defect)	Wound on right side of head	Blow to head	S's father had heard of PP's murder	D (post-mortem report). Discrepancy. Birthmark had faded.

Chapter 13 *(continued)*

Subject	*Previous Personality*	*Country of S*	*Number, Type, and Location of BMBD*	*Nature and Location of Wound or Mark on PP*	*MOD of PP*	*Relationship Between Two Families*	*Comments*
Suwa Bilat (Male)	Maida (Male)	India	Numerous birthmarks, especially at back of neck and on right leg	Compound fracture of skull Multiple bruises	Head injury	Same family	D (postmortem report). Discrepancy. Parakayapra-vesh a possi-ble interpreta-tion of dis-crepancy.
Ram Tirath Sharma (Male)	Man Singh (Male)	India	Hyperpigmented raised mark below right nipple (super-numerary nipple)	Unknown	Illness with fever	Strangers	S claimed birthmark derived from scar on PP left by goring of bull; unveri-fied.
Mira Devi Sharma (Female)	Champa (Female)	India	Hyperpigmented depressed mark on forehead	Unknown	Congestive heart failure	Strangers	Birthmark had shrunk in size. S said a brick struck PP on head; PP's family denied this.

Subject	*Previous Personality*	*Country of S*	*Number, Type, and Location of BMBD*	*Nature and Location of Wound or Mark on PP*	*MOD of PP*	*Relationship Between Two Families*	*Comments*
Khin, Daw (Female)	Mai Ei, Ma (Female)	Burma	Hyperpigmented mark on upper chest Other birthmarks in unspecified locations	Sores on body from illness	Illness	Friends	Intermediate life reported in which baby was born with sores on body.
Kyaw Thein, Mg (Male)	Warzi, U (Male)	Burma	None	Stab wounds; left hand mutilated, then amputated	Probably hemorrhage	Friends	
Thoung, Ma (Female)	Mya Sein, Ma (Female)	Burma	Defect of left ear	Neck wound (details unknown)	Beheaded with sword	Acquainted	S dark-complexioned like PP.
Punkaj Chauhan (Male)	Munnu Baba (Male)	India	Hyperpigmented macule on upper right abdomen	Wound to back of head Entry wound in back Exit wounds in front Wound in abdomen	Shotgun	Slightly acquainted	C5 (post-mortem report).

Chapter 14 *(continued)*

Subject	*Previous Personality*	*Country of S*	*Number, Type, and Location of BMBD*	*Nature and Location of Wound or Mark on PP*	*MOD of PP*	*Relationship Between Two Families*	*Comments*
Chamroon Kaochamnong (Male)	Baby Nai (Male)	Thailand	Hypopigmented hairless area on back of head	Accidental injury made by nail to back of PP's head after death	Illness	Related (PP= S's brother)	S had no imaged memories of PL.
Pyone Yi, Ma (Female)	Ain Thi, Daw (Female)	Burma	Hairless mark on top of forehead Birthmarks on legs	Ulcers on legs	Illness	Related (PP= S's paternal grandmother)	Birthmarks on legs had faded. S said birthmark on head corresponded to injury made to PP's head by gravedigger, but unverified.

Subject	*Previous Personality*	*Country of S*	*Number, Type, and Location of BMBD*	*Nature and Location of Wound or Mark on PP*	*MOD of PP*	*Relationship Between Two Families*	*Comments*
Lekh Pal Jatav (Male)	Hukum Singh (Male)	India	Brachydactyly of right hand	Fingers of right hand severed	Illness	Strangers; villages 8 km. apart	Fingers of right hand cut off in fodder-chopping machine; unrelated to death.
Myint Thein, Ma (Female)	Sein Maung, U (Male)	Burma	Severe malformations of fingers of both hands, with constriction rings Hypopigmented linear mark on left side of neck (completely faded) Hyperpigmented mark on lower left back (not seen by I.S.)	Fingers cut off Neck cut Stab wound to lower left back	Murdered with sword	Friends	Sex-change case.
Tin Hla, Daw (Female)	San, U (Male)	Burma	Severe malformations of fingers of both hands Annular groove around right forearm	Fingers cut with sword Neck slashed	Murdered with sword	Friends	No firsthand testimony about PP's mode of death or

Chapter 17 *(continued)*

Subject	*Previous Personality*	*Country of S*	*Number, Type, and Location of BMBD*	*Nature and Location of Wound or Mark on PP*	*MOD of PP*	*Relationship Between Two Families*	*Comments*
Tin Hla, Daw *(continued)*			Constriction ring around left 5th finger				wounds. Sex-change case.
Khin San, Ma (Female)	Shein, U (Male)	Burma	Index finger of left hand missing Oblique constriction ring around left thumb Hyperpigmented constriction ring around left calf 2 toes of right foot defective	Fingers caught in ropes, mutilated 2 toes of right foot cut off Rope mark on left leg (all according to S only)	Gunshot	Related (PP= S's paternal uncle)	PP's finger wounds happened at time of death, but unrelated to mode of death. No firsthand testimony about PP's death or wounds. Discrepant testimony about PP's mode of death. Sex-change case.

Oo, Daw (Female)	Nge Kyi, Daw (Female)	Burma	Severe malformations of fingers of both hands 3 syndactylous fingers of each hand Syndactylous malformed toes of right foot	Fingers cut with sword (second-hand testimony) Toes cut with sword (according to S only)	Killed with sword	Acquainted, same village	No firsthand corroboration of S's statements available.
Khin Mar Htoo, Ma (Female)	Thein Nwe, Ma (Female)	Burma	Right leg missing from below knee Malformations of several fingers (both hands)	Upper part of body severed from rest One or both legs cut off (discrepant testimony)	Run over by train	Friends	
Tin Yee, Ma (Female)	Hla Maung, Mg (Male)	Burma	Brachydactyly of right hand Constriction rings around 2 fingers Puckered birthmark on right calf Birthmark on right thigh (not seen by investigators)	Wounds to right side (arm, hand, buttock, and leg)	Bomb explosion	Related (PP= S's 3rd cousin)	Not the same S as Daw Tin Yee, S of a case described in Chapter 10. Sex-change case.
Sandimar, Ven. U (Male)	Maung Gyi, U (Male)	Burma	Shortened right thumb and index finger, left middle finger, 4 toes on right foot	Tied with ropes Hands and feet cut with sword Beheaded (all	Killed with sword	Friends	Bleeding from all birth-marks and birth defects

Chapter 17 *(continued)*

Subject	*Previous Personality*	*Country of S*	*Number, Type, and Location of BMBD*	*Nature and Location of Wound or Mark on PP*	*MOD of PP*	*Relationship Between Two Families*	*Comments*
Sandimar, Ven. U *(continued)*			Constriction rings and areas of altered pigmentation in arms and legs Birthmark on neck (faded)	according to S only)			at birth and for about a month after.
Aung Gyi, U (Male)	Unsolved (Male)	Burma	Bone missing from part of upper left arm Constriction rings around finger of right hand, toes of left foot, lower left leg Malformation of left great toe	Hands and feet bound Arm cut off (according to S only)	Killed with sword	Unsolved	Part of left arm amputated a week after birth.
Narada, Ven. U (Male)	Khone Min, U (Male)	Burma	Defect of 2 fingers on right hand Constriction ring around 1 finger	Wounds on neck, head, and fingers (secondhand testimony only)	Killed with sword	Probable slight acquaintance	
Hsann Aye, Ma (Female)	Unsolved (Male)	Burma	Malformations of fingers of both hands, some fingers	Bound, hands cut with sword (according to S	Killed with sword	Unsolved	

			syndactylous Malformations, syndactyly of some toes of both feet Constriction rings on left leg	only)			
Win Tar, Ma (Female)	Unsolved (Japanese PP) (Male)	Burma	Malformations of fingers of both hands Constriction rings around some fingers Constriction rings around wrists (right one disappeared)	Tied to a tree (according to S)	Tied, burned alive (according to S)	Unsolved	2 fingers of right hand, insufficiently attached, were amputated when S was 3 days old. Sex-change case.
Win Yee, Ma (Female)	Unsolved (Japanese PP) (Male)	Burma	Shortened toes and fingers of left hand Some toes syndactylous Constriction rings around some toes	Fingers and toes chopped off (according to S only)	S did not recall	Unsolved	Sex-change case.
Aung Htoo, Mg (Male)	Unsolved (Japanese PP) (Male)	Burma	Severe malformations of fingers of both hands 2 fingers of left hand syndactylous	Toes and fingers cut (according to S only)	Tortured and left to die (according to S)	Unsolved	

Chapter 17 *(continued)*

Subject	*Previous Personality*	*Country of S*	*Number, Type, and Location of BMBD*	*Nature and Location of Wound or Mark on PP*	*MOD of PP*	*Relationship Between Two Families*	*Comments*
Aung Htoo, Mg *(continued)*			Malformations of toes on both feet 2 hyperpigmented marks encircling left leg Depressed linear hypopigmented area above left knee Hairy area above left knee				
Hla Hsaung, Mg (Male)	Unsolved (Japanese PP) (Male)	Burma	Malformations of fingers of both hands Shortened missing and syndactylous toes of right foot 3 hyperpigmented linear birthmarks across right calf	Tortured by having fingers and toes cut off (according to S only)	Tied, tortured, buried alive (according to S)	Unsolved	2 fingers of left hand insufficiently attached at birth, amputated at 18 months.
Ngozi Uduji (Female)	Ogbonna Iregbu (Male)	Nigeria	Missing left forearm	Left forearm severely injured, possibly severed Wounds to abdomen	Bomb	Related (PP= S's father's cousin)	There may also have been some marks on S that faded

				Burns			after about a week. Sex-change case.
Augustine Nwachi (Male)	Dominic Nwachi (Male)	Nigeria	Absent distal third of left foot	Lesion, infection, swelling of distal parts of left foot; probable gangrene	Infection of left foot; probable bacteremia	Related (PP= S's paternal grandfather)	S had no imaged memories of PL.
Uwamachi Okogbue (Male)	Nkume (Male)	Nigeria	Missing right arm (phocomelia)	Right arm chopped off	Killed with cutlass	Related (PP= S's paternal uncle)	S had no imaged memories of PL.
Yusuf Köse (Male)	Halil Ridvan (Male)	Turkey	Birthmark on back of neck Constriction ring around 1 finger of right hand, partly around another Part of finger of right hand insufficiently attached	Fingers of right hand cut (according to S) Decapitated	Killed with knife	Strangers	Part of finger of right hand, insufficiently attached, was amputated a few days after birth. Birthmark on neck (and perhaps finger malformations) bled at birth and for about a month after.

Chapter 17 *(continued)*

Subject	*Previous Personality*	*Country of S*	*Number, Type, and Location of BMBD*	*Nature and Location of Wound or Mark on PP*	*MOD of PP*	*Relationship Between Two Families*	*Comments*
Ahmet Balcı (Male)	İbrahim (Male)	Turkey	3 fingers on right hand, 1 on left, shortened Constriction ring on one finger of right hand Toes of right foot shortened 2 toes of left foot probably syndactylous	Unknown	Bomb explosion	Unknown, but PP and S lived in same village	S the only informant for case.
Hüseyin Yılmaz II (Male)	Hüseyin Yılmaz I (Male)	Turkey	Absence of left forearm Malformed, shortened left leg and foot	Unknown	Killed in war MOD unknown	Related (PP= S's paternal grandfather)	A hoca had claimed before S's birth that PP had been wounded by shrapnel in left arm and foot. Left foot bleeding at birth and for about a week after. S expressed no imaged memories of PL.

Bruce Peck (Male)	Richard Peck (Male)	Canada (Haida)	Absence of lower right forearm	None (but PP had expressed a wish to be reborn without one arm)	Uncertain; heart attack or drowning	Related (PP= S's paternal grandfather)	Rudimentary fingers removed by surgery when S was 11 years old. S had no imaged memories of PL.
Wijeratne (Male)	Ratran Hami (Male)	Sri Lanka	Shorter underdeveloped right arm Absence of second phalanges, syndactyly, of fingers of right hand Shortened right rib Underdeveloped (or missing) right pectoralis major muscle (Poland syndrome)	None (but S attributed his malformations to PP's having murdered his fiancée with his right arm)	Hanging (judicial)	Related (PP= S's paternal uncle)	Surgical separation of some fingers when S was 24 years old.
Anusha Shalinie (Female)	N.A.	Sri Lanka	Absence of lower half of left forearm and hand	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	S not identified as having had a PL.
Wilma Harris (Female)	N.A.	USA	Constriction rings, shortened fingers of both hands	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	S not identified as having had a PL.

Subject	*Previous Personality*	*Country of S*	*Number, Type, and Location of BMBD*	*Nature and Location of Wound or Mark on PP*	*MOD of PP*	*Relationship Between Two Families*	*Comments*
Semih Tutuşmuş (Male)	Selim Fesli (Male)	Turkey	Malformed right ear (microtia) Hypoplasia of face (right side)	Wounds to right side of head	Shotgun	Distantly related, acquainted	A1 (post-mortem report).
Myint Soe, Mg (Male)	Sein Htun, U (Male)	Burma	Small appendage to left ear	Small appendage to left ear	Drowning	Distantly related by marriage, well acquainted	
Ruvan Ranatunga (Male)	Sampath Rupasinghe (Male)	Sri Lanka	Malformed left ear	Deformed left ear	Drowning	Strangers	
Kyaw Myint, Mg (Male)	Mya, Mg (Male)	Burma	Malformed left ear	Ear injury caused by fatal fall	Fall; head injury	Related (PP=S's paternal uncle)	
Süleyman Çapar (Male)	Mehmet Bekler (Male)	Turkey	Depression, birth-mark at back of skull	Skull fracture	Head injury	S's family knew of PP, not acquainted	A1 (post-mortem report).
Mehmet Samioğlu (Male)	Ali Köybaşı (Male)	Turkey	Meningocele of cranium	Skull wound Bullet wound of upper lip, tongue and palate	Shot, blow to skull	S's family knew of PP	A1 (post-mortem report).

Myo Min Thein, Mg (Male)	Warthawa, Ven. U (Male)	Burma	Hairless area and concavity at back of head Birthmark at bridge of nose	Wound to back of head Mark on nose made by spectacles	Blow to back of head	Friends	
Htoo, Mg (Male)	Paw Kywe, U (Male)	Burma	Cleft lip and palate	Ulcerated areas of mouth, nose, and hands	Leprosy	Related (PP=S's maternal great-uncle)	
Timothy Curran (Male)	Henry Wicklow (Male)	Alaska (Tlingit)	Cleft lip	Cleft lip	Drowning	Related (PP=S's paternal great-grandfather)	A3 (photo-graph of PP). PP said to have remem-bered PL of man who had been shot in his mouth. S expressed no imaged mem-ories of PL.
Hmwe Lone, Ma (Female)	Hmwe, Ko (Male)	Burma	Hairless area above left ear Facial paralysis on left side	Sword wound above left ear	Killed with sword	Friends	Sex-change case.
Sylvia Hirst Ewing (Female)	Julia Ford (Female)	Alaska (Tlingit)	Congenital sinus near right eye	Stye in right eye	Natural	Related (PP=S's maternal great-aunt by marriage)	

Chapter 18 *(continued)*

Subject	*Previous Personality*	*Country of S*	*Number, Type, and Location of BMBD*	*Nature and Location of Wound or Mark on PP*	*MOD of PP*	*Relationship Between Two Families*	*Comments*
Tint Aung, U (Male)	San Pe, Bo (Male)	Burma	Defect of mandible; micrognathia Birthmark on neck (faded)	Unknown	Hanging (judicial)	Related (PP=S's paternal uncle)	S's birth defect was attributed to a bungled first attempt at hanging the PP; birthmark attributed to rope mark.

Subject	*Previous Personality*	*Country of S*	*Number, Type, and Location of BMBD*	*Nature and Location of Wound or Mark on PP*	*MOD of PP*	*Relationship Between Two Families*	*Comments*
Aung Than, Mg (Male)	Ba Kyar, U (Male)	Burma	9 fingers missing, 5th finger of left hand malformed 4 missing toes of left foot Defective tongue Cleft lower lip Congenital absence of foreskin Strabismus of left eye	Fingers, part of tongue, end of penis, and toes of one foot cut off (according to S only)	Mutilation with sword, drowning (according to S only)	Friends	Hands bleeding at birth. Lip bled during 1st year of infancy.
Than Htay, Mg (Male)	Ba Hsinn, U (Male)	Burma	Hairless area on head Permanent flexion of fingers of left hand 3 shortened fingers of left hand, 2 defective nails Hyperpigmented areas on left forearm Constriction ring on left forearm Deformity of left foot Birthmark on left foot Birthmark on chest	Blow on head from rifle butt 2 (or 3) fingernails of left hand pulled out Boiling water poured on left arm Hung by rope on left forearm Foot cut with sword Shot in chest (all above according to S only)	Hung by rope on arm, tortured with sword, and shot (according to S only)	Related (PP=S's paternal uncle by marriage)	Birthmark on head suppurating at birth.

Chapter 19 *(continued)*

Subject	*Previous Personality*	*Country of S*	*Number, Type, and Location of BMBD*	*Nature and Location of Wound or Mark on PP*	*MOD of PP*	*Relationship Between Two Families*	*Comments*
Htwe Win, Ma (Female)	Nga Than, U (Male)	Burma	Birthmark on back of head (faded completely by time of investigation) Left 5th finger absent Birthmark on left chest Grooves or constriction rings around 3 fingers of left hand, left thigh, right lower leg Hyperpigmented ring on left lower leg	Stab wound in left breast Hands (or fingers) cut off with sword Axe wound in head Legs doubled up and tied with rope (all above according to S only)	Murdered	Acquainted	Bleeding at birth at back of head. Site of missing left 5th finger bleeding at birth. Thighs and hands swollen at birth. Sex-change case.
Than Htun Win, Mg ("Karengyi") (Male)	Unsolved (Karen soldier) (Male)	Burma	Large hairless scarlike area on top of head 2 shortened fingers, 3 syndactylous fingers, constriction rings on fingers of left hand	Blow to head Fingers cut with bladed weapon (according to S)	Unknown	Unknown	Birthmark on head bleeding at birth and for a month after. Defective fingers bleeding at birth and for about 2

							weeks after. S also had dark complexion and stocky physique, attributed to PL.
Thein, Mg (Male)	Po Chit, Mg (Male)	Burma	Hyperpigmented mark on left wrist Blue-black mark under left middle fingernail Depression in chest	Mark on right wrist (caused by efforts to remove a tattoo, according to S) Injured fingernail, according to S, with subungual hematoma	Shot in chest (according to S only)	Friends (PP= S's adoptive maternal great-uncle)	
Thiang San Kla (Male)	Phoh San Kla (Male)	Thailand	Large raised pigmented verrucous nevus on back of head Malformed pigmented right great toenail 4 birthmarks on hands and feet (according to S only) (faded by age of 6–7)	Wound on back of head Broken left arm Infection of right great toe Tattoos on hands and feet	Blow to head with knife	Related (PP=S's paternal uncle)	
Ariya Noikerd (Female)	Apirak Noikerd (Male)	Thailand	Nevus flammeus on face and head Crease or indentation in lower back	Congenital crease in skin of lower back between buttocks	Struck by a truck; precise injuries not known	Related (PP=S's brother)	Birthmark said to correspond to blood on PP's

Chapter 19 *(continued)*

Subject	*Previous Personality*	*Country of S*	*Number, Type, and Location of BMBD*	*Nature and Location of Wound or Mark on PP*	*MOD of PP*	*Relationship Between Two Families*	*Comments*
Ariya Noikerd *(continued)*			between buttocks				face and head, not washed off before cremation. S also was said to have long 4th toes, big teeth, and stomachaches, as did PP. Sex-change case.
Faris Yuyucuer (Male)	Hasan Derin (Male)	Turkey	Nevus flammeus on left buttock Micropenis with reduced foreskin Congenital swelling of lower lip	Scar of burn on left buttock Circumcision, later operation on penis Laceration of lip (after death)	Drowning	Acquainted	
Sukh Lal Sharma (Male)	Kashi Ram (Male)	India	3 fingers, part of thumb, and part of palm missing from	Shot in chest Fingers of right hand cut off	Shot	Possible knowledge of each other; no	B4 (Police record showing corre-

			right hand Part of right nipple missing, depressed area below this			definite acquaintance	spondence between wounds and birth defects examined by previous investigator, but not by I.S.).
Julaluddin Shah (Male)	Bissa Shah (Male)	India	Hyperpigmented depressed mark on forehead Congenital absence of foreskin	Scar on forehead from being kicked in head by horse as a young child Circumcised	Asthma	Related (PP= S's uncle)	S had no imaged memories of PL.

Subject	*Previous Personality*	*Country of S*	*Number, Type, and Location of BMBD*	*Nature and Location of Wound or Mark on PP*	*MOD of PP*	*Relationship Between Two Families*	*Comments*
Onuchukwu Nwobodo (Male)	Unsolved	Nigeria	Distal phalanx of left 5th finger missing 5th toes of each foot missing	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Presumed experimental birth defect case.
Cordelia Ekouroume (Female)	Wankwo (Female) Nwanyi (Female)	Nigeria	Shortened nail-less fingers of each hand Constriction ring around left lower leg Less pronounced mark around right lower leg Shortened nail-less syndactylous toes of both feet	Some fingers and toes cut off (Nwanyi) Legs bound with rope (Nwanyi)	Natural (both PPs)	Related (Wankwo = S's paternal aunt; Nwanyi = S's half-sister)	Experimental birth defect case. Successive reincarnations assumed.
Florence Onumegbu (Female)	Unnamed infant (Female)	Nigeria	Shortened nail-less fingers of both hands Anterior third of both feet missing	Parts of feet and some fingers chopped off	Natural	Related (PP= S's cousin)	Experimental birth defect case. The identified PP was the 3rd presumed repeater child in the family to die.

Tadé Sarr (Male)	Unnamed infant (Male)	Senegal	Part of left ear missing	Part of ear cut off	Natural	Related (PP= S's brother)	Experimental birth defect case. The identified PP was the 4th presumed repeater child in the family to die.
Wagane Sene (Male)	Ngone Sene (Female)	Senegal	Part of left ear missing	Mutilation of left ear	Natural	Related (PP= S's sister)	Experimental birth defect case. Sex-change case.
Sedar Diouf (Male)	Daly Diouf (Male)	Senegal	Hole in lobe of left ear	Hole cut in lobe of left ear (according to S only)	Natural	Related (PP= S's brother)	Experimental birth defect case. The identified PP was about the 4th presumed repeater child in the family to die; one other child was born and died after PP's death and before S's birth.

Subject	*Previous Personality*	*Country of S*	*Number, Type, and Location of BMBD*	*Nature and Location of Wound or Mark on PP*	*MOD of PP*	*Relationship Between Two Families*	*Comments*
Aung Myint, Mg (Male)	Mya Maung, Mg (Male)	Burma	Large flat hyperpigmented nevus on lower back Birthmark on right chest below nipple (possible supernumerary nipple) "Red urine" with pain; probable renal calculi	Large flat hyperpigmented nevus on lower back Spear wound to right chest inferior to nipple Urinary disease not specified	Killed with spear	Related (PP= S's maternal cousin)	PP also recalled PL. Birthmark on chest bleeding at birth and for about 1½ months after.
Selma Kılıç (Female)	Zehra Zaman (Female)	Turkey	Nevus flammeus on lower left back in region of kidney	No marks	Kidney disease, probably nephritis	Slightly acquainted	S suffered from glomerulonephritis.
Celal Kapan (Male)	Şaban Sağir (Male)	Turkey	Swollen forehead at birth and for about 9 days after Birthmark on forehead Discharge from and pain in one ear (and possibly both) Headaches	Wounds to forehead and back of head Blood running out of right ear	Head injury	Acquainted	S's birthmark also described in Ch. 11.

Khin Nyein, Ma (Female)	Kway Kyar, Mg (Male)	Burma	Severe ichthyosis	Ichthyosis	Unknown	Related (PP= S's maternal distant cousin)	PP remembered PL. Sex-change case.
Khin Ohn, Mg (Male)	Mingaladon Lu Maik (Male)	Burma	Birthmark on chest Enuresis until early teens	Scar of wound to chest	Illness	Distantly related	PP (an alcoholic) urinated in bed at night. S not interviewed or examined by investigators. S expressed no imaged memories of PL.

Subject	*Previous Personality*	*Country of S*	*Number, Type, and Location of BMBD*	*Nature and Location of Wound or Mark on PP*	*MOD of PP*	*Relationship Between Two Families*	*Comments*
Alli Kathat (Male)	Jora (Male)	India	Fair complexion, blue eyes	Fair complexion, blue eyes	Unknown	Distantly related	
Kalar, U (Male)	Indian soldier; name unknown (Male)	Burma	Dark complexion Birthmark on right side of abdomen Birthmark on right leg	Presumably dark complexion Wounds to abdomen, right leg (according to S)	Unknown	Strangers, but S's father had removed PP's body	No independent verification of PP's wounds. Investigator did not examine birthmarks.
Archana Shastri (Female)	Tahira Khanam (Female)	India	Light irides	Light irides	Drowning	Slight acquaintance	
Win Myint, Ma (Female)	Paul Taylor (Male)	Burma	Reddish complexion (later only fair), freckles Patch of white hair (most disappeared later) Pointed nose Large neck (up to age 13-14)	Red complexion, freckles, sharp nose, blond hair	Cancer of the tongue	Good friends	S never spoke about PL. S had frequent sore throats. Sex-change case.

Bajrang Bahadur (B.B.) Saxena (Male)	Unsolved (British soldier) (Male)	India	Albino Roundish area of erythema on right side of neck Hairless hypopigmented area on back of head	Shot in neck (according to S)	Gunshot (according to S)	Unsolved	
Zaw Win Aung, Mg (Male)	Unsolved (American aviator) (Male)	Burma	Albino	Unknown	Shot down in plane (according to S)	Unsolved	
Aye, Mg (Male)	Unsolved (American or British aviator) (Male)	Burma	Slight albinism 2 round hypopigmented birthmarks on upper chest	Unknown	Shot down in plane (according to S)	Unsolved	
Par, Ma (Female)	Unsolved (British aviator) (Male)	Burma	Albino Birthmark on abdomen	PP a blond Gunshot wound to abdomen (according to S)	Gunshot when plane shot down (according to S)	Unsolved	Sex-change case.
Tin Soe, Mg (Male)	Unsolved (European) (Male)	Burma	Albino	Unknown	Shot down in plane (conjectured by S's father)	Unsolved	S made no statements about PL.
Bo Gyi, Mg (Male)	Unsolved (British)	Burma	Albino	Unknown	Plane crash (according to S)	Unsolved	

Chapter 22 *(continued)*

Subject	*Previous Personality*	*Country of S*	*Number, Type, and Location of BMBD*	*Nature and Location of Wound or Mark on PP*	*MOD of PP*	*Relationship Between Two Families*	*Comments*
Sein Hla Tun, Mg (Male)	Unsolved (British or American) (Male)	Burma	Albino	Unknown	Shot down in plane (according to S)	Unsolved	
Tun Sein, Mg (Male)	Unsolved (British)	Burma	Albino Hypopigmented birthmark on lower left arm	Unknown	Shot down in plane (according to S)	Unsolved	
Ahmar Sein, Ma (Female)	Bo Ma, Ma (Female)	Burma	Albino	Albino	Natural	Related (PP=S's sister)	
Celestina Ume-Ezeoke (Female)	Ifeoma Ume-Ezeoke (Female)	Nigeria	Albino	Albino	Pneumonia	Related (PP=S's sister)	
Nathu Ram (Male)	N.A.	India	Albino	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	S not identified as having had a PL.

Subject	*Previous Personality*	*Country of S*	*Number, Type, and Location of BMBD*	*Nature and Location of Wound or Mark on PP*	*MOD of PP*	*Relationship Between Two Families*	*Comments*
Dulcina Karasek (Female)	Zeca Martins Ribeiro (Male)	Brazil	S said to be masculine in appearance, hairy, had narrow pelvic outlet		Natural (syphilis?)	Related (PP=S's cousin)	S died after cesarean section. Sex-change case.
Jim Bailey (Male)	Guthlieth (Ghukhlee-ekh) (Male)	Alaska (Tlingit)	Deformed permanent crouching posture	Body doubled over when recovered	Drowning	Unknown	PP may have had cadaveric rigidity.
Ajith Priyasantha (Male)	T.W. Janakaratne (Male)	Sri Lanka	Fetal posture assumed while sleeping	Body in fetal posture when recovered	Drowning	Related (same extended family)	PP may have had cadaveric rigidity. See another reference to this case in Chapter 21.
Chhote Khan (Male)	Jitender Deo (Male)	India	Fetal posture assumed and preferred during infancy until about age 3-4	Body in fetal posture when recovered	Drowning	None	S a Moslem; PP a Hindu. PP may have had cadaveric rigidity.

Chapter 23 *(continued)*

Subject	*Previous Personality*	*Country of S*	*Number, Type, and Location of BMBD*	*Nature and Location of Wound or Mark on PP*	*MOD of PP*	*Relationship Between Two Families*	*Comments*
Joseph Chukwunta (Male)	Eyoukwu Okoroaziaja (Male)	Nigeria	Deformities of feet (inversion and elevated heels)	PP buried with feet flexed to fit short coffin	Natural	Related (PP=S's maternal grandfather)	S expressed no imaged memories of PL.

Chapter 24 **The Face as a Type of Birthmark or Birth Defect**

Subject	*Previous Personality*	*Country of S*	*Number, Type, and Location of BMBD*	*Nature and Location of Wound or Mark on PP*	*MOD of PP*	*Relationship Between Two Families*	*Comments*
Mhat Tin, Mg (Male)	Aung Su, Mg (Male)	Burma	Abnormally large lower lip	PP bit lower lip before being shot (according to S only)	Gunshot	S's parents had probably heard of PP	Case also reported in Ch. 9.
Soe Tun, Mg (Male)	Soe, Daw (Female)	Burma	Birthmarks on earlobes (faded) Opening of right eye smaller than left Birthmark on right leg	Cataracts, one of which was removed Wound on right leg from medical treatment (according to S only)	Natural	Close friends	Sex-change case.
Win Hla, Mg (Male)	Sein Tint, Ma (Female)	Burma	Left eye narrower than right Hyperpigmented birthmark on right thigh Birthmarks on ears	Left eye narrower than right Dogbite on right thigh (according to S only)	Illness	Close friends	Sex-change case.

Subject	*Previous Personality*	*Country of S*	*Number, Type, and Location of BMBD*	*Nature and Location of Wound or Mark on PP*	*MOD of PP*	*Relationship Between Two Families*	*Comments*
Sivanthie Hettiaratchi (Female)	Akmeemana Palliyaguruge (Robert) (Male)	Sri Lanka	Hyperpigmented nevus on lower right chest Mark on lower back (faded by time of investigation)	Gunshot wound (location unverified)	Gunshot, ?drowning	Friends	Sivanthie shorter, stockier, fairer than Sheromie, corresponding to PPs; but Sheromie heavier (not corresponding to PPs). Sex-change case.
&							
Sheromie Hettiaratchi (Female)	A. K. Nanadasa (Johnny) (Male)	Sri Lanka			Beaten	Friends	Sex-change case.
Indika Ishwara (Male)	Dharshana Samarasekera (Male)	Sri Lanka	Polyp in left nostril Marks on chest (not noted at birth, perhaps not congenital)	PP fed during 3-day illness by nasal tubes	Illness	Strangers	A1 (medical document).

&							
Kakshappa Ishwara (Male)	Unsolved (Male)	Sri Lanka	Marks on chest and abdomen (not noted at birth, perhaps not congenital)	Unknown	Shot in abdomen (according to S)	Unknown	
Khin Ma Gyi, Ma (Female)	Maung Maung, U (Male)	Burma	Partial ectrodactyly of left hand Hyperpigmented groove encircling left calf	None	Natural	Related (PP=S's maternal grandfather)	Malformed hand dis-charged for 6 weeks after birth. Defects said (by S) to be retribution for hunting and killing ani-mals and for tying poultry up by the leg. Sex-change case.
&							
Khin Ma Nge, Ma (Female)	Aye Hla, Daw (Female)	Burma	None	None	Natural	Related (PP=S's maternal grandmother)	

Chapter 25 *(continued)*

Subject	*Previous Personality*	*Country of S*	*Number, Type, and Location of BMBD*	*Nature and Location of Wound or Mark on PP*	*MOD of PP*	*Relationship Between Two Families*	*Comments*
San San Nyunt, Ma (Female) & Nyunt Nyunt San, Ma (Female)	Sapai, Daw (Female) / Aye Phyu, Daw (Female)	Burma	None	None	Natural	Distantly related, well known to S's father	Ss were said to resemble PPs in facial appearances. Ma San San Nyunt fairer than Ma Nyunt Nyunt San, corresponding to PPs.
Khin San Tin, Ma (Female) & Khin San Yin, Ma (Female)	Unsolved (Japanese soldier) Male) / Unsolved (Japanese soldier) (Male)	Burma	None / Scarlike hairless area on top of head	Unknown	Grenade (according to S)	Unknown	Sex-change case. Sex-change case.

Aung Ko Thein, Mg (Male)	Sunder Ram (Indian) (Male)	Burma	Hyperpigmented mark on helix of right ear	May have had earring holes	Natural	Friends	Mg Aung Ko Thein darker than Mg Aung Cho Thein; Indians generally darker than Burmese.
&							
Aung Cho Thein, Mg (Male)	Hla May, Daw (Female)	Burma	None	Earring holes	Natural	Related (PP= relative of S's mother)	Sex-change case.
Gillian Pollock (Female)	Joanna Pollock (Female)	England	None	None	Hit by car	Related (PP=S's sister)	
&							
Jennifer Pollock (Female)	Jacqueline Pollock (Female)	England	Hyperpigmented mark above right eye Hyperpigmented nevus on left side of waist	Scar from wound above right eye Hyperpigmented nevus on left side of waist	Hit by car	Related (PP=S's sister)	A3 (photograph of PP).

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Appendix D

Alphabetical Guide to Cases Suggestive of Reincarnation Reported in Detail or Mentioned in This Work

The following list provides a guide to detailed reports of cases suggestive of reincarnation or briefer references to them in this and other works.

The detailed report, if there is one, is always given first, followed by references to chapters in this work or elsewhere where the case is referred to more briefly, perhaps because of a particular feature. In many of the referenced places, the subject is simply listed, along with several other subjects, as examples of that feature. This type of listing appears in regular type, while the detailed report and chapters containing a paragraph, or substantial information about a given subject in a table, appear in **boldface**. For cases not published in detail, the chapters are listed in simple numerical order. In order to provide a complete listing of all cases so far published in detail, the list includes four such cases that are not cited in this work.

The cases are cited in the alphabetical order (by letter, not by word) of the subjects' *first* or given names. Honorifics sometimes used in the text, especially with the names of Burmese persons, are not used in this list, except in a few instances where an honorific has been added in parentheses to aid in identifying the subject of a case.

The abbreviation **Ch.**, followed by a number, refers to a chapter of this work. The following abbreviations are used for previously published works by myself. ***Twenty Cases*** stands for *Twenty Cases Suggestive of Reincarnation.*

CORT followed by an Arabic numeral stands for a volume in the series *Cases of the Reincarnation Type*. **CWRPLS** stands for *Children Who Remember Previous Lives*. The last-named book provides additional information about some cases, but not detailed case reports.

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Adíja	**Ch. 20**; not published in detail
Ahmar Sein	**Ch. 22**
Ahmet Balcı	**Ch. 17**; Ch. 26
Ahmet Siray	**Ch. 12**; not published in detail
Ajith Priyasantha	**Ch. 21**; **Ch. 23**; not published in detail
Alan Gamble	**Ch. 6**; Ch. 5; Ch. 8; Ch. 12; **Ch. 14**; Ch. 15; **Ch. 21**; Ch. 26
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Ali Uğurlu	**Ch. 5**; Ch. 4; **Ch. 12**; Ch. 14; Ch. 15; Ch. 18; Ch. 26
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Aniago Obodo	**Ch. 20**; not published in detail
Antoinette Jacobsson	**Ch. 8**; Ch. 14
Anupam Varma	**Ch. 10**; not published in detail
Anurak Sithipan	**Ch. 10**; Ch. 18; Ch. 26
Anusha Shalinie	**Ch. 17**
Archana Shastri	**Ch. 22**; **Ch. 23**
Aristide Kolotey	**Ch. 5**; Ch. 4; Ch. 9; Ch. 14; Ch. 26
Ariya Noikerd	**Ch. 19**; Ch. 6; Ch. 8; Ch. 9; **Ch. 26**
Arya Bhushan	**Ch. 8**; Ch. 9; Ch. 14
Asha Rani	Ch. 5; not published in detail
Ashok Kumar	**Mills, 1989**; **Ch. 23**
Augustine Nwachi	**Ch. 17**; Ch. 9; Ch. 14; Ch. 19; **Ch. 26**
Aung Cho Thein	**Ch. 25**; Ch. 14; **Ch. 22**
Aung Gyi	**Ch. 17**; Ch. 19; Ch. 26
Aung Htoo	**Ch. 17**; Ch. 4; **Ch. 19**; Ch. 22; Ch. 23; **Ch. 24**; Ch. 26
Aung Ko Min	**Ch. 23**; not published in detail
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Aung Myint	**Ch. 21**; **Ch. 5**; **Ch. 14**; Ch. 18; **Ch. 23**; Ch. 25; Ch. 26
Aung Than	**Ch. 19**; Ch. 4; Ch. 5; Ch. 6; Ch. 15; Ch. 17; Ch. 18; Ch. 22; Ch. 25; **Ch. 26**

Aung Win	**Ch. 18**; not published in detail
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Bir Sahai	**Ch. 7**; Ch. 9; Ch. 17; Ch. 22
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Bo Lay	**Ch. 22;** not published in detail
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Dolon Champa Mitra	**CORT 1**; Ch. 4; Ch. 6; Ch. 17; Ch. 18; Ch. 19
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Dulcina Karasek	**Ch. 23**; **Ch. 26**
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Edip Çelik	**Ch. 21**; **Ch. 23**; not published in detail
Edward Taylor	**Ch. 8**; Ch. 6
Erin Jackson	**CWRPLS**; Ch. 4
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Eunice Fowler	**Ch. 23**; not published in detail
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Gillian Pollock **Ch. 25**; **Ch. 23**; **Ch. 24**; **CWRPLS**
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Kyaw Nyein	**Ch. 22**; not published in detail
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Roberta Morgan	**CWRPLS**; Ch. 6
Robert Black	**Ch. 23**; not published in detail
Roger Willison	**Ch. 21**; not published in detail
Ronald Mapatunage	Ch. 10; **Ch. 13**; not published in detail
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Sabri Aynaci	**Ch. 10**; not published in detail
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L	Lesion not thought paranormal
NDE	Near-death experience
MI	Maternal impression
TI	Telepathic impression
P	Psychic or sensitive
S	Stigmata
?	Mixed or unclassifiable case

Cases are listed in alphabetical order (by letter, not by word) under the subject's *first* name. Honorifics are omitted with Burmese names.

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INDEX OF SUBJECTS

The following index covers the variety of topics treated in the text. It does not include names, either of persons or of cases; the former are covered in the Index of Names and the latter in the Index of Cases.

As in the main body of this work, qualifiers such as "claimed," "apparent," "purported," and "possible" have been omitted. This has been done for the sake of brevity and for ease of reading. It is not intended in any way to beg the main question that the principal cases of this work present: that of whether reincarnation is or is not the best explanation for them.

Some basic terms appear with such frequency in the index that they have been abbreviated. These are:

CORT	Case (or cases) of the reincarnation type
PL	Previous life (used either as noun or adjective)
PP	Previous personality
S	Subject

An italicized *n* following a page number indicates that the reference is to be found in the notes at the bottom of the page; an *f* indicates that the reference is in a figure caption; and a *t* indicates that it is to be found in a table.

This Index does not contain complete listings of cases with certain features. For identifying all cases with medical documents, all cases of the sex-change type, and all cases with Japanese PPs and Western PPs readers should consult Appendix C.

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Yoruba (Nigeria), repeater children (abikú) among, 1626–27, 1629*t*

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